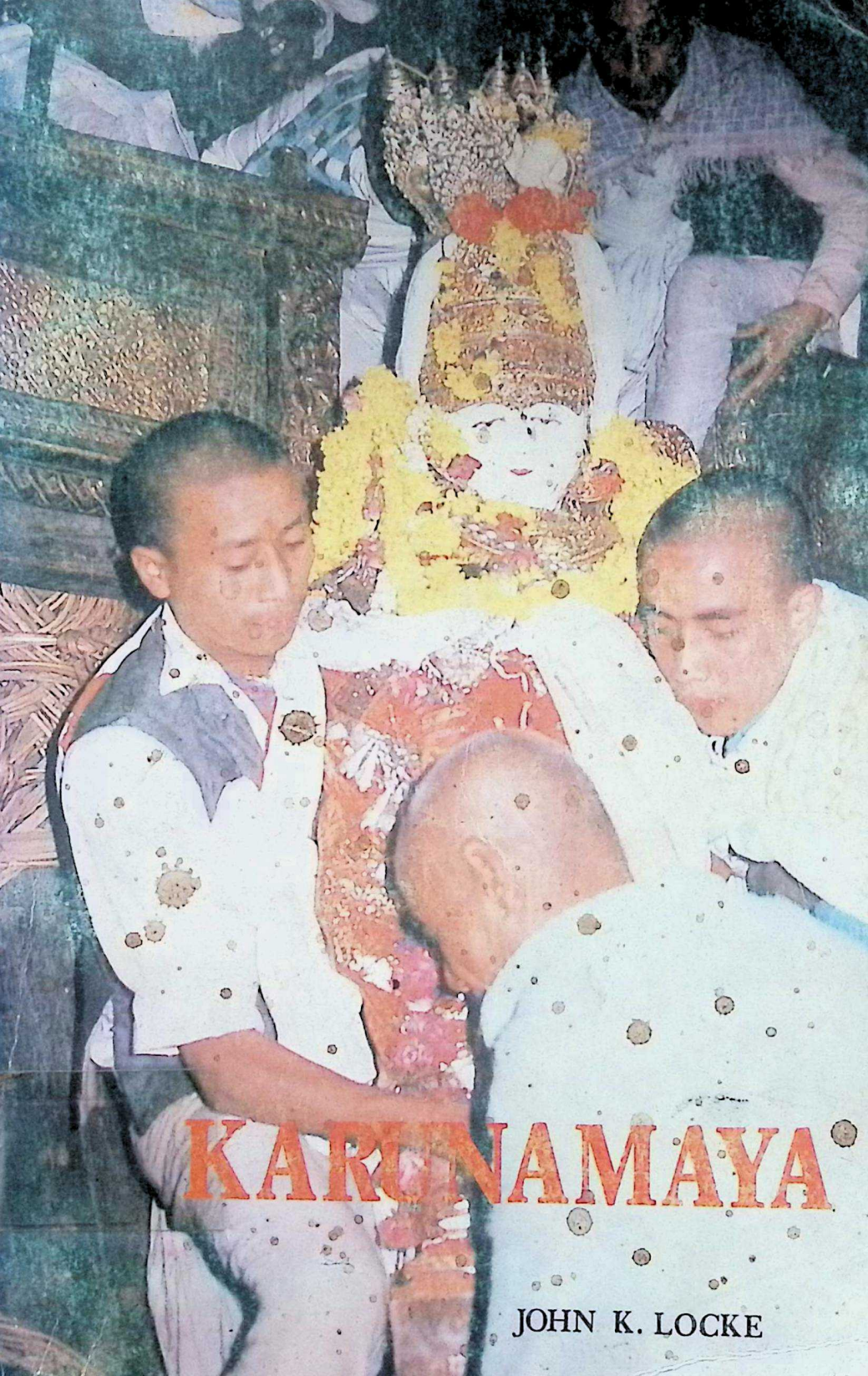

# KARUNAMAYA

JOHN K. LOCKE

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## The Cult of Avalokitesvara—Matsyendranath In the Valley of Nepal

by

*John K. Locke, S. J.*

SAHAYOGI PRAKASHAN
FOR
RESEARCH CENTRE FOR NEPAL AND ASIAN STUDIES
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## Foreword

The Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies was established within Tribhuvan University for the precise purpose of studying Nepalese society in all of its mainfestation. The present work was prepared at the Centre under the direction of Prof. Prayag Raj Sharma, and the Ph.D. awarded for it by the Institute of Humanities, Tribhuvan University. The work is a study of the cult of one of the most important and most popular deities of the Valley of Nepal and the religious-cultural setting in which that cult flourishes. It is hoped that it will be of use to students of Nepalese society and advance the general understanding of the people of the Valley and the various cultural and religious strands of which the present cultural fabric of Nepalese society is woven.

Research Centre for
Nepal and Asian Studies
Tribhuvan University

## Preface

The first research on Newar Buddhism was done in the middle of the last century by the British Resident, Brian Hodgson. His published writings on the subject and the texts which he gathered and sent to Calcutta, Britain, and France brought to light the existence of many of the principal Mahayana and Vajrayana texts in the original Sanskrit. His work revolutionized the thinking of European scholars about Mahayana Buddhism and made subsequent scholarship possible.

Since that time virtually nothing has been published on Newar buddhism as such except for David Snellgrove's excellent chapter in his *Buddhist Himalaya* and brief studies or passing references. Gopal Singh Nepali's work on the Newars is based on research in two villages where there are evidently no resident Buddhist priests, so Newar Buddhism does not figure largely in his work. Other recent writers who have treated the question of Newar Buddhism have been anthropologists whose purpose was not to treat of the religion and its rituals as such.

There seem to be three reasons for this lack of further research. The first is the great complexity of Newar culture which deters any scholar whose stay in Nepal is limited to a year or two. The second is the general misconception that Newar Buddhism is a confused mixture of Hindusims and Buddhism peculiar to the Valley of Nepal and therefore of little interest to a student of Buddhism. The third is the difficulty of finding truly knowledgeable informants coupled with the esoteric nature of Newar Buddhism which makes knowledgeable informants of a traditional nature reluctant to inform.

I venture into the field after nearly nienteen years in Nepal, but most of important of all, I was fortunate when I began my research to make the acquanintance of a truly learned scholar of Newar Buddhism, Sri Manabajra Bajracarya. His profound knowledge of the Vajrayana tradition and familiarity with the rituals and customs of Newar Buddhism made it possible to penetrate beneath the seemingly bewildering plethora of festivals and ritual detail. Without his help and friendship, extended over the past seven years, it would have been impossible to

produce more than a superficial catalogue of observable details. I am grateful also to a host of other Buddhist priests in Kathmandu and at all of the shrines discussed who have been generous with their time and unfailing in their courtesy. It is my hope that their friendship and interest will be rewarded by an accurate portrayal of their customs and traditions.

I am indebted also to Professor Prayag Raj Sharma whose guidance and queries showed a deep interest in the project and opened up further avenues for research and reflection. It has been a privilege to be associated with him in his efforts to foster research into all aspects of Nepalese life and culture.

My sincerest thanks to Miss Betty Woodsend for the picture on the front cover and for photos Nos. 33, 34, 37, 42, 43, and 44 which she kindly gave me from her surperb collection of slides on the Valley of Nepal. I am indebted to Mr. Ian Alsop for the photo of the Jawalakhel Jatra of 1927 (illustration No. 57) and to Rev. Casper Miller, S.J. for illustrations No. 70 and 71. My thanks are due also to Miss Amrita K. C. who prepared the manuscript for publication.

The spelling of Nepali, Newari and Sanskrit words presents some problems. The standard transcription has been used but without diacritical marks; all of the technical terms used in the text will be found in the glossary with the correct devanagri spelling. The only mark used in the text is the colon (:) used to indicate the lengthened short Newari *a*, thus *dya:*. In Newari words the *w* has been used to transcribe व where the letter is pronounced as *w*. In transcribing Nepali and Newari words I have omitted the final *a* if it is not pronounced, thus Matsyendranath, not, Matsyendranatha. A strict transliteration according to the devenagri spelling would be misleading in many cases and an injustice to the language. The commonly accepted English spelling has been used for current place name, the kings of the Shah dynasty and recent authors or living persons. A strict transliteration of these names produces such unrecognizable oddities as Jnavali for Gywali.

In the sources cited in the text a number of different eras are found. The most frequent is the Nepal Sambat (N.S.) which began in October of A.D. 879 and was the official era in use during the time of the Malla

kings. It is still used by many Newari writers. The second is the Bikram Sambat (B.S.) which began in 58 B.C. and is the current official era of Nepal. A few dates are given in Saka Sambat (S.S.) which began in A.D. 78 and was once used as the official era by the Shah dynasty. Some religious texts give dates according to the calculation of the Kali Yuga (or Kaligat) era considered to have begun in 3101 B. S. Finally, a few Buddhist authors date their writings according to the Buddhist Era (or Buddha Sambat) calculated from 544 B. C., the year of the death of the Buddha according to the Sri Lanka tradition. Where such dates occur in the text the corresponding year according to the Christian Era (A.D.) has been given in parenthesis. In the Bibliography dates have been given as found in the text according to the eara used by the author.

# INTRODUCTION

The Kingdom of Nepal is an elongated rectangle lying along the slopes of the mighty Himalayas roughly 141,000 square kilometres (55,000 sq. miles) in area, bordered on the north by China (Tibet) and on the south by India. Though it lies between 27° and 30° north, altitudes range from a few feet above sea level along the Indian border to the highest point on earth. The variety of elevations gives the country a range of climatic zones encompassing almost all those found on earth from the sub-tropical jungle to the arctic conditions of the high Himalaya and the arid zone of the Tibetan plateau. Geographically the country is divided roughly into three parallel east-west regions: the low sub-tropical strip bordering India, the high Himalayas along the north, and the intervening hill area ranging from 3,000 to 10,000 ft. above sea level where the bulk of the population of 12,000,000 live.

The political unit known as modern Nepal has existed since the latter part of the 18th century when the first king of the present dynasty, Prithwinarayan Shah, starting from the small kingdom of Gorkha in central Nepal began the process of uniting the numerous petty kingdoms in the hills into one nation. Over the centuries this hill area has provided a haven for people from north and south, so that the present racial make-up of the country is a mixture of various Asian elements and has been called the "ethnic turntable of Asia." Prithwinarayan Shah himself likened his kingdom to a flower garden in which flourished the four traditional castes and thirty-six tribes (or sub-castes).

Nepal, however, has existed as a country at least since the beginning of the Christian era, and throughout that period consisted of the Valley of Nepal (or the Kathmandu Valley) and more or less territory around the Valley depending on the fortunes of the various dynasties. The original inhabitants of the Valley are Newars who still comprise about half of the population of the Valley. Here also there has been a meeting of races and cultures. The Newars have been active traders with the plains and with Tibet since the beginning of their history, and the Valley has provided a new home for refugees from India from

the time of the Buddha and the rise of the Mauryan Dynasty right down to the Indian Mutiny in 1857. There is a difference though. Throughout the hills refugees from north and south tended to settle on isolated hillsides and in the shelter of inaccessible valleys where, until the push for development and modernization of Nepal which began about twenty-five years ago and brought improved communications and new opportunities, they remained closed units, cut off from their neighbours of a different race and culture on the near-by ridges and in the valleys beyond. In the Valley the newcomers from north and south were integrated into Newar society, becoming Newars in the process and making, in turn, a contribution to the cultural fabric of Newar society. As a result the term "Newar" is not an ethnic term, but a cultural term, denoting the very rich and complex culture of the society of the Valley. A Newar has been defined as an inhabitant of the Valley of Nepal who speaks Newari. Though the definition is accurate in that it omits any ethnic determination, it is deficient in not adding some descriptive note of Newar culture.

It is with one facet of this complex culture that this work will deal. We will be concerned with the religion of the Newars, and specifically with the interaction betwen Hinduism and Buddhism as exemplified in the cult of Avalokitesvara—Matsyendranath.

Since the beginning of recorded history in the middle of the sixth century A. D. the Valley of Nepal has been ruled by Hindu kings. The first historical kings were the Licchavis (ca. A. D. 400—900), refugees from Vaisali (near Muzaffarpur in modern north Bihar) and lovers of freedom who had left their homeland several centuries before rather than submit to the Mauryan dynasty. They were Hindus and ruled "by the favour of Pasupatinath". They were followed by a line, or several lines, of kings conveniently grouped together under the name "Thakuri" who ruled from ca. A. D. 900–1200. This is the "dark age" of the Valley's history for the "Thakuri" kings left us no inscriptions, and what knowledge we have about the period is limited to occasional notes on manuscripts, mostly Buddhist, which end with a note such as "copied in the year such-and-such during the reign of King so-and-so."Yet it is clear from

what little we know that these kings were also Hindus. They were followed by the Mallas, not a single dynasty, but at least three separate dynasties all claiming Rajput descent and all Hindus who ruled from A. D. 1200 until the fall of Bhaktapur to Prithwinarayan Shah in 1769. Yet extant historical records show that from the time of the Licchavis down to the present Hinduism and Buddhism have existed side by side in the Valley, presenting a picture that is a reflection of the relationship between the two in India throughout the period when Buddhism flourished there. Buddhism appears here not as a religion separate from or opposed to the stream of culture of the sub-continent, but rather as an integral part of the religious culture that grew and flourished in the soil of the sub-continent. Tolerance, co-existence and assimilation have been the rule, and whatever friction history records between the two is similar to the friction between sectarian groups native to the sub-continent rather than to the radical opposition that existed later between Hinduism and Islam.

For this study I have chosen to treat the cult and history of Avalokitesvara—Matsyendranth because his cult still flourishes and because it provides one of the best examples of interaction between Hinduism and Buddhism. The annual chariot festival of Red Macchendranath(Rato Matsyendranath)of Patan is one of the best known annual festivals of the Valley, and every account of the festivals of modern Nepal contains a description of this festival. Yet there is very little understanding of the true nature of the festival and even less of the religious tradition of which it forms a part. Some writers give the impression that Matsyendranath is the only name of the deity and that he is entirely a Hindu deity, some say that his cult was once Buddhist but taken over by the Brahmans when Buddhism was superceded, others say that Matsyendranath is also worshipped by the Buddhists as Avalokitesvara; and the confusion is not limited to foreign writers. It is the aim of this work to show that the case is quite the opposite and at the same time to show the cultural influences át work within the Valley which gave rise to the current misconceptions. It is the story of the interaction between tantric or Vajrayana Buddhism and Hinduism (again, mainly tantric Hinduism) within the very limited confines o[1]

Newar society. But the story begins elsewhere and all of these religious movements have roots stretching far beyond the confines of the Valley of Nepal.

Some years ago I published a short description and brief history of the cult of Rato Matsyendranath of Patan and Bungamati.[1] My description was limited to Rato Matsyendranath and principally to the annual chariot festival or "*ratha jatra*," and my research was limited almost exclusively to a survey of available secondary sources confirmed or corrected by informants. The scope of the present work is both broader and deeper. There are four principal Avalokitesvara—Matsyendranaths in the Valley, two red (in Patan-Bungamati and Chobhar ) and two white (in Kathmandu and Nala). In addition to these four, who are popularly called the "four sisters," there are three minor shrines in the Valley and one outside of the Valley in Dolakha to the east. The present survey will describe the cult and trace the history and inter-relation of all of these. It is deeper in the sense that the present work will go into a fuller description of the cult of Avalokitesvara—Matsyendranath and of the customs and practices of the Newar Buddhists whose deity he is. Much more historical data from the late Malla period is now available than when I did my first research seven years ago. With the new data plus a greater understanding of the general context of Newar Buddhism it is possible to address a number of further questions concerning the relationship of Hinduism and Buddhism in the Valley and the development of the religious culture of the Newars, and to propose some answers. Not that this will be the last word on Newar Buddhism or even on Avalokitesvara–Matsyendranath. It is rather a first word. So little research on Newar society and on Newar Buddhism has been published that every point touched upon has to be researched almost from scratch or taken on the authority of informants. Hence many conclusions are tentative and hypothetical. It is my hope that the present work will spur further research, hopefully from within the Newar community itself, to provide answers to the many points left in doubt and to correct and amplify the conclusions.

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1. John K. Locke, S. J., *Rato Matsyendranath of Patan and Bungamati.*(Kathmandu, 1973).

The work is divided into four parts. Part One will explore the social and religious structure of Newar Buddhism, the priests, their customs, traditions and their rituals. Newar Buddhism is primarily ritual Buddhism, and any understanding of the living tradition must be based on an understanding of their ritual, not on an understanding of philosophical texts or *sutras* which they worship but do not read. The aim of Part Two on Seto Matsyendranath of Kathmandu is to investigate the cult and specific ritual surrounding the worship of Avalokitesvara—Matsyendranath. The cult of Seto Matsyendranath is taken as the exemplar, not because he is the principal of the four(Rato Matsyendranath of Patan is), but because at his shrine the fuller ritual is still performed and by priests who have a much greater understanding of the ritual and their Vajrayana traditions than their conferes in Patan—Bungamati. Part Three is mainly historical. After a description of the current cult of Rato Matsyendranath of Patan it turns to a detailed chronology of his cult, the prototype of the others. Next an attempt is made to situate this chronological data in the context of the history of the late Malla kingdom of Patan whose national deity Avalokitesvara—Matsyendranath became. The cult began in Patan (or more properly in Bungamati, to the south of Patan), and it was in Patan during the late Malla period that Avalokitesvara first came to be called Matsyendranath. Part Four further explores the relationship between Avalokitesvara and Matsyendranath first in the broader context of the cult of the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara in Mahayana Buddhism and the cult of the Yogi Matsyendranath by Savite yogis, and then in the context of what we know of the interaction of these two religious streams within the Valley of Nepal.

In presenting this material I am fully aware of the danger of filtering the data through my own experience and interpreting the Newar religious traditions in terms or categories entirely foreign to the tradition and thus distorting it. To obviate this difficulty and limit the bias as much as possible, I have generally tried in the descritive and historical sections to let my sources— whether chronicles, ritual texts, or livings informants—speak for themselves in the text and have relegated com-

ments on this and what corrections seem necessary to footnotes. The success of this venture will depend on whether my many Newar Buddhist friends will be able to recognize what they read here as an accurate presentation of their tradition.

# Part One

## The Setting :

## Newar Buddhism, Its Structure and Principal Rituals

Om Vajrasattva, Guard my Vows !
Vajrasattva, let them be firm !
Be steadfast for me, be satisfied,
be favorable, be nourished for me !
Grant me all the magical attainments !
Indicator of all karma :
make glorious my mind
Hum Ha Ha Ha Ha Hoh !
Blessed One, Diamond of all the
Tathagatas : do not forsake me,
Make me diamond ! Great being of the vow Ah !

The "Hundred Syllable Mantra" of Vajrasattva

## CHAPTER ONE

### Bares and Bahas

Avalokitesvara-Matsyendranath is the *bodhisattva* Padmapani Lokesvara, and to treat of him and his shrines is to treat of several of the principal Newar Buddhist shrines in the Valley of Nepal. These shrines are known as *bahas*, and the priests who tend them and the deity are known as the *Bare* or *Banda*.[1] It is necessary to know something of the complex socio-religious structure of Newar Buddhism and the place in it of these shrines and their priests as a background to our study. So often it has been claimed that Newar Buddhism is a strange mixture of Hinduism and Buddhism and the cult of Avalokitesvara-Matsyendranath has been cited as a case in point. Before turning to a study of Avalokitesvara-Matsyendranth himself we must ask: To what extent, and in what sense, is the whole tradition, which forms the background of our study, really Buddhist ? Is this tradition an aberration peculiar to the Valley of Nepal, or an authentically Buddhist tradition adapted to the temperament and culture of the people of the Valley? Who are these priests, and what is their relationship to the traditional Buddhist monk, the *bhiksu* ?

**The Bare**

Most of the previous writers who have treated this question have been anthropologists and have examined the Bare from the viewpoint of the caste structure of Newar society. In doing so they have given the Bare a position either parallel to, or immediately below, the Brah-

---

1. Bare (बरे) is the proper Newari term according to my informants and this is the spelling of the term that I have seen in manuscripts written within the last two hundred years. The spelling and pronunciation banda (बांडा) seems to be a Nepali variation of the term. However, both Newars and non-Newars frequently pronounce the word banda (बाँडा). The term is a corruption of the Sanskrit term vande (वन्दे or वन्दन) a term of respect used from ancient times for the Buddhist monk.

mans, i. e., they are considered the highest caste among the Buddhist Newars, and they hold the same position in relation to the Buddhist community that the Brahmans hold vis a vis the Newar Hindu community.[2] From the viewpoint of caste this is quite valid. They are, in fact, considered a caste by Hindus and Buddhists alike. Some of their number function as family priests for a very large segment of the Newar population, and all are given the respect due to their position by Hindus and Buddhists alike. From the viewpoint of ritual purity, they have the highest position.

As a caste they are divided into two groups : the Vajracarya (or Gubhaju) and the Sakya (called simply the Bare or Banda). [3] The Vajracaryas are considered higher by virtue of their priestly functions. Most writers distinguish them by saying that the Vajracaryas are family priests and the Sakyas are gold and silver smiths, a distinction still recognized by the Bare themselves but having little relation to present conditions.[4] It is still true that only Vajracaryas act as priests, but many members of both groups have been gold and silver smiths for many years. Today Vajracaryas and Sakyas engage in a variety of occupations such as stone workers, goldsmiths, carpenters, masons, to say nothing of those who are shop keepers, private businessmen, government employees school teachers, research scholars, ayurvedic medical practitioners, etc. Those who are engaged in traditional occupations such as goldsmiths or carpenters have insisted with me that they are properly called *lohanka:*

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2. K. P. Chattopadhya, "An Essay on the History of Newar Culture," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* n. s. 19 (1923): 465–577; C. F. Haimendorf "Elements of Newar Social Structure," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 86 (1956): 15-38; Gopal Singh Nepali, *The Newars* (Bombay, 1965), p. 150; Collin Rosser, "The Newar Caste System" in *Caste and Kin in Nepal, India Ceylon,* ed. C. F. Haimendorf (Bombay, 1966), p. 15–86.
3. Gubhaju is a contraction of *guru-bhaju.* The Sanskrit term *guru* is a common term of address for the Vajracaryas to this day. *Bhaju* is a Newari term of respect similar to the Sanskrit *Sriman.* The term Sakya is taken from the family name of the historical Sakyamuni Gautam Buddha. To this day many of the Newar Sakyas claim to be descendants of the members of the Sakya clan of Lumbini who migrated to the Valley.
4. Confer Rosser, p. 85.

*mi* or *sika:mi*, but that this indicates merely their traditional occupation and has nothing to do with caste. Within a given caste all are equal, no matter what their occupation may be. Certainly in their mind, occupation has nothing to do with caste status at the present time, however closely they may have been linked in the past.

A list such as Oldfield's list of nine subdivisions of the Bare is a confusion of caste status, occupation and a religious designation based on the place of initiation and the right to function as a priest.[5] Haimendorf notes that "a Newar caste is a commensal and normally endogamous group, made up of several exogamous clans or residential units.."[6] At present Sakyas and Vajracaryas freely interdine and intermarry whatever their occupation of religious designation may be.[7] The distinction between Sakyas and Vajracrayas is not based on caste, if caste is determined by commensality and endogamy. Furthermore, from the viewpoint of Buddhism the position of all of the Bare as a caste is an anomaly. It is an anomaly that they should form a closed patrilineal descent group, for in all Buddhist countries, and in India during the

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5. Henry Ambrose Oldfield, *Sketches from Nepal,* 2 vols. (Delhi, 1976), 1:181–2. Oldfield's list is as follows: Gubharju, Barrhaju, Bikkhu, Bhikshu, Nebhar, Nibharbharhi, Tankarmi, Gangsabharhi, Chiwarbharhi. He then distinguishes the various categories on the basis of their traditional occupation.
6. Haimendorf, "Elements," p. 18.
7. Nepali says that "though the Gubhaju and Vanra can freely interdine and intermarny, the former marries the latter's girl, but does not reciprocate". (Nepali, p. 153) It seems that this is no longer valid as I have been given concerte instances from Patan and Kathmandu of Vajracaryas both marrying Sakya girls and giving their daughters to Sakyas. I have no idea of the frequency of this. Rosser notes that in Kathmandu the Bare and the Vajracaryas freely intermarried in the past, but that within the last fifty years this has been on the decline as a result of the Vajracaryas' increasing concern about caste status. (Rosser, p. 126) Haimendorf says that marriages celebrated with full religious rites do not usually take place between the two groups, but it is common for them to be joined by simplified rites. (Haimendorf, "Elements," p. 19–20) At the present time it is common for these unions to be celebrated with full religious rites. In any case, as Haimendorf notes, the caste of the son in determined by that of the father. The son of a Sakya father and a Vajracarya mother is a Sakya and vice versa.

heyday of Buddhism, the *sangha*, or monastic community of which they are the direct successors, was always open to members of all castes. It is an anomaly that they should be given a special caste status which is so recognized by others, since the initiation rite which they still undergo includes the complete shaving of the head as a sign of the rejection of all caste status.[8]

Many Vajracaryas and Sakyas have told me that this caste status is something "imposed" on them by the Malla kings, especially Jayasthithi Malla, who organized all of Newar society along the lines of Hindu castes. They freely admit that there is no justification for such a status or such a closed *sangha* in the Buddhist scriptures and that their *sanghas* should be open to all who want to take the intiation of a Sakya or Vajracarya.[9] In this connection it is interesting to note that a recently published account of the Newar castes of Bhaktapur drawn up with the help of a Rajopadhyaya Brahman places the Bare entirely outside the caste structure of Newar society along with non-Newar Brahmans, Mahantas, ethnic hill groups (such as Tamangs, Thapas, Ranas), low caste hill groups (Gaire and Sarki) and Muslims.[10] One might argue that this is due to Brahman prejudice, but I have shown the list to Vajracaryas of Kathmandu who agree that, in fact, this is where they should be classified, as they belong outside of the caste structure. Yet, when their caste status and its ramifications were challenged some years ago by the Udaya who insisted that their Vajracarya priests eat cooked rice with them, the Vajracaryas fought the issue in and out of the courts for a period of nearly thirty years.[11] What they were defending was

8. John K. Locke, "Newar Buddhist Initiation Rites," *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, 2 (June, 1975): 9.
9. That is to say that Vajracaryas who have some education and some understanding of the historical development of Buddhism "freely admit" this. Uneducated Vajracaryas of Patan have told me that their caste status dates to the creation of the world when they were given a caste status placing them above the four Hindu *varnas*.
10. Niels Gutschow and Bernhard Kolver, *Bhaktapur:* Ordered Space: Concepts and Functions in a Town of Nepal (Wiesbaden, 1975), p. 58.
11. Rosser, p. 105–34. Rosser gives a detailed account of this dispute and its effect on the status of the Kathmandu Vajracaryas and their control of the Buddhist community.

their caste status and the consequent vested interests; the dispute did not really touch their status as Buddhist priests.

The caste structure of Newar society in fact places the Bare and especially the Vajracaryas, in a contradictory position. On the one hand they are the custodians of a religious tradition which gives them a place of honour, partly because they have renounced caste, while on the other hand they are members of a society which gives them a high caste status and certain social rewards based on their religious position. To understand their position in Newar Buddhist society it would perhaps be better to start not from the considerations of caste, but from their religious status.

What then is a Bare ? A Bare is one who has undergone the Bare *chyuyegu* initiation rite and is consequently a member of a recognized Buddhist *sangha*. In the history of Buddhism the term *sangha* has always been used to refer to the community of Buddhist monks. Historically the *sangha* was an institution which developed from a group of wandering *bhiksus* into a stable community living in monasteries called *viharas*. These communities of *bhiksus* were nearly always made up of celibate monks and always open to qualified candidates of any caste or race.

At some stage in the development of Newar Buddhism, for reasons that are by no means clear at the present stage of our knowledge, this institution underwent two very significant changes. First, the members of the *sangha* become married men with families; and secondly, the *sangha* became a closed patrilineal descent group. Each monastery, instead of being open to any qualified candidate, was now closed to all except the descendants of the members of the *sangha* of that monastery. Only the son of a member of the *sangha* could be initiated and then only into the *sangha* of which his father was a member. This is the situation today.

**The Bahas**

The "monasteries" to which these *sanghas* are attached are still known by the Sanskrit name of *vihara* or *mahavihara*, and in Newari are called either *baha* or *bahi*.[12] Hemaraj Sakya lists 120 in Kathmandu,

12. *Baha* is sometimes written in Newari as बाहा and sometimes बहा,

and 167 in Patan, nearly all of which are still extant.[13] Bhaktapur has about twenty.

The construction of the ancient *bahas* was standard: a courtyard enclosed by a two-storied, quadrangular structure, the lower storey of which was often a sort of open veranda and the upper storey of which contained living quarters. In a *baha* the upper storey was divided into rooms; in a *bahi* it was an open colonnaded room. At present the ground floor is usually a sort of general store room; though it may also contain living quarters or even shops. The upper storey is used as living quarters by the families attached to the *sangha*. Near the entrance to the courtyard are usually images of two protective deities, Mahakala and Ganesa.[14] On the ground floor, usually opposite the entrance to the courtyard, is the shrine of the main non-tantric deity of the *baha*, called the *kwapa dya:* in Newari.[15] The *kwapa dya:* is an image of Gautama Buddha, one of the transcendent Buddhas, or one of the

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but invariably pronounced simply बा. The word has come into Nepali as *bahal*, a change due to the fact that in the oblique cases in Newari the word does have an l; thus *baha*, but *bahale*—"in the *baha*." *Bahi* is a variation of *baha*, the significance of which will be explained below. The term *mahavihara* was used in India for a cluster of *viharas*, such as existed at Nalanda. In Nepal most of the principal *bahas* are called *mahavihara*.

13. Hemaraj Sakya, *Nepal Bauddha Vihara wa Granthasuci* (Patan, 2500 Buddha Sambat), p. 5–19. Jagadish Candra Regmi lists forty-four *viharas* known to exist in the Licchavi period and a hundred and twenty-eight in the time of Yaksa Malla in the fourteenth century, and even his list is far from complete. *Nepalko Dharmik Itihas* (Kathmandu, 2033 B. S.), p. 173–183.
14. According to I-Tsing who travelled through India in the latter part of the seventh century, it was common to find an image of Mahakala near the porch or in the kitchen of the great Indian *viharas*. He identifies him as belonging to the beings of the Great God (Mahesvara) placed there to protect the *vihara*. I-Tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion* (Delhi, 1966), p. 38.
15. The current term *kwapa dya:* is a corruption of *kwacapala deva* which is found in earlier inscriptions and manuscripts. See Hemaraj Sakya and T. R. Vaidya, *Medieval Nepal* (Kathmandu, 1970), p. 84 in an inscription dated 653 N.S. *Kwaca* was the proper Newari term for the *sangha* and the *Kwaca-pala-deva* the guardian deity of the *sangha*.

principal *bodhisattvas*. In front of this shrine is found a *caitya*, and a *dharma dhatu mandala* which is used in connection with the principal *pujas* performed within the *baha*. Many of the courtyards have an array of such *caityas*, *mandalas*, mounted *vajras* and images which have been erected as votive offerings.

Directly above the shrine of the *kwapa dya:* is another room called the *agam*, the shrine of the tantric deities where the secret tantric rites of Vajrayana Buddhism are performed. The *agam dya:*, as the principal deity is called, is most frequently Herukacakrasamvara and his consort Vajravarahi, though it may be another tantric deity such as Hevajra. This shrine is divided into two rooms, an outer room which any of the initiated members of the *sangha* and their wives may enter at the time of a *puja*, and the inner sanctum where the deities are kept. This inner sanctum may be entered only by the elders of the *sangha*, other members of the *sangha* who have taken a special intiation, and the priest of the *sangha*, who may be from another *baha*, if the *sangha* has no Vajracarya members.

On the second floor, frequently above the entrance to the *baha* or between the shrine of the *kwapa dya:* and the *agam*, is usually a large room called the *digi* which is used by the elders of the *sangha* as a meeting place. Many of the larger *bahas* in Patan, such as Kwa Baha and Bhinche Baha, have a second, larger quadrangle behind the shrine complex with a *caitya* in the centre and living quarters all round.

In Kathmandu, and to a lesser degree in Patan, the *bahas* are fast losing their distinctive architectural form, and it is doubtful if many of the later *bahas* were ever built strictly according to the earlier pattern. The living quarters within the *baha* are the property of the various families belonging to the *sangha*, and when a family decides to repair or rebuild their quarters they often do so with no regard for the architectural unity. Thus in the corner of the compound of Bhinche Baha in Patan, one family has torn down their quarters and replaced them with a six-storied, cement-plastered box. In many of the *bahas* in Kathmandu, such as Dhavaka Baha, all that is left now is the shrine of the *kwapa dya:* with the *agam* above it and the *caityas*, *mandalas* and statues in the courtyard. In some cases the members of the *sangha* have sold their

property to outsiders, usually Udaya, who in turn have torn down the original structure and built more "modern" buildings. Two of the finest examples of the orignal architecture, though, can be seen in Kathmandu: Musya Baha (Karunapuri Mahavihara) and Chyusya Baha (Gunakara Mahavihara), both located on the road running east from Thanhity Tole.

Informants are agreed that originally all of the members of a *baha sangha* lived within the *baha* compound. In Kathmandu most of them do not do so now. This is mainly due to the growth in numbers and the lack of room to expand the *baha*. As a family grows, either the entire joint family moves out to other quarters, or the family splits into two or more households, and the off-shoots move out. In Patan a larger number of the members of the various *sanghas* still live within the compound of their *baha* or in additions adjacent to it. Wherever the members of the *sangha* may live, though, they remain a closed patrilineal descent group whose religious life centres on their old *baha* of which they remain the joint custodians. There they must receive their initiation and return to participate in certain religious rites and feasts during the year.

The extant *bahas* are classified into four categories. In both Kathmandu and Patan there are eighteen principal *bahas,* known in Kathmandu as the "Eighteen Bahas of the Acarya Guthi," and in Patan as the "Fifteen Bahas," (though in fact there are eighteen). These constitute the first category. Secondly, there is a large number of *bahas* which are offshoots or branches of these eighteen, known as *sakha* ("branch, offshoot") *bahas*. Another term popularly used for these *bahas,* especially in Patan, is *kaca baha,* from the Newari word "*kaca*" meaning "branch," hence the exact equivalent of *sakha baha.* (This term should not be confused with *kacca* which is explained below.) These are daughter houses of one of the principal eighteen *bahas*. A *sakha baha* remains strictly a daughter house and the inhabitants usually remain members of the parent *sangha* with all of the rights and duties which that entails.

The founding of such *bahas* seems to have been rather a common phenomenon up to this century, and I have found examples of *sakha bahas* founded within the last forty years. Anyone can found a *baha*

if he so wishes provided he is willing to undertake the expense of constructing one and the expense of the consecration rites. The consecration is both expensive and long, lasting over a period of a year and a half. Formerly this was a common practice in the larger *bahas.* When the *baha* became overcrowded some families would move out. set up a new *baha* compound to live in and have it consecrated as a *sakha* of their original *baha.* Thus Rudravarna Mahavihara (Oku Baha) in Patan has thirty-two *sakhas,* the largest number of any *baha* in the Valley. However, especially in Kathmandu, families which have moved out of the *baha* within the past century have tended to rent or build new single-unit quarters wherever space is available. Consequently members of a given *sangha* are often widely scattered resulting in the breakdown of the closely knit *baha* community.

The third category of *baha* is the *kacca* ("unauthentic") *baha.* These *bahas* are unauthentic from the viewpoint of the members of the eighteen principal *bahas* with which they have no official connection. Each of these *bahas* has its own *sangha* just as the principal *bahas* do and its members do not consider their *baha* to be unauthentic in any way. Examples of such *kacca bahas* in Kathmandu which have no connection with the principal *bahas* are: Swayambhu Baha (Santikara Mahavihara), Sigha: Baha (Santighata Mahavihara), Nagha: Baha (Ratnamandala Mahavihara), Tadhan Baha (Sri Dharmacakradarsana Mahavihara), Asan Baha (Asoka Caitya Mahavihara), and Mahabhu Baha (Mahabaudha Mahavihara). The membership of these *baha sanghas* is exclusively Sakya. It seems that this type of *baha* exists only in Kathmandu as I could find no verified example of such *bahas* in Patan. However one frequently hears the term *kaca baha,* meaning branch *baha* as explained above, and which leads to considerable confusion.

The last category comprises the *bahis* which also have their own *sanghas* and are in no way dependent on the principal *bahas* or the *kacca bahas.* These *bahis* form a group apart, as is evident from the different name universally applied to them, but the reason for this is not clear. Most informants say that the *bahis* are all older foundations than the *bahas.* This statement at least needs qualification. There are

*bahas*, such as Kwa Baha (Hiranyavarna Mahavihara) in Patan which are as old or older than the *bahis*.[16] On the other hand, it is true that many of the *bahas*, especially the *sakha bahas*, are of rather recent origin (i. e. within the last three hundred years) whereas no one has been able to show me any data indicating the foundation of a *bahi* within that period. It is also true that by and large the *bahis* are in a greater state of disrepair than the *bahas*.

One informant gave me the following explanation: The first distinction between a *baha* and a *bahi* is architectural. The *bahi* has a series of open exhibition halls on the ground floor and a veranda round the upper storey. This is borne out by examples. *Bahis* were constructed on a high place on the outskirts of the city, such as the Pulchowk Bahi in Patan; *bahas* were generally constructed on level ground in the centre of the town.[17] Secondly, the internal organization is different;

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16. According to one informant the *guthi* records of Kwa Baha show that the *samek* ceremony, which is performed every five years, has been held there continually for 1,400 years. The earliest documented reference to the monastery that I have seen is in the colohon of a manuscript copy of the *Pratisthaloka* which was copied in Hiranyavarna Mahavihara during the reign of King Gunakamadeva. The date is not given, and there were two kings by that name one reigning from c. 942–1004 and the other from c. 1148–86. Buddhisagara Sharma, ed., *Vrihatsucipatram*, no. 2 (Kathmandu, 2023 B.S.). p. 55.

17. This theory is confirmed by Wright's chronicle which states, "The banaprastha biharas were called by some bahi, i. e. outside, because the banaprastha bhiksus did not live in the cities, but in forests." Daniel Wright, *History of Nepal* (Kathmandu, 1972), p. 37. Wolfgang Korn in his *Traditional Architecture of the Kathmandu Valley* (Kathmandu, 1977) says, "No Bahal is to be found outside the limits of the city cores. Many Bahils still today lie outside the city and are enclosed by surrounding residential houses. Where Bhails are found within the city, the Tols around them bear their names. Bhails such as the Cha Bahil and Maru Bahil provide clear examples of the separation of living quarters and assembly areas: surrounding the quadrangular Bahil at a distance of about 10 metres, is a row of residential dwellings. The facades and entrances of these dwellings are mostly blank giving a fortress appearance to the complex,"p. 37. He further lists ten architectural differences between *a baha* and *a bahi* p. 36.

*bahas* have ten elders, *bahis* only five. Thirdly, the members of a *bahi* are known as Brahmacarya Bhiksus, whereas the members of a *baha* are known simply as Sakyas. Fourthly, in the days when all of these communities were open to any qualified candidate, the *bahis* were a lower class of *vihara* where the *bhiksu* would receive his first training. After completing his training he would become an *upasampradaya bhiksu* and join a *baha* where he would study further and receive further training which would eventually entitle him to become a Vajracarya.

The third distinction given above leads us right round in a circle since, as will be shown below, the Brahmacarya Bhiksus are so called because they belong to a *bahi*. The first and last points of the explanation tend to confirm the general theory that *bahis* are older than *bahas*. The disappearance of exhibition halls in *bahas* can easily be explained as an adaptation of the old style of monastery to domestic dwellings. Families would also prefer to live in the city rather than on a hill at the outskirts of the city. It might well be that the *bahis* were the last surviving communities of celibate monks (true *brahmacarya bhiksus*) which lost many of their members by "graduation" to the married Vajrayana communities of the later *bahas*. Finally, they too succumbed to the new trend in order to survive, but maintained their separate identity and traditions. Members of the *bahi sanghas* in Patan take pride in the fact that they are not dependent on the Vajracaryas of the "Fifteen Bahas" and claim that they alone are the true descendents of the *bhiksus*.[18] Whatever the case may be, they do comprise a separate class at present, though this has no practical consequences in terms of present caste structure or religious status.

**Sakya and Vajracarya**

The Bare constitute about 10% of the Newar population at present with the greatest concentration in Patan.[19] Of the three cities, Bhaktapur has the smallest community of Bare with 209 households out of a total of 5,192, or 4%.[20] There are no valley-wide figures on the

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18. Michael Allen, "Buddhism without Monks," *Journal of South Asian Studies* 3 (August, 1973): 7.
19. Rosser, p. 85.
20. Gutschow and Kolver, p. 58.

relative numbers of Vajracrayas to Sakyas, though it is clear that the Vajracaryas are only a fraction of the total. In Patan the Vajracrayas number only 590 out of a total membership of 3,858 in the eighteen principal *bahas*. Thus they constitute only 15% of the membership of these *bahas* and a much smaller percentage of the total Bare population of Patan.[21] In Kathmandu the Vajracaryas of the Acarya Guthi number about 2,000 initiated males at present, certainly a higher percentage of the total Bare population than in Patan.

The superior position of the Vajracaryas is due to the fact that they, and they alone, are permitted to act as priests, which means that they may have client families (*jajmans*) for whom they perform religious ceremonies and the life cycle rites. The power to do this is conferred on them in an additional initiation rite, not given to Sakyas, known as the *aca luyegu* ("making of the *acarya*") in which they are given five tantric consecrations and a *mantra* of Herukacakrasamvara.[22] The principal result of the initiation is to empower the Vajracarya to perform the *homa* sacrifice and confer initiations. Since the *homa* sacrifice is an integral part of the principal religious ceremonies and the life cycle rites, the Vajracaryas have a monopoly on the performance of these essential rites. Only the son of a Vajracarya may be given this consecration, so they too form a closed group.

When considering the *bahas* and the life of the *sangha* it is important to note that the superior position of the Vajracarya as a priest does not in any way enhance his position vis a vis the other members of the *baha sangha*. Some of the *baha sanghas* are made up entirely of Vajracaryas, some entirely of Sakyas, and some are mixed. In a mixed *baha*, such as Jana Baha in Kathmandu, the *sangha* is one unified community and all members are equal as far as the life and functioning of the *sangha* of the *baha* is concerned.[23] The Vajracaryas act as priests,

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21. Allen, p. 8.
22. Locke, "Intiation Rites," p. 15–16.
23. Haimendorf says that in a mixed *baha* each community, i.e., Sakyas and Vajracaryas, has its own *thakali* (head man). Haimendorf, "Elements," p. 24. At the time Haimendorf did his research this situation did actually exist in some places. This was the time when the dispute between the Vajracaryas and Udaya was raging in Kath-

i.e., they have *jajmans,* and these *jajmans,* though they may include members of the *sangha* are for the most part outsiders and members of other castes. The Vajracarya's function as a priest is something separate from his membership in the *sangha* of a *baha* and he performs his priestly functions outside of the *baha.*

Sakyas are divided into four categories, a division based solely on what kind of a *baha* they belong to, i. e., where they were initiated. The distinction has no further implications at the present time. They are not considered higher or lower from the viewpoint of caste, nor is their any difference in the initiation rite of the various categories. In fact, at present, the distinction means so little that many Sakyas, especially in Kathmandu, are ignorant of the distinctions. The categories are as follows:

1. Sakya Vamsa (also called Sakya Bhiksu)—these are initiated members of one of the eighteen principal *bahas* of Kathmandu or Patan.

2. Sakha Sakya—those who are attached to one of the *sakhas,* or daughter houses of the eighteen *bahas.* This is something of an anomaly as they can be rightly considered Sakya Vamsa since they are members of the *sangha* of the principal *baha* to which their *sakha* is attached.

3. Brahmacarya Sakya (also known as Brahmacarya Bhiksu)—these are initiated members of one of the *bahis.*

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mandu. Some of the Sakyas sided with the Udaya against the Vajracaryas and, to assert their independence, set up a separate group within such *bahas.* This happened at Jana Baha for a period of one year (1959–60). The Sakyas recognized the eldest Sakya as their *thakali* and, whenever common functions or feasts occurred they performed their own rites separate from the Vajracaryas and had their feast separately. Within the year the Sakya *thakali* died, and this was taken to be a clear sign of the disfavour of the gods towards the new arrangement. From the next year they joined with the Vajracaryas as before. I know of only one *baha* which has two such separate *sanghas* at the present, and that is the Prasannasila Mahavihara in Bhaktapur. In Patan each mixed *baha* has an Acarya Guthi, as mentioned above, but this is something separate from the *sangha guthi.* The Vajracaryas recognize the eldest member of the *baha* as the *thakali* of the *baha sangha* whether he is a Sakya or a Vajracarya.

4. Cailaka Sakya—these are Sakyas who are initiated before a *caitya* and not in a *baha*. There seem to be very few of these. The only ones I have been able to identify in Kathmandu are the eighteen families referred to by Rosser who are initiated in front of the Swayambhu Caitya.[24] They are also known by the name of Bauddhacarya because, according to my informants, they also are given an initiation like the *aca luyegu* which empowers them to act as priests, though they are not permitted to have *jajmans*. In practice this means that they can perform priestly functions only within their own families. There are a few small groups of these Cailaka Sakyas in Patan. One of the places where they are initiated is at a *caitya* behind Kwa Baha. They seem to form a sub-group within the *sangha* of Kwa Baha, for they are registered as members of the *sangha* of Kwa Baha, but do not act as attendants in the temple, and they have their own ceremonies before the *caitya* and their own *guthi* organization.[25]

As mentioned above, there are eighteen principal *bahas* in Kathmandu and in Patan. This fact is acknowledged by everyone, but in

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24. Rosser p. 126 footnote 19. The word *cailaka* is derived from *cela*, and was used in India to signify a monk and especially a monk who wore no more than a loin cloth. See Franklin Edgerton *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, 2 vols. (Delhi, 1972.) 2: 233. Many of these terms relate to common terms used for the Buddhist monks in India. One early Pali name for the Buddhist monk was "*sakkaputtiya samana*," i. e. "the monks of the son of the Sakya Clan." Sakyabhiksu was a common later term for the Buddhist monks.

25. Hemraj Sakya lists a further division of Sakyas known as the Sravenera or Sramanera. He cites as his authority for this division a sixteenth century copperplate inscription at the Manjusrinaka Mahavihara. This seems to be the only instance of the name occuring and it is entirely unknown at the present time. Hemraj Sakya, *Mayurvarna Mahavihara* (Patan 2517, Buddha Sambat), p. 55. According to I-tsing "*Sramanera* is to be interpreted 'one who seeks rest,' meaning, 'one who wishes to enter nirvana, the complete rest. " I-tsing, p. 96. The term was used as a title for a tonsured novice, i. e. one who had undergone the first initiation (*pravrajya*) and who was bound by the ten rules of discipline, but not by the more elaborate rules of the full monk. After further instruction he would receive the full ordination (*upasampada*) and then be known as *bhiksu*. Ibid. p. 96-7 and 104.

what sense are they the principal *bahas* ? They are not necessarily the oldest foundations; most people claim that the *bhais* are older than the *bahas* and though this statement can be challenged, certainly the *bhais* are older than some of the *bahas*.[26] They are not principal in the sense that they have the largest *sanghas*. According to Rosser's survey taken in 1957 one of the principal *bahas* of Kathmandu Eku (or Iku) Baha had only ten initiated members and Gana Baha had only eleven.[27] Te Baha had only eighteen members and three of the others had only twenty–five membrs. Many of the *bahis* and *kacca bahas* have larger *sanghas*. In Patan the largest *sangha*, with over 2,000 initiated members is that of Kwa Baha, the most important of the eighteen principal *bahas*. On the other hand, Tanga Baha, the home of Minnath, has a *sangha* of only nineteen initiated members; and Cuka Baha has no *sangha* at all, the prescribed rituals being performed by membrs of the Kwa Baha *sangha*. Many of the *bahis* have large *sanghas*. According to Allen's survey two of the *bahi sanghas* contain 25% of the total Bare population of Patan.[28] These *bahas*, then, are not principal in the sense that they are the oldest foundations or in the sense that they have the largest *sanghas*. They are principal because the Vajracaryas are all members of these *bahas*. There are no Vajracaryas in *kacca bahas or bahis*. In the present state of Newar Buddhism with its emphasis on ritual, the Vajracaryas have the dominant position in the community due to their exclusive right to perform the principal rituals. This is clearest in Kathmandu where the eighteen *bahas* are organised into a tightly-knit organization which controls the performanee of ritual and thereby exercises a considerable control over the entire Buddhist community.

**The Acarya Guthi of Kathmandu.**

As is evident from the accompanying chart, all of the *sanghas* of the eighteen principal *bahas* of Kathmandu have Vajracarya members and most of them have *sanghas* composed exclusively of Vajracaryas.

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26. Wright's chronicle speaks of four *bahas* founded in the time of Siddhinarasimha Malla (1619–61) and of several *bhahis* which were much older, some of them abandoned. Wright, p. 235–6.
27. Rosser, p. 127.
28. Allen, p. 6.

All of the Vajracaryas of Kathmandu belong to an overall Vajracarya association known as the Acarya Guthi whose principal shrine is the cave-like *agam* below the main *stupa* at Swayambhunath known as Santipur. This association meets once a year on the eighth day of the dark half of the month of Caitra, the day the first Vajracarya of Kathmandu is said to have been initiated. At present the annual meeting is not much more that a social event, a common *puja* and a feast. Until very recently, though, this was a business meeting vital to the interests of the Vajracarya community and their dominant position is the Buddhist community.

The importance of this association lay in the fact that all Vajracaryas belonged to it and accepted the regulation by its elders of their priestly functions. The association is presided over by a council of eighteen men, the *thakalis* of each of the *bahas,* or in the case of a mixed *baha,* the eldest Vajracarya member of the *sangha.* Formerly the Acarya Guthi protected and enforced the *jajmani* rights of all of the priests and regulated all matters pertaining to the performance of ritual as well as inter-caste relationships. At the annual meeting the council of elders would review any reports it had received of its members violating the regulations and would pass judgment. If any member had abused his powers, peformed unaurthorised rites, encroached on somebody else's territory, failed to perform his functions as a Vajracarya when called by his *jajmans,* etc., he would be called to task by the council and suitably punished. The greatest punishment was to deprive the offender of his right to act as a Vajracarya priest. This would mean that the man could no longer be recognised as a priest, that he would lose his source of income, and that the council would not permit his sons to receive the *aca luyegu.* The council would also pass on cases involving violations of caste regulations, especially violations of commensality and endogamy. It is precisely this function which drew the Acarya Guthi into the protracted dispute with the Udaya over the question of commensality. The result of the dispute was to considerably weaken the effective control of the Acarya Guthi over the functions of its own members.[29]

29. Rosser, p. 105–124.

The Acarya Guthi was also responsible for standardizing ritual and providing ritual texts for its members. For this reason there is greater uniformity in the performance of ritual in Kathmandu than in Patan, and the Vajracaryas of Kathmandu are recognized by their confreres in Patan and Bhaktapur as experts in the performance of the ritual. From a religious and social point of view the most vital service provided to the Buddhist community by the Bare, has, for some time, been the priestly services of the Vajracaryas. They are needed for caste initiations, marriages, worship of the family deity, and all principal *pujas* whether performed in the home or in the *baha*. Hence the dominant position of the Acarya Guthi and the common acceptance of their *bahas* as the eighteen "principal *bahas*."

The origin of this Acarya Guthi is explained by a story given to me by several informants with slight variations. All the Vajracaryas of Kathmandu claim ritual descent from one Santrikar Acarya. [30] According to tradition he was the first man to receive the *diksa* ("initiation") of a Vajracarya in the Valley of Nepal. He was initiated in a cave at Swayambhu and later erected five temples around the *stupa* to five deities: Prithivi, Tej, Vayu, Akasa, Ava, all of which remain today. In the shrine to Akasa, known as Akasapur, he erected a life-sized image of Heruka-cakrasamvara and his consort Vajravarahai, and consecrated the shrine as an *agam* for the worship of tantric deities. Here he performed the tantric initiations of those wishing to become Vajracaryas.

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30. Santikar is said to have been a prince named Pracanda Deva from the kingdom of Gaud, an important city in medieval Bengal and an important centre of tantrism. Santikar is his initiation name. He is said to have received his initiation from one Gunakara Acarya, who was a *siddha* and had thus by his own yoga attained all the powers of a Vajracarya. The story of Santikar is contained in the *Svayambhu Purana* which relates his conversion and his setting up of the five temples, but says nothing about his connection with the Vajracaryas of Kathmandu. The *Bhasa Vamsavali* also recounts the story of Pracanda Deva coming from Guada, settling at Swayambhu and receiving his initiation as a *bhiksu* from Gunakara, after which he built the five shrines and covered the *caitya*. This account, which is placed in the time of the king Vrisadeva makes no mention of a tantric initiation. Nayanath Paudal, ed. *Bhasa Vamsavali, Part* 1 (Kathmandu, 2020 B. S.), p. 56–7.

The Acarya Guthi—The Eighteen Principal Bahas of Kathmandu

| Newari Name | Sanskrit Name | Legendary Patron | Section of City | Sangha Membership |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Kwa Baha | Maitripura Mahavihara | Vakvajra | Suvarnapranali | Vajracarya |
| 2. Jhwa Baha | Ratnaketu Mahavihara | Vakvajra | Suvarnapranali | Vajracarya |
| 3. Dhwaka Baha | Henakara Mahavihara | Vakvajra | Suvarnapranali | Vajracarya |
| 4. Gam Baha (Ghanti Baha) | Hemavarna Mahavihara | Vakvajra | Suvarnapranali | Vajracarya |
| 5. Ta : Chen Baha | Suratasri Mahavihara | Suratavajra | Kantipur | Vajracarya |
| 6. Jana Baha | Kanakacaitya Mahavihara | Suratavajra | Kantipur | Vajracarya & Sakya |
| 7. Mu Baha | Mulasri Mahavihara | Suratavajra | Kantipur | Vajracarya |
| 8. Saval Baha | Sasvata Mahavihara (Mantrasiddhi Mahavihara) | Suratavajra | Kantipur | Vajracarya & Sakya |
| 9. Itum Baha | Kesacandra Paravata Mahavihara | Suratavajra | Kantipur | Vajracarya & Sakya |
| 10. Makham Baha | Ratnakirti Mahavihara | Suratavajra | Kantipur | Vajracarya & Sakya |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11. Te Baha | Rajakirti Mahavihara | Suratavajra | Kantipur | Vajracarya |
| 12. Sikhamu Baha (Sri Khanda Baha) | Torumula Mahavihara | Lilavajra | Kasthamandapa | Vajracarya |
| 13. Yata Baha | Kritipunya Bhuvanasundara M. | Manjuvajra | Kasthamandapa | Vajracarya |
| 14. Om Baha | Brahmacakra Mahavihara (Sada Mahavihara) | Manjuvajra | Kasthamandapa | Vajracarya |
| 15. Iku Baha | Vajrasila Mahavihara | Manjuvajra | Kasthamandapa | Vajracarya |
| 16. Lagam Baha | Kirtipunyavajradhatucaitya M. | Manjuvajra | Kasthamandapa | Vajracarya & Sakya |
| 17. Mikha Baha | Munisimha Mahavihara | Manjuvajra | Kasthamandapa | Vajracarya |
| 18. Musum Baha | Manisangha Mahavihara | Manjuvajra | Kasthamandapa | Vajracarya |

Later, the shrine was renamed Santipur in his honour. According to tradition he originally initiated anyone irrespective of caste, as long as the candidate had the inclination and was willing to undertake the study and yogic training necessary to qualify for the initiation. As time went on, and caste restrictions became more rigid, those who had been initiated were classed as a higher sub-caste of the Bare, and it became the rule to intiate only the sons of Vajracaryas. Those who were so initiated all became members of the *sangha* of the *agam* of Santipur.[31]

Later four *bahas* were built in the city of Kathmandu and put under the patronage of four of Santikar's early disciples: Vakvajra, Suratavajra, Lilavavjra, and Manjuvajra. As membership increased daughter houses, recognized as full-fledged *bahas,* were founded; and in this way the eighteen *bahas* are considered to be offshoots of these original four foundations. At some point in the development, the number became fixed at eighteen, and further foundations were considered to be *sakhas* of one of the eighteen rather than full-fledged *bahas.* According to informants the story is confirmed by the fact that three *guthis* still exist, one each comprising the *bahas* of Vakvajra, and Suratavajra, and one for those of Manjuvajra and the *baha* of Lilavajra.

The city of Kathmandu was considered to be divided into three sections at that time: Suvaranapranali, which extended from the nothern wall of the city to the fish image set into the pavement of Asan Tole; Kantipur, from Asan Tole to the Lion Gate in Makhan Tole, and Kasthamandapa, from Makhan Tole to the southern wall.[32] It will

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31. My informants are not agreed on whether or not the Acarya Guthi should be called a *sangha.* Some claim that it is indeed a *sangha* as is evident from the Newari name "The Sangha of the Eighteen Bahas" and from the fact that the newly initiated are registerèd just as they are in a *baha.* Others say that it is not a *sangha* as they are not initiated into a *baha.* Santipur is an *agam,* not a *baha.* The Newari term should be translated "The Sanghas of the Eighteen Bahas,"and the only collective term used is the "Acarya Guthi." In any case it functions like the *sangha* of a *baha* in its relationship with its membrs.

32. The fish can still be seen set into the pavement in Asan Tole in front of the Annapurna temple. The two lions forming the "Lion Gate" are in Makhan Tole directly in front of the photo shop. The

be seen from the chart that the *bahas* of Vakvajra are in Suvarnapranali, those of Suratavajra in Kantipur, and those of Manjuvajra plus the one of Lilavajra in Kasthamandapa. The members of the *sanghas* of these *bahas* received their Bare initiation in the *baha* and were counted as members of that *baha*. After their Bare initiation, though, the sons of Vajracaryas went to Santipur to be initiated as members of the *agam sangha* of Santipur, or the Acarya Guthi.

As time went on they began to perform Vajracarya initiations in the *bahas* in the city. However, they were, and still are, considered to initiations into the *agam sangha* of Santipur. The *aca luyegu* ("making of the *acarya*") is performed not by the priest of the baha *sangha* or the boys' family priest but by the eldest Vajracarya of the *baha sangha* in the name of the Thakali of Santipur; and the five eldest Vajracaryas of the given area of the city come as official witnesses to the initiation of the boy into one of the original three *guthis*. Thus, at the Vajracarya initiation conducted at Jana Baha in 1975, the five eldest Vajracaryas from Kantipur came to witness the ceremony and to register the new Vajracaryas as members of the *guthi* of Suratavajra. At the annual gathering of the Vajracaryas at Santipur the boys initiated within the past year in their own *bahas* are officially received into the Acarya Guthi or Santipur Sangha by the Thakali when they present betel nuts and money to him. How much of this account is historical, and how much of its is a myth to give a religious base to the dominant positon and, what Rosser calls the "closed shop," of the Acarya Guthi, it is impossible to say at present.

The "Fifteen" Bahas of Patan

In Patan the situation is somewhat different. There is no overall organization of Vajracaryas such as there is in Kathmandu. Furthermore, as can be seen from the accompanying chart of the *bahas* of Patan, only nine have Vajracarya members and only two have exclusively Vajracarya *sanghas*. According to Allen's survey, the Vajracaryas consititute only 15% (590 out of 3,858) of the total membership of these

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Newari names for these three divisions of the city are: Thatupuin, Dathupuin, and Kothupuin respectively.

principal *bahas*.[33] Yet their dominant position is assured, as in Kathmandu, by the fact that they are needed to perform the life cycle rites and other rituals. Furthermore, the traditions of the Bare in Patan and the chronicle accounts attribute the official postition of the *bahas* to the arrangements made by Siddhinarasimha Malla. The reason for selecting these fifteen *bahas* and their *sakhas* as "official" seems to have been the fact that they all willingly accepted the ministrations of Vajracarya priests.

The priestly activity of the Patan Vajracaryas is regulated by a set of rules of conduct supposedly drawn up by one Tathagata Vajra of Kwa Baha who made arrangements for ritual texts and the teaching of ritual to Vajracaryas in Patan. He set up a *guthi* for the continuation of this work, and though the *guthi* is now defunct, the rules are still followed. In addition to this there is an acarya *guthi* at each of the *bahas* where there are Vajracaryas, which regulates affairs for the Vajracarya members of that *baha*, the Thakali being the eldest Vajracarya of the *baha*.[34] These *guthis* have an annual meeting at which they perform a *puja* of Vajrasattva and have a feast. Formerly these too were business meetings to regulate the conduct of the members of the *guthi*.

Vajracaryas in Kathmandu have told me that those of Patan and Bhaktapur were once connected to the *agam* of Santipur but broke away when the three cities became separate kingdoms. As proof of this they say that there are a number of ornaments and utensils within the Santipur shrine offered by Vajracaryas of Patan and Bhaktapur before the split of the original Malla kingdom. At present Vajracaryas of Patan and Bhaktapur have no connection with Santipur and are never permitted within the shrine. This claim has been denied by Vajracaryas in Patan who claim that they were always a separate group. However, they do ascribe the present arrangement in Patan to the king Siddhinarasimha

33. Allen, p. 8.
34. See Rosser, p. 119. This would mean nine such *guthis*. Rosser speaks of only seven but does not list the seven *bahas*. Allen lists only seven *bahas* in Patan with Vajracaryas, omitting Om Baha and Bhince Baha. Allen, p. 8. However, both of these *bahas* definitely have Vajracaryas.

Malla (1619–1661) who was in fact the first Malla king of the separate kingdom of Patan. The story they tell accords with the account given in Wright's chronicle. According to the chronicle, twelve of the present *bahas* existed before the reign of Siddhinarasimha. Three new ones were set up during his reign, namely Om Baha, Jo Baha, and Dhum Baha. In an effort to organize the religious life of the Buddhists, the king called together the leaders of these fifteen *bahas* and made rules for their guidance. Then, because the *bahas* in Chobhar and Kirtipur fell within his jurisdiction they were amalgamated to the fifteen. An eighteenth Baha, Si Baha, was founded later but not amalgamated to the fifteen and not given a *guthi*, because it was founded after the rules were promulgated.[35] As time went on, though, it came to be recognized as one of the principal *bahas*, and this explains the confusion of numbers, for to this day the eighteen are called "The Fifteen Bahas."

It would seem that the position of the Vajracaryas in Patan was never as strong as that of their confreres in Kathmandu. They are not so numerous and many of the principal *bahas* have no Vajracayas. A very large percentage of the Patan Bare belong to the *bahis* and take pride in the fact that they have no Vajracaryas in their *sanghas*.[36] In fact, they are not even required to use the services of the Vajracaryas for *bahi* initiations. Naka Bahi has the right to have one of its Sakya members ordained a priest to serve as the priest for all of the *bahis*. This man has the right to act as a priest in all of the *bahis* for the performance of initiations and other rites. However, he is not permitted to act as a priest outside of the *bahis*. He may have no other *jajmans;* he is not raised to the caste of Vajracarya; and his sons have no right to the *aca luyegu*. When he dies another man from the same *bahi*, usually the son or brother of the deceased, is initiated to carry on this work. Bahi members do call other Vajracaryas to perform rites in their homes or other occasional *pujas*, but they take pride in the fact that, as a *sangha*, they are independent from the Vajracaryas.

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35. Wright, p. 234–5.
36. Hemaraj Sakya gives a list of 32 *bahis* in Patan at the present time. Hemaraj Sakya, *Puco Chagu Adhyayana* (Patan, 2033 B.S.), p. 14. I have obtained two other lists of *bahis* in Patan, one of twenty-five and another of fourteen, but there is so little agreement among the three lists that I omit them here.

The "Fifteen" Principal Bahas of Patan

| Newari Name | Sanskrit Name | Legendary Founder | Kwapa-dya: | Sangha Membership |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Kwa Baha (Kwata Baha) | Hiranyavarna Mahavihara | Bhaskaradeva | Sakyamuni Buddha | Vajracarya & Sakya |
| 2. Dhum Baha | Gunalaksmi Mahavihara | Gunalaksmi | Sakyamuni Buddha | Vajracarya |
| 3. Wam Baha (Om Baha) | Vajrakirti Mahavihara | Sunayadharma | Sakyamuni Buddha | Vajracarya & Sakya |
| 4. Jyo Baha | Jesthavarna Mahavihara | Rudradevananga Pala | Sakyamuni Buddha | Sakya |
| 5. Yacchu Baha | Gupta Mahavihara | Baladhara Gupta | Sakyamuni Buddha | Sakya |
| 6. Su Baha (Sau Baha) | Jayamanohara Mahavihara | Indradeva | Sakyamuni Buddha | Sakya |
| 7. Bhinche Baha | Mayurvarna Mahavihara | Sankaradeva | Sakyamuni Buddha | Vajracarya & Sakya |
| 8. Oku Baha | Rudravarna Unkali Mahavihara | Sivadeva Varma | Sakyamuni Buddha | Sakya |
| 9. Guji Baha | Vaisravarna Mahavihara | Divya Divakara | Sakyamuni Buddha | Sakya |
| 10. Tanga Baha | Jesthavarna Mahavihara | Yampi Balarcana | Jatadhari Lokesvara | Sakya |
| 11. Cuka Baha | Sri Candravarna Mahavihara | Manadeva | Sakyamuni Buddha[1] | No Sangha[2] |
| 12. Ta: Baha | Dharmakirti Mahavihara | Bhuvanakara Varma | Sakyamuni Buddha | Vajracaraya |
| 13. Dau Baha | Sri Dattanama Mahavihara | Rudradeva Gargagotra Varma | Sakyamuni Buddha | Vajracarya & Sakya |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 14. **Ha: Baha** | Ratnakara Mahavihara | Laksmi Kalyana Varma | Sakyamuni Buddha | Vajracarya & Sakya |
| 15. **Bu Baha** | Yasodharabrahmanama Mahavihara | Vidyadharabrahmana | Sakyamuni Buddha | Vajracarya & Sakya |
| 16. Si Baha | Sri Vatsanama Mahavihara | Sri Vatsa | Sakyamuni Buddha | Sakya |
| 17. Kyapu Baha (in Kirtipur) | Padmakasthagiri Mahavihara | Jagatpala Varma | Sakyamuni Buddha | Vajracarya & Sakya |
| 18. Co Baha | Kacchapalagiri Mahavihara | Jagatpala Varma | Anandadi Lokesvara | Sakya |
| Buga Baha[3] (Bungamati) | Amaravatinama Vihara | Narendradeva | Padmapani Lokesvara (Bunga-dya:--Rato Mastyendranath) | Vajracarya & Sakya |

1 According to several informants in Patan, the Kwapa-dya: of Cuka Baha and Si Baha are both Ratnapani Lokesvara. Hemaraj Sakya gives both as Sakyamuni Buddha. They are commonly thought to be Lokesvara because both of these images are standing images and there is a general impression that all standing images are of *bodhisattvas*. Hemaraj Sakya has assured me that this is not the case. He has inspected both of these images when they were uncovered and they are clearly Sakyamuni. (See Sakya, *Mayurvarna Mahavihara* p. 65.)

2 The *sangha* of Cuka Baha has died out completely. There are Vajracaryas living in the *baha* compound at present and they perform the daily services of the Kwapa-dya:, but they are members of the *sangha* of Kwa Baha.

3 The Baha at Bungamati, the home of Bunga-dya:, is completely separate and not counted among the principal *bahas* of either Patan or Kathmandu.

In this connection it is interesting to note that Wright's chronicle says that Siddhinarasimha imposed the use of Vajracarya priests from Dhum Baha on the families attached to Yampi Bihar (called I Bahi or Yampi Bahi today), because he demanded that they perform the *homa* sacrifice to remove death pollution and this could only be performed by a "*grihastha* Acharya" (i. e., a Vajracarya). The king then found that there were altogether twenty-five *nirbanik viharas* (*bahis*) under his jurisdiction.[37] He amalgamated fifteen of these to the "fifteen" principal *bahas* and made special rules for the remaining ten, because they failed to come to the meeting he called to arrange the amalgamation.[38] If this account is at all accurate, it tends to confirm the general tradition that much of the present arrangement is due to the imposition of caste regulations and traditions by Jayasthiti Malla and his heirs. Though Patan was the seat of government in the days of the early Malla kings and those who preceded them, Jayasthiti Malla and his heirs ruled from Bhaktapur. Siddhinarasimha was the first of Jayasthiti's dynasty to reside in Patan. Before his coming, the inhabitants of the *bahis*, the so-called *brahmacarya bhiksus*, seem to have been free from many of these restrictions and truer to traditional Buddhist customs, despite the fact that they were married *bhiksus*, They performed whatever rituals they felt necessary themselves and did not make use of the Vajracarya priests. The regulations promulgated by Siddhinarasimha imposed the ministrations of the Vajracaryas on these communities and consequently brought their *bahis* under the influence of the eighteen *bahas* associated with the Vajracaryas. It would seem then that the "fifteen" were given official recognition, because they accepted the ministrations

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37. Wright, p. 236. Wright explains the term *nirbanik as* "a *baha* containing monks who do not marry." Later writers have claimed, on the basis of this, that there were celibate monks in Patan up to the time of Siddhinarasimha. The terms does in fact mean this, but so does *brahmacarya bhiksu*, the term the members of the *bahi sanghas* are still known by. Wright's chronicle is not clear. It says that Siddhinarasimha settled some *bhiksus* in abandoned monasteries and then says that they "began to have families." However, on the same page the author implies that the inhabitants were families before being settled. P. 236. Little can be inferred from the word *nirbanik* itself, and according to tradition, celibate monks had ceased to exist long before the middle of the seventeenth century.
38. Ibid.

of the Vajracarya priests who could perform the rituals considered essential by the king.

**The Bahas of Bhaktapur**

Bhaktapur is considered to be much more of a Hindu city than Patan or Kathmandu, and this is borne out by the state of the *bahas* and their *sanghas* in Bhaktapur. It is difficult even to determine the number of *bahas* in Bhaktapur. Several writers have spoken of only eight to twelve extant *bahas* in Bhaktapur, and their lists differ widely. To get some reliable information on the *bahas* of Bhaktapur I engaged the services of an old Sakya who claimed to know all of the *bahas* to give me a tour of them. The tentative list which follows is the result of that tour. It is tentative, because I cannot be sure that it really includes all of the *bahas*. All that I can say is that these eighteen *bahas* and two *bahis* still exist and are functioning as active shrines.

Nearly all of the *bahas* are in a semi-ruined state, two of them consisting of nothing more than a Buddhist image. Several factors account for this. It is not that the Buddhists of Bhaktapur consist of a tiny minority. Though proportionately there are fewer Bare than in Patan or Kathmandu, there are 209 households of Bare as opposed to only twenty-six households of Newar Brahmans and twenty-one of non-Newar Brahmans.[39] Of the entire population, all of the Bare and nearly all of the Jyapus still use Vajracarya priests. These alone constitute 55% of the population. In addition to this, several of the occupational castes still use Vajracarya priests. The present state of the *bahas* seems to be primarily due to two factors. The first is the devastation wreaked on Bhaktapur by the earthquakes of 1833 and 1934.[40] Both of these disasters seem to have hit Bhaktapur much

39. These figures are based on the survey contained in Gutschow and Kolver, p. 56–58.

40. The following is an excerpt from a letter of Dr. Campbell, resident physician at the British Residency at the time of the earthquake of August 1833: "The places east of Kathmandu, have suffered most. Bhatgaon, a large town, has been almost entirely destroyed; upwards of 1,000 houses have been levelled with the ground, and few have escaped serious injury; 300 souls have perished in this town alone." "A Century-old Catastrophy, Bihar's night of Terror 100 years ago," in *The Statesman Record of the Great Indian Earth-*

Tentative List of the Bahas of Bhaktapur

| Name | Location | Sangha | Kwapa-dya: |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Jesthavarna Mahavihara | Itchen Tole | Vajracarya | Padmapani Lokesvara (Red Matsyendranath) |
| 2. Jesthavarna Mahavihara | Tekhaco Tole | Sakya | Standing Buddha image |
| 3. Akhanda Sila Mahavihara (Akhan Baha) | Bolachen Tole | Sakya | Buddha in Bhumisparsa Mudra |
| 4. Lumbavarna Mahavihara (Bhimsen Than) | Nukhal Dhoka | Sakya | Buddha in Dhyana Mudra |
| 5. Caturvarna Mahavihara (Caturbrahma Mahavihara) (Tadhun Chen Baha) | Golmadhi Tole | Sakya | Buddha in Dhyana Mudra |
| 6. Indravarna Mahavihara (Inaco Baha) | Inaco Tole | Sakya | Buddha in Bhumisparsa Mudra |
| 7. Munivarna Mahavihara (formerly: Dharma-urttha M.) (Muni Baha) | Ka:cha:Tole | Sakya | Buddha in Dhyana Mudra |
| 8. Adipadma Mahavihara (Ton Baha) | Surya Madhi Tole | Sakya | Buddha figure |
| 9. Bhiksu Vihara | Kwathandu Tole | Sakya | Padmapani Lokesvara |
| 10. Prasannasila Mahavihara (Aju-dya:ya Baha) | Kwathandu Tole | Vajracarya & Sakya | Sukhavati Lokesvara |

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| 11. Caturvarna Mahavihara | Darvar Tole | Vajracarya | Padmapani Lokesvara |
| 12. Manjuvarna Mahavihara (Om Baha) | Baikal Tole | Sakya | Mahavairocana |
| 13. Jesthavarna Mahavihara | Itachen Tole | Sakya | Standing Buddha in Abhaya Mudra |

Sakha Bahas

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Jesthavarna Mahavihara (Ka:ma: Baha) | Itachen Tole | Sakha of No. 2 above |
| 2. Yangalavarna Mahavihara | Kwathandu Tole | Sakha of Prasannasila M. |
| 3. Prasannasila Mahavihara (Dya: nyone Baha) | Kwathandu Tole | Sakha of Prasannasila M. |
| 4. Suvarnacaitya Vihara | Baikal Tole | Sakha of Prasannasila M. |
| 5. Adi Buddha Vihara (Dipandkara Baha, Dya-nani Baha) | Kwathandu Tole | Sakha of Prasanna Sila M. and home of the Bhaktapur Royal Kumari |

Bahis

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Jayakirti Mahavihara (Thatthu Bahi) | Itachen Tole | No Sangha |
| 2. Jesthavarna Mahavihara (Kawathu Bahi) | Itachen Tole | No Sangha |

harder than the other two cities. The second factor is that nearly all of the Buddhist laity are drawn from the agricultural community which is not wealthy. In Kathmandu the Buddhist shrines have been kept in good repair by the generous benefactions of the wealthy traders (the Uday) and the Manandhars. There is only one Udaya (Tuladhar) family in Bhaktapur, and the Manandhars of Bhaktapur have not attained the economic and social status of their confreres in Kathmandu. The Buddhist community simply did not have the means to repair these shrines after the earthquakes. How much of the present status of these shrines, and the community in general, is due to the fact that Bhaktapur was the capital and centre of power of the strongly Hindu dynasty of Jayasthiti Malla, it is impossible to say at the present state of knowledge, but it is undoubtedly a factor.

The Bare community also seems to lack the organization and structure found in Kathmandu and Patan. There are no *bahas* considered to be the principal or official ones. There is no overall organization of Vajracaryas such as the Acarya Guthi of Kathmandu. Each *baha* has its own *guthi,* and in the *bahas* where there are Vajracaryas, they have an Acarya Guthi as in Patan. According to informants, the Prasannasila Mahavihara has two *sanghas,* one Sakya and one Vajracarya each with its own Thakali. If this is correct, it is the only such arrangment I know of in the valley at the present time. The feasts and festivals observed by the Bare of Bhaktapur are of minor and local importance, none of them assuming the city-wide importance of the festivals of Red and White Matsyendranath in Patan and Kathmandu. The only Buddhist institution which has a city-wide importance is the worship of the Bhaktapur Kumari, who is always a Sakya from Adibuddha Vihara.

The best preserved of the Bhaktapur Bahas and the only one to retain the characteristic style of a *baha* is the Caturvarna Mahavihara

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*quake,* 1934 (Calcutta, 1934), p. 44. According to Gen. Brahma Shamsher's figures, in the earthquake of 1934, 2,359 houses within the city of Bhaktapur were levelled, another 2,263 badly damaged, and 1,425 slightly damaged. 1,163 people within the city of Bhaktapur lost their lives. Brahma Shammsher J. B. Rana, *Nepalko Mahabhukamp* (Kathmandu, 1990 B.S.), p. 130–34.

near the Darbar Square. It also has the largest *sangha*. The most important *baha* appears to be the Prasannasila Mahavihara; and its importance, at the present time, seems to derive from its relation to the Adibuddha Vihara which is one of its *sakhas*. This *baha*, known also as Dipankara Baha and Dya: Nani Baha, houses a popular shrine of Dipankara Buddha and is also the official residence of the royal Kumari of Bhaktapur. This entire shrine complex is currently being renovated with German assistance. Most of the other *bahas* are in a rather sad state of disrepair and consist of nothing more than the shrine of the *kwapadya:*. The Lumbivavarana Mahavihara is now a Hindu shrine of Bhimsen tended by Acajyu priests. The shrine of the *kwapa dya:* was destroyed in the earthquake and the image lost. At the edge of the ruins of the shrine, which stood to the side of the temple of Bhimsen, they have erected a stone image of Buddha in *dhyana mudra*. Before this image they perform the daily *puja* and hold initiations into the *sangha* of the *baha*. The Bhiksu Vihara consists of a small enclosure, about twelve by fifteen feet square, which contains an image of Padmapani Lokesvara out in the open. This is the shrine of the *kwapa dya:* before whom they perform the daily *puja* and hold initiations. The Muni Baha, which was originally founded in 787 N. S. by a Tibetan monk and one Padma Dhoj of Bhaktapur,[41] has recently been completely rebuilt, and a small community of *bhiksus* have taken up residence there. However, the Sakyas attached to the *baha* still perform the daily *puja* at the new shrine and have their initiations there.

The two *bahis* listed are outside of the old city to the west, one north and one south of the road leading to the Darbar. Thathu Bahi is a complete, well-preserved *bahi* complex which now houses a school. Neither of these *bahis* has a *sangha* but the daily *puja* is still performed at the shrines by Sakyas from Jesthavarna Mahavihara in Tekhaco Tole. In addition to these *bahas*, all of which were seen in my tour, my informant originally listed one more *baha*, Samantabhadra Mahavihara, and two *bahis*, Yadhan Bahi and Jaguro Bahi.

**Initiation of the Bare**

As noted above, membership in the *sangha* of a *baha* or a *bahi*

41. Sakya and Vaidya, p. 130–34.

is open to the sons of the members of the *sangha*; actual membership, however, is conferred only at the time the boy is initiated. The initiation must take place in the father's *baha*. If the father belongs to a *bahi*, a *kacca baha*, or one of the principal *bahas* of either Kathmandu or Patan, his sons will be initiated there. If the father belongs to one of the *sakha bahas*, his son will ordinarily be initiated in the main *baha*, not in the *sakha*. There is, however, some confusion on this point among informants I have spoken with and among writers who have treated the question.

I have been regularly assured that initiations can be performed only in one of the eighteen *bahas*. Snellgrove and Allen have both noted the same opinion.[42] However, a distinction must be made between *baha* initiations (Bare Chyuyegu) and Vajracarya intiations (Aca Luyegu). Rosser notes that "though there are altogether seventy-one former monastic compounds or *viharas*...in Kathmandu...the initiation rites for Gubhaju can only be carried out in eighteen of these which are considered the main...*viharas* for this reason."[43] He has correctly limited his remarks to the initiation of Gubhajus (Vajracaryas). There are *bare chyuyegu* initiations in the *kacca bahas* and the *bahis* for the members of those *sanghas*. There are no Vajracarya initiations in either *bahis* or *kacca bahas* for the simple reason that there are no Vajracaryas attached to their *sanghas*.

The confusion arises in regard to the *sakha bahas*. Informants told me that there are neither *baha* initiations nor Vajracarya initiations in the *sakha bahas*. However, in the course of my research I ran across several instances of at least *baha* initiations being performed in *sakha bahas*. In Kathmandu there is a *baha* known as Wasa Dya:. This is a *sakha* of Henakara Mahavihara (Dhawaka Baha). Initiations are regularly performed at Wasa Dya:. Ata Baha near the Asoke Cinema in Patan is a *sakha* of Kwa Baha; initiations have been performed there also. Other examples of initiations performed in the *sakhas* of Kwa Baha have been cited by informants. When such initiations take place,

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42. David Snellgrove, "Shrines and Temples of Nepal," *Arts Asiatique* 8 (1961): 93–120; Allen, p. 7.

43. Rosser, p. 116.

the elders from the principal *baha* come to officiate; and after the ceremony the newly initiated boys are taken to the parent *baha* to be registered and taken into the shrine of the *bvha*. When I went back to my original informants with these examples, they admitted that this is in fact the practice, but that it is deplorable and highly unorthodox. Nobody will sanction such initiations, but they will tolerate them if the elders from the principal *baha* are present and the initiated are registered at the main *baha*. The main reason for such unorthodox initiations seems to be financial. To arrange initiations on a small scale in the *sakha bahas* is cheaper. Another reason is convenience. In some places, like Kwa Baha, there are too many initiations for them all to be conveniently performed at the main *baha*.

The ideal, though, is strictly upheld. Some years ago a group of Sakyas who have lived in Palpa for generations and have returned with their sons regularly to have them initiated at Kwa Baha in Patan where they were initiated, petitioned the elders of Kwa Baha in Patan to set up a branch in Palpa and sanction the performance of intiations there. They are a sizeable community, all attached to Kwa Baha, and they gave as reasons the considerable expense and inconvenience involved in bringing the boys to Patan. After bringing the boys, they would often have to wait for a month or more for an auspicious day on which to perform the initiations. The inconvenience seemed to be their main concern, as they promised to set up a fund for the renovation and upkeep of Kwa Baha with the money they would save and to pay the expenses of the five elders who would have to come to Palpa for the initiations. The elders refused; initiations must be performed in the main *baha*. Finally they threatened to set up their own *baha* anyway and call other priests to perform the initiations or perform them themselves. Sanction was still refused. In the end they did set up their own *baha* and now conduct initiations there, but they have thus been cut off from Kwa Baha. In conclusion, then, Bare initiations are regularly and rightly performed in the eighteen principal *bahas* of Kathmandu and Patan, in the *bahis*, the *kacca bahas* of Kathmandu and before *caityas* (for the *cailaka* Sakyas). They are also performed in the *sakha bahas*, but irregularly. Initiations for the Vajracaryas are ordinarily perfor-

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med only in one of the eighteen principal *bahas* of Kathmandu or Patan. In Bhaktapur Vajracarya initiations are performed in all of the *bahas* which have Vajracarya members.

The age for initiation is about ten years, in any case, before puberty. However, this may vary considerably. Initiation ceremonies are lengthy and expensive; hence, especially in the smaller *bahas*, initiations are held at irregular intervals whenever there are enough candidates to share the expenses. Jana Baha in Kathmandu had an initiation ceremony in February of 1975, the first in ten years. At that ceremony twenty-five boys, ranging in age from six months to eleven years were initiated.[44]

The initiation rite of the Bare, known as the *bare chyuyegu* ("the making of a Bare") is really a capsule recapitualation of their position in the Newar Buddhist community and the history of its development. The ceremonies are spread over a period of four days. About a week before the actual initiation the candidates come to the *baha*, and, after presenting five betel nuts, *pan*, flowers, sandal wood paste, fragrant incense and a lamp to the head of the *sangha*, they formally request the *pravrajya* initiation from him. *Pravrajya* is the Sanskrit term used from ancient times for the first rite of initiation given to a layman wishing to become a Buddhist monk. On the day before the initiation itself, the candidates come again to their *baha*, and in a ceremony that lasts

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44. Locke, "Intitiation Rites", p. 3. The antiquity of this rite is attested to by a palm leaf fragment published by Sakya and Vaidya dated 561 N. S. (1440). The fragment details certain regulations for the conduct of the *bare chyuyegu* (called "*vande chuya*" in the text). It specifies offerings that are to be made on the day when the boy requests initiation and on the day of the initiation itself. Offerings are to be divided into three portions: one for the Buddha (given to the Sthabira, i. e., the Thakali), one portion to the Dharma (given to the Vajracarya performing the rite, who is considered to be the teacher of the *dharma*), and one portion to the Sangha (given to the entire *sangha* of the *baha*). Offerings are also to be made to the Kwapadya: which are given to the *deo pala*. Further offerings are specified for the day of the "laying aside of the monks' robes." Initiations must be performed in childhood and individually; groups must not be initiated as is done at the present time. Sakya and Vaidya, p. 29–31.

most of the afternoon, they are taught to perform the *guru mandala* rite, a basic rite in honour of Vajrasattva that is performed before every Vajrayana *puja* and which they will have to perform on the next day. At the conclusion of the ceremony the *thakali* ties a tuft of hair at the crown of each candidate's head with a cloth containing a particle of gold, or with a gold ring. This is in preparation for the shaving of the head on the following day.

The following day is the day of the *pravrajya,* the main rite of the "making of the Bare". The term *cuda karma* is often popularly used for this rite and is found in some of the ritual texts, but it properly applies to only one part of the ceremony. The terms *upanayana* and *vratabandha* are also popularly used, even by the Bare themselves, but they are not found in the ritual texts, and are obviously used in analogy to the similar Hindu rite.

First the candidates perform the *guru mandala* rite as on the previous day. It must be remembered that many of these candidates are small children or babes in arms, in which case a woman from their household performs the ritual acts with them or for them. The rubrics then specify that a short explanation be given to the candidates of the meaning of the *pravrajya* rite, after which they take refuge in theBuddha, Dharma and Sangha. Finally, the *panca sila* (the five rules of discipline of the Buddhist monk) are read to the candidates. At the conclusion of this the candidates again request initiation, this time from the officiating priest, who may be either the *thakali* of the *baha,* the family priest of the eldest boy being initiated, or, in the case of Jana Baha, the Vajracarya who serves as the priest to the *baha.*

Next the candidates, who sit in a line according to age, are led away from the *puja* area to a barber seated at the edge of the *baha* compound for the *cuda karma.* The barber shaves the head of each boy leaving the top knot (*cuda*) as is done by caste Hindus. Then the boy is presented with a loin cloth. The giving of the loin cloth (*mekhala bandhaha* in Sanskrit; *kayata chuyegu* in Newari) and the shaving of the head except for the top knot is the initiation rite for all of the Buddhist castes exclusive of the Bare. Thus the Bare is first initiated as a householder, recalling the days when it was householders who would

choose to reject their status and become *bhiksus*. This point is underlined in the ritual texts themselves, for at this point the priest or his assistant is told to address the candidates: "As a result of the rites which have been performed you are now householders. It is not too late to change your mind. Do you really want to be *bhiksus*, and why?"[45] The candidates respond that indeed they do want to be *bhiksus* and again request the *pravrajya* rite.

This is followed by the *pravrajya* rite itself, the ordination of a *bhiksu*. The candidates are led by turn to a spot directly in front of the shrine of the *kwapa dya:*. There the *thakali*, the head of the Buddhist *sangha* into which they are being initiated, cuts off the top knot and the loin cloth. Then the five eldest members of the *sangha* and the officiating priest pour sacred water over the candidate's head. The cutting of the top knot and shedding of the loin cloth symbolize the renunciation of the status of householder and the rejection of all caste status by the *bhiksu*.

Following the *pravrajya* proper, the candidates are invested with the robe of a Buddhist *bhiksu*, a red or yellow robe, to which is added two silver bracelets, a pair of ear-rings and a silver necklace. The candidates are then presented with the *bhiksu*'s begging bowl, a staff and a ritual umbrella. The presiding priest then gives each of the candidates a new name saying, "You are now a *bhiksu;* you must not hanker after the life of a householder, a home, or such things. You must lay aside your household name. I will give you a new name, the name of a *bhiksu*."[46] Then the candidates perform the *puja* of the *mandalas* of the three jewels: the Buddha *mandala*, the Dharma *mandala*, the Sangha *mandala*. They then listen to the reading of the *dasa sila* (the ten rules of discipline of the *bhiksu*). The ritual texts then give a prayer to be recited at the conclusion of the investiture: "May all those who have undergone this rite of *pravrajya* in the presence of the Buddha, ever be victorious by the favour of the gods and the power of fire, water, sky, and the vital spirit, as long as Mt. Meru stands, as

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45. Ibid. , p. 8.
46. Ibid., p. 9.

long as the Ganga flows, as long as the earth, the sun, and the moon remain constant."[47]

After the completion of the investiture each of the candidates is handed a golden *kalasa* and led carrying it into the shrine of the *kwapa dya:*, one by one. As an initiated member of the *sangha* he has the right to enter this shrine and the duty to serve as an attendant of the deity (*deo pala*). Only the initiated members of the *sangha* are permitted to enter the shrine of the *kwapa dya:*.

The *bhiksu* must beg his food daily and the next rite is a ceremonial offering of alms to the new *bhisksus*. A low basket is placed in front of each of the *bhiksus* and a procession of people come along to offer unhulled rice (*dhan*) and coins to the *bhiksus*. The first to offer alms to each boy must be his mother's brother, who offers him not only rice but also a tray containing a new set of clothes which he will don four days later. After the mother's brother, all the other guests present alms to the boys. At the conclusion of the almsgiving, some of the rice is taken from each of the *bhiksus* and thrown into the *homa* fire. This is followed by the usual concluding rites of a *puja*.

Finally the *bhiksus* are taken in procession out of the *baha* and round the city. In Kathmandu the procession goes to Hanuman Dhoka where the new *bhiksus* present *pan* and betel nuts to the throne of the king. In the days of the Malla kings this was a form of registration. All Bare initiated in Kathmandu had to be registered, the only caste so required to register.

The boys are now *bhiksus*, and for four days they must live the life of Buddhist monks, though they continue to live at home whether their family has quarters inside of the *baha* or outside. They have to observe the regulations of diet of the monk (only one full meal a day, taken before noon), avoid contact with anything unclean, and keep the ten rules of discipline. They have to go out each morning to beg their food, and for this they must go to the houses of their mother's brothers and their father's sisters. Beyond this they ordinarily go to the houses of any other relatives who call them, usually three or four houses a day.

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47. Ibid., p. 10.

Four days after the *pravraja* rites the young *bhiksus* return to the *baha* for the ceremony of release from their state of monkhood and return to the state of householder. The rite is clled *civara kote vidhi* in Newari, the "rite of laying aside the monk's robe." In Sanskrit it is known as *vratamoksana,* "release from the vows." For this ceremony the boys are taken up into the *agam* of the *baha* where they make the following petition to the officiating priest, "Oh, *guru,* Oh, *upadhyaya,* we find that it is too difficult to spend our whole life like this as *sramanas.*" The priest responds, "If you find it too difficult to live as *sramanas,* then live as householders. If you want heaven (*savarga*) you can obtain it by being a householder, but do not indulge in violence, do not tell lies, do not covet another's wife. If you avoid these things you will obtain heaven."[48] They then lay aside their monks' robes and put on the new set of clothes given them by their mother's brother on the day of the *pravrajya.* Finally they are given a *mantra* of Herukaca-krasamvara.

Allen notes that in Patan the boys are then taken home and introduced to some elementary Vajrayana rituals by their family priest, after which he addresses them along the following lines: "You have gone through Sravakayana (i. e. through Hinayana monasticism) and now come to Mahayana, the greatest of the Buddhist *yanas.* You have participated in some Vajrayana rituals and after going through some higher ordinations you will really know what Chakrasambar is."[49] From the viewpoint of the Vajracarya, the initiated passes through successively higher forms of Buddhism. Starting as a totally unitiated boy, he is first initiated as a householder (*upasaka*), i. e. a Buddhist layman. Then he becomes a Hinayana monk through the *pravajya.* With the "laying aside of the robes" he embraces the Mahayana stage, and, if he is a Vajracarya, he will be further initiated into the mysteries of the Vajrayana, i. e. the adamantine way, the highest and most powerful of the Buddhist ways of attaining enlightenment.[50]

48. Ibid., p. 13.
49. Allen, p. 10.
50. The texts do not use the terms Hinayana or Mahayana, but: Sravakayana, Pratyeka-buddha-yana (both stages of Hinayana) and Bodhi sattva-yana (i. e., Mahayana and Vajrayana).

With the completion of this ceremony the boys are now fully initiated members of the Bare caste. This entitles them to take part in all the *pujas* and *guthi* feasts of their *baha*, and to receive their share of income from the *guthi* fund. When their turn comes round they will be obliged to act as attendants in the shrine of the *kwapa dya:*. If the *sangha* has any other special religious rites such as the *ratha jatra* of Matsyendranath, they will have the right and duty to particpate in these ceremonies. For those who are Vajracaryas, one more day of initiations remains, but for all of the rights and duties mentioned above, there is no differentiation made between Sakya and Vajracarya. They are all equal members of the *sangha* of the *baha*. Even though the *sangha* may be mixed, office and duties within the *sangha* of the *baha* are conferred strictly by seniority of initiation irrespective of whether one is a Sakya or a Vajracarya.

**Initiation of the Vajracarya**

Those boys who are sons of Vajracaryas are taken back to their *baha* on another day for their final initiation. At Jana Baha in 1975 this was done on the day following the laying aside of the monks' robes; informants tell me, though, that it is often done at a later date, especially in Patan, where it is sometimes postponed until after marriage.

The Vajracarya initiation, known in Newari as the *aca luyegu* (the "making of an *acarya*") and in Sanskrit as the *panchaybhiseka* (the "five consecrations") is performed by the eldest Vajracarya of the boy's *baha*.[51]

The initiation consists of five tantric consecrations known as *abhiseka:* the *kalasabhiseka* (water flask consecration), *mukutahiseka* (crown consecration), *vajrabhiseka* (*vajra* or diamond consecration), *ghantabhiseka* (bell consecration), and *guhyabhiseka* (secret consecration.[52] The *kalasa*, ritual crown, *vajra*, and bell are the implements that

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51. The term *pancabhiseka* leads to some confusion. In the ritual texts this term is used only for the *aca luyegu*. However, the pouring of water on the head of the candidate by the five elders during the *pravrajya* rite of the *bare chyuyegu* is often popularly called *pancabhiseka*.

52. *Abhiseka:* "Literally a (purificatory) sprinkling, the basic sense

the Vajracarya needs for his performance of ritual. The secret consecration was originally the consecration of the tantric Yogi with his consort and symbolizes the union of *prajna* and *upaya* (wisdom and means), the female and male principles of Vajrayana philosophy. At present the candidates are presented with a flower garland and shown a picture of Herukacakrasamvara in union with his consort.[53] Following these consecrations the candidates are given a *mantra* of Herukacakrasamvara, different from the one they were given before.[54] They are then

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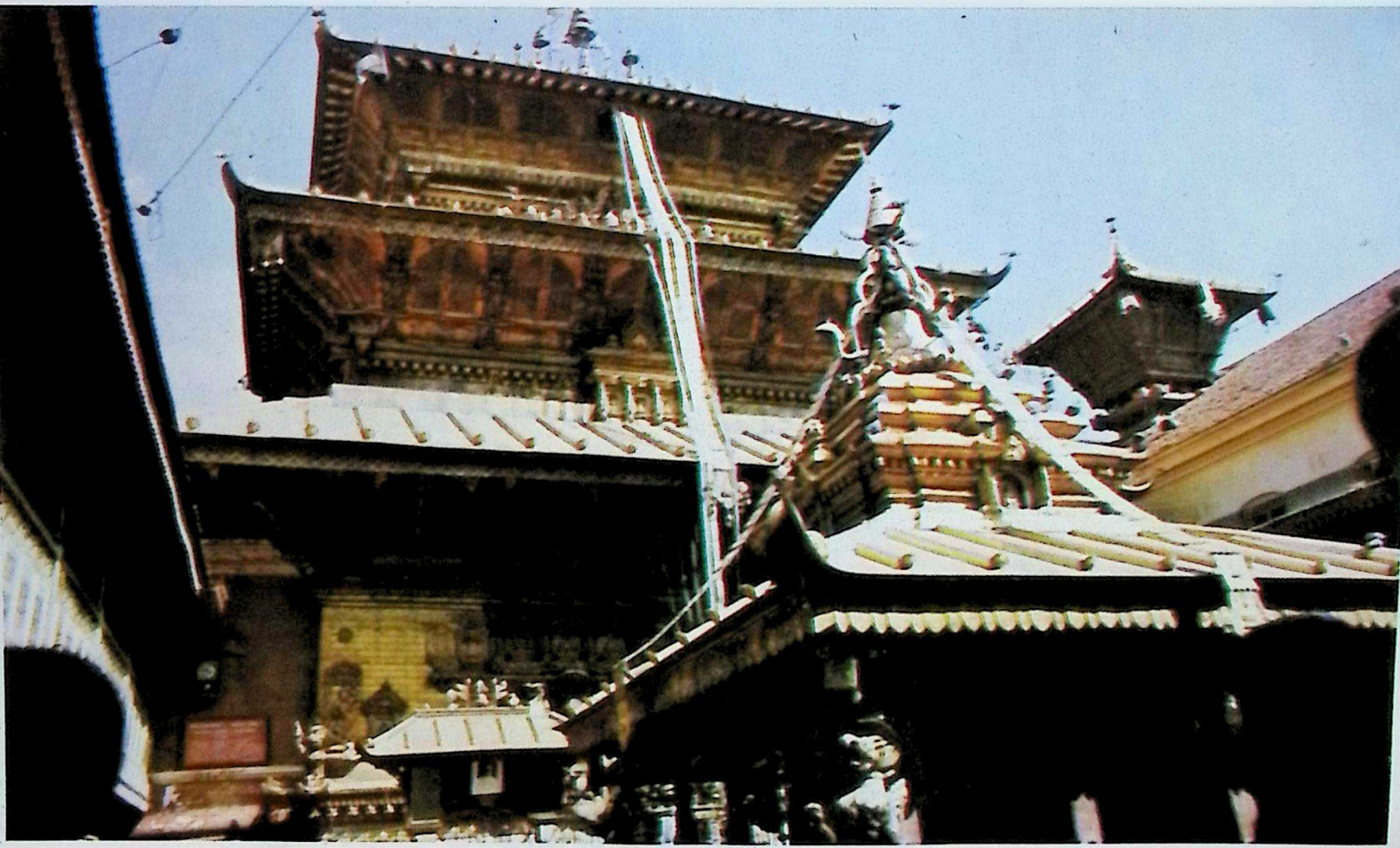
seems to come close to that of a 'baptism'. It has acquired, however, the wider sense of any kind of initiation rite. In the earlier tantric period...it refers primarily to initiation into the mystic significance of the *mandala*. Since there is explicit analogy with the rite of royal consecration, for which the term *abhiseka* is also used, 'consecration' seems to be the most suitable general translation. But the idea of purificatory sprinkling is never lost. 'As externally one washed away exterior dirt with water, so one sprinkles water for the washing away of ignorance; it is thus called a sprinkling'. David Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra,* 2 vols. (Oxford, 1959), 1:131. However *abhiseka* also has the idea of a conferment of power and is thus translated into Tibetan. To the Vajracarya, this is certainly the primary significance of the term.

53. *Guhyabhiseka:* "The secret Consecration is so called, because it is a secret from the *sravakas, pratyekabuddhas* and all those below them. It is a baptism because it washes away impurities of speech, and a consecration because it bestows power in the *sambhogakaya.* The place of the consecration is in the throat, and the agent of the consecration is the *bodhicitta,* the *bindu* which has been experienced by the master." Snellgrove, *Hevajra Tantra,* 1:95. The ritual texts which the Vajracaryas use have combined or confused this consecration and the *prajna* (wisdom) consecration using the two terms interchangeably.

54. The *aca luyegu* is in fact an initiation into the *mandala* of Herukacakrasamvara and his consort Vajravarahi. According to Snellgrove, Heruka is not a single divinity but a type. "He serves as the fierce manifestations of the *buddhas* of the five families by merely changing his colours and his symbols of office. His primary colour, however, is dark blue or black, which he retains even as Buddha-Heruka although the *tathagata*-family is normally white, for since his appearance is universally wrathful, he must show his relationship to the *vajra-family,* whenever his positon is central." David Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himalaya* (Oxford, 1957), p. 206. Tucci gives a complete description of the *mandala* of Heruka and Vajravarahi and

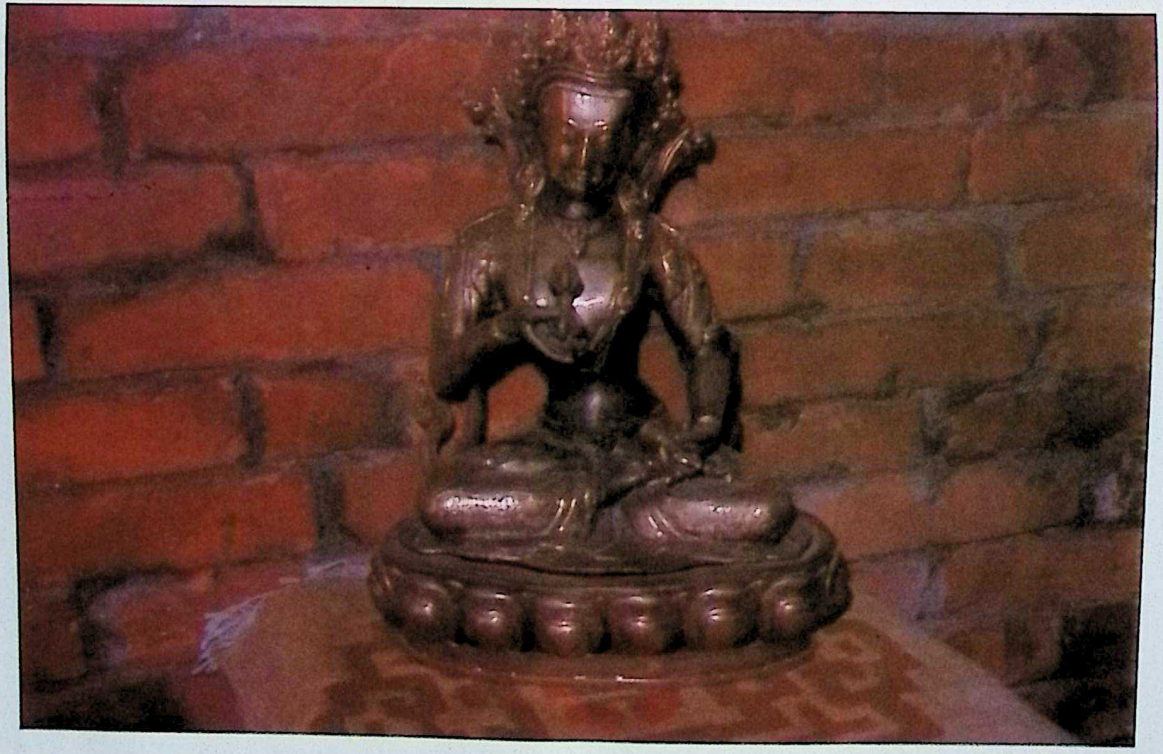


1. Elaborate *baha* complex, Kwa Baha, Patan

2 Baha courtyard and shrine, Ha: Baha, Patan

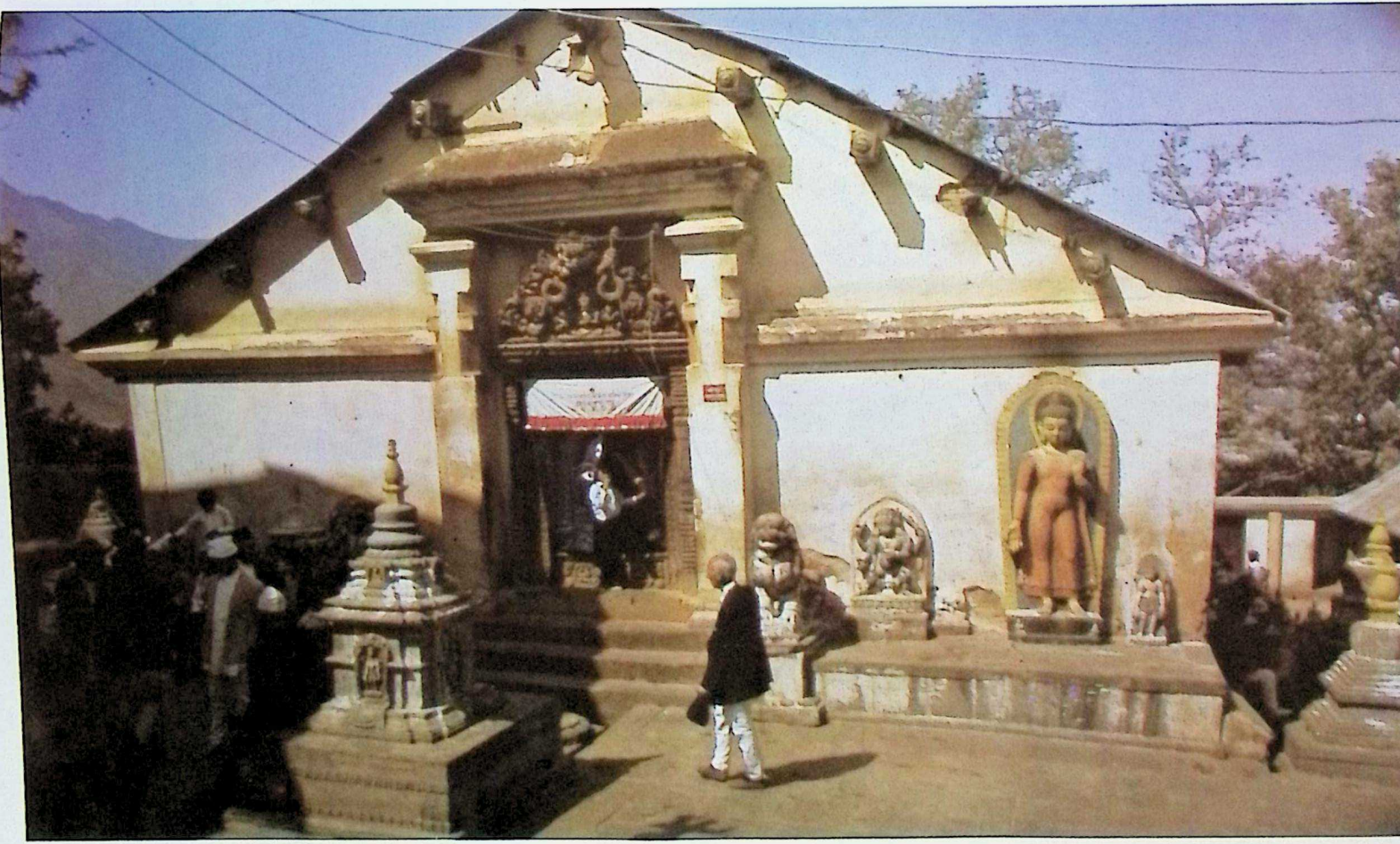
3. *Baha* shrine, Bu Baha, Patan

4. *Baha torana* showing the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha. Ga Baha, Patan



5. Vajrasattva

6. Painting of Herukacakrasamvara and his consort Vajravarahi by Manabajra Bajracarya



7. Santipur, tantric shrine of the Vajracaryas of Kathmandu, Swayambhunath

8. Reception of the newly initiated Vajracarya into the *Acarya Guthi, Swayambhunath*

enjoined to secrecy about the details of these initiation rites. In practice this is taken to refer to the *mantra* itself. The *mantra* is always passed from *guru* to disciple and never divulged or written down even in the ritual texts.

Having taken these consecrations the Vajracarya is empowered to perform the *homa* sacrifice and confer initiations. He is further empowered to perform the secret tantric rities in the *agam* of the *baha* or in his own home if it has such a shrine. He is entitled to have *jajmans*, i. e., clients for whom he acts as priest and from whom he receives a stipend for his services. This was formerly strictly controlled as regard to who can have *jajmans* and who their clients were. *Jajmans* were passed on from father to son as a right consequent upon ordinatic.n. The *jajmans* had no say whatsoever in the selectic.n of their priests. Priests, however, could sell their *jajmani* rights to other priests.[55] This is no longer the case. Those who use Vajracarya priests will call only a lawfully ordained Vajracarya, but they are free to call anyone they wish. However, in many cases Vajracaryas can still exert sufficient social pressure to assert their traditional rights. Vajracarya informants in Kathmandu have told me that their *jamanas* are still bound by the old regulations, they must call the priest who has the traditicnal right to serve them. However, Udaya informants have told me that they can and do call any Vajracarya they wish.

Such then are the initiation rites of a Bare. They reflect the historical development of the customs of the Newar Buddhist community and define the role of the Bare in present-day Newar society. The Vajracarya acts as priest for the Buddhist families and for services in the *bahas* when this involves the offering of a *homa* sacrifice, the conferring of initiations, and the consecration of images. The Bare *sangha* of the *baha* is a direct successor of the *bhiksu sangha* of earlier days. They are the custodians of these ancient shrines which were, and to a lesser degree still are, the focal points of the religicus life of the Buddhist community. The description of the rites which I have

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an explanation of the symbolism. Guiseppe Tucci, *The Theory and Practice of the Mandala* (London, 1969), p. 68–72.

55. Rosser, p. 121.

given here is based on the ritual texts and on the ceremonies as I saw them performed at Jana Baha in Kathmandu in 1975. There are differences in the way the rite is performed in Patan. The tantric rite which Allen describes as performed in Patan is not performed in Kathmandu.[56] There are further minor differences in each *baha*, but the main structure of the rites and their significance are the same.

**The Dekkha**

In addition to the Bare *chyuyegu* and the *aca luyegu* there is a further tantric initiation which the Bare may take at a later time, known in Newari as the *dekkha* (Sanskrit: *diksa*, "initiation"). Its full Sanskrit title is Dasabhiseka Diksa Vidhi ("the rite of initiation and the ten consecrations") or simply the Acarya Diksa ("the initiation of an *acarya*"). The term *diksa* means a spiritual initiation accompanied by the giving of a *mantra*. "Its content must be a *mantra* of some sort, or a *mantra* must be part of its content. A person may be initiated into the use, say of a *mandala*, a *yantra*, or into the performance of a *yajna* (ritualistic sacrifice), but along with it a *mantra* is invariably imparted. Herein lies an important difference between *diksa* and *abhiseka*, for the latter never requires the conferring of a *mantra* to the neophyte."[57] The *acarya diksa* is an initiation into the *mandala* of Herukacakrasamvara and his consort Vajravarahi along with the conferring of ten consecrations (*abhiseka*) and seven *mantras*. The *mantras* are those of Heruka, Herukacakrasamvara, Vajradevi, Hevajra-Nairatma, Khadga Yogini, Buddha Dakini (Vijesvari) and Canda Maharosana. The ritual texts speak of ten consecrations and of fourteen consecrations; in fact, there are sixteen consecrations, the difference in number being due to the fact that several of them can be grouped together and considered as one. The first series of consecrations given are the same as the ones given to the Vajracarya in his initiation rite. The *aca luyegu* is, in fact, a shortened form of the *acarya diksa*.

The *diksa* is given at irregular intervals by skilled and learned

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56. Allen, p. 11.
57. Agehananda Bharati, *The Tantric Tradition* (London, 1965), p. 185–6.

Vajracaryas, i. e., whose who have taken the *diksa* themselves and have a reputation as learned *gurus*. The *guru* and his wife, who are considered possessed by the spirit of Herukacakrasamvara and his consort, give the initiation to the candidate and his wife; and the culmination of the rite is the identification of the candidate and his wife with the *guru* and his wife, and consequently with Herukacakrasamvara.[58] Thus the candidate for initiation for the *diksa* must present himself for initiation with his wife. I have heard of candidates being initiated without their wives, but this is rare, unorthodox, and, if it happens, the candidate is excluded from the main parts of the ceremony. The sexo-yogic symbolism is much more explicit in this rite than in the *aca luyegu*, the texts calling for ritual copulation; but this is all done symbolically at the present time, whatever may have been done in the past.[59]

As with so many of these Vajrayana rites, the philosophy behind all of this and the practice of the yoga are lost to the present generation. The whole has been ritualized and is looked upon as an introduction to Vajrayana ritual and the empowerment to perform such rituals. According to my informants, in former times, a long period of preparation: mastery of Sanskrit grammar, study of the nine principal Mahayana texts which the Varjracaryas consider to be their "canon," and mastery of meditation and yogic practices were all prerequistes.[60]

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58. Identification of the deity and the worshipper (*ahamkara*) is a characteristic feature of all Vajrayana worship and the culmination of the *sadhana*. See Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism* (Varanasi, 1964), p. 100.

59. Whether such ritual copulation was ever done by the so-called left hand tantrists is a moot question. In yogic terms this is a veiled reference to the union which takes place within the yogi's own body, "the very young virgin being in fact the female power (or goddess) at the base of his spine which has to be yogically united with the male power in the cakra (psychic centre) in his head." John Blofeld, *The Way of Power* (London, 1970), p. 199.

60. The nine texts known as the *nvava grantha* are: *Prajnaparamita, Gandavyuha, Dasabhumi, Samadhiraja Sutra, Lankavatara Sutra, Saddharmapundarika, Lalitavistara, Suvarnaprahasa, Tathagata-guhya* (*Guhya Samaja Tantra*). According to the tantras this previous study is paramount; without it the *diksa* has no meaning. "*Diksa* is required to expel the *paurusam ajnanam*, inborn error, so

The candidate would follow a course of study and training under his *guru*, and when the *guru* was satisfied that he was ready he would be given the *diksa*. The standard of one's scholarship and the recognition accorded to one by the community depended very much on the *guru* under whom one studied. If one received the *diksa* from a *guru* widely renowned for his learning and tantric attainments, he was accorded the respect due to his *guru*. At present the only scholastic requirement is that the candidate memorize the *mantras*. In addition to this, he must learn the prescribed ritual actions and the *mudras* ("hand postures"), or better, be able to imitate what the *guru* does during the ceremony. Beyond this no proficiency in meditation or yoga is required.

Customs as to who is qualified to take the *diksa* differ. In Patan only initiated Bare, i.e., Sakyas and Vajracaryas may take it. In Kathmandu the *diksa* is also given to Udaya if they wish to take it. All others are excluded, even though they may be Buddhist, with one exception. Occasionally a Citrakar is given the *diksa* if he is required to repaint the images in the *agam* of a *baha*. Only those who have taken the *diksa* can enter the inner sanctum of the *agam*, hence if the services of a Citrakar are required he must first be given the *diksa*. The *diksa* must be taken by the elders of the *sangha* (whether Sakya or Vajracarya) whose duty it is to enter the inner sanctum of the *agam* to worship the *agam* deities. There are also a few tantric *pujas*, such as the giving of the *diksa* itself, which can only be performed by one who has taken the *diksa*. Hence if a Vajracarya wishes to perform these, he must take the *diksa*.

It is impossible to determine what percentage of the Bare actually take the *diksa*, but informants agree that there are fewer and fewer

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in Buddhist gnosis baptism (*abhiseka*) is an essential and inviolable part of the soteriological process. Naturally...*diksa* is not efficient unless dogmatics have first eliminated errors dialectically and postulated truth,...the essential premise is a knowledge of Prajna, generally of Mahayana, which gives access to the deepest experience of the adamantine Vehicle. But when the theoretical knowledge is perfected, praxis begins, and it begins with baptism, indeed with baptisms, for they are multiple, generally eleven." Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1949), 1:247.

taking it now. There are two reasons for this. The way the *diksa* is given now as a purely ritual exercise without any instruction or study preceding it has little appeal to the young today. They do not understand what the *diksa* is all about, and consequently look down on it. Secondly, at the time of the *diksa* one takes upon himself certain personal obligations, such as the performance of a daily *puja* in the *agam*, and prescribed fasts at certain times of the year. The daily *puja* consists of the *guru mandala* rite, the *pancopacara puja* of the *agam* deities and the recitation of at least one *mantra* for each deity venerated in the *agam*. The *mantra* for each deity must be repeated 108 times. The *puja* takes at least half an hour and must be done each day without fail. No provision is made for one being away from home, though a custom has grown up of having someone else do the *puja* if one is away from home on a journey. This means that the substitute, who has the same obligations himself, or he would not be permitted into the inner sanctum of the *agam*, has to perform the *puja* twice. Most young people today find this a meaningless burden, though those who do take the *diksa* are generally very faithful to these obligations.

Those who have taken the *diksa* have undergone a ritual identical to the *pancabhiseka*, in fact the fuller, complete form of the same rite. May they act as priests ? The answer is, no, the *diksa* does not make a Sakya, Udas, or Citrakar a Vajracarya. It is at this point that the conflict between caste and fundamental Buddhist principles is most obvious. This *diksa* is open, if not to all castes, at least to a larger group, including those who are officially classified as householders or lay people, the Udaya. In the ritual texts themselves the first series of *abhiseka* are called the *acaryabhiseka;* so from the viewpoint of Tantric Buddhism those who have taken the *diksa* are qualified to act as *acaryas*. This, then, is the one area where they have managed to salvage something of the universal Buddhist principle that the inner core of Buddhism is open to all qualified candiates, but the exercise of the rights and powers conferred in the *diksa* is curtailed by the regulation that only the son of a priest may function as a priest.

Some informants have told me that the reason for this restriction is that the Vajracaryas are given a *mantra* of Vajrasattva not given

to those who take the *diksa* and that this makes the difference. It is true that Vajrasattva is considered to be the *guru* of all Vajracaryas and every *puja* they perform begins with a *puja* to Vajrasattva. However, neither the text of the *aca luyegu* nor that of the *diksa* mentions a *mantra* to Vajrasattva. Both rites are an intitation into the *mandala* of Herukacakrasamvara. Several informants have pointed this out as another example of the imposition of Hindu caste regulations on them by the Malla kings.[61] The explanation may be more complicated than this. At the present time there is no such restriction in the law of the land, yet so far the restriction has been maintained by the social pressure that the Vajracaryas can exert on the Buddhist community.[62]

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61. The argument is not without validity as is evident from the few recorded exceptions to the rule. Brian Hodgson's *pandit*, Amrita-nanda, a Sakya, was permitted, by order of the king, to be raised to the status of a Vajracarya. See Rosser, p. 125, note 18. In the time of Visnu Malla (1729–45) certain Sakyas from the Mahabauddha Baha in Patan were given special permission in a Lal Mohar of the king to be raised to the status of Vajracaryas. Exceptions to the rule were permitted only by order of the king.

62. The position has not gone unchallenged. I have heard of several instances of Sakyas clamouring for initiation as Vajracaryas or simply acting as priests without the initiation, or on the basis of having received the *dekkha*. A few years ago at Kwa Baha in Pa an the *thakali* fell ill and there was no Vajracarya among the eldters permitted into the *agam*. One of the Sakya members asked to be initiated so that he could perform the prescribed worship. The case was referred to the Acarya Guthi of the *baha*. They procrastinated, fearing that this would set a dangerous precedent which would threaten all the Vajracaryas. Under pressure they finally granted permission and the astrologer was called to determine the auspicious date. The astrologer said there was no auspicious date for such an irregular initiation. Finally a willing astrologer was found and a date was set. Suddenly the Sakya came down with a serious throat ailment (acute tonsillitis according to my informant). He began to choke and feared he was dying. Deciding that the disease was a punishment for his arrogance in requesting an initiation he had no right to, he repented and begged forgiveness of the *agam* deities. Since then whenever the question has come up in Patan this incident has been sufficient to scare off any Sakyas clamouring for the initiation. In Kathmandu, the example of the

It may well be that the Vajracaryas had a hand in the original restriction which would prevent the proliferation of priests and thereby protect their vested interest. Even with the present restrictions, there are more Vajracaryas than are needed to care for the spiritual needs of the Buddhist community. It would be impossible for all initiated Vajracaryas to make a living by acting full time as priests.

**Life of the Sangha and its Guthis**

As with all Newar communities the rhythm of life in the *sangha* of a *baha* is governed by a series of *guthis*. The term *guthi* is most commonly used in contemporary Nepal for lands which have been given in endowment for the support of a temple or some religious work. This was not the original meaning of the term. "In both Nepal and India, the term Gosthi or Guthi was originally used to denote an association of persons responsible for the management of religious and philanthropic land endowments, not the endowments themselves.[63] The Newars have retained something of the original meaning of the term. "Among them the term Guthi is used to denote an organization based on caste or kinship, or occasionally, on geographical propinquity, which ensures the continued observances of social and religious customs and ceremonies of the community. The term Guthi, in this sense, is primarily used to denote a social institution that determines the rights and obligations of a Newar vis-a-vis his community."[64] The *sangha* of a *baha* is such a *guthi*, whose function it is to look after the *baha* and provide for the prescribed worship of the *kwapa dya:* and the *agam* deities. In this case all the initiated members of the *sangha* comprise the *guthiyars*, and the rights and duties of each are regulated by the elders. Each *baha* has some land registered with the government *guthi* office, the income from which is used as payment for their services in the temple

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Thakali of the Sakyas at Jana Bahal has had the same effect. The point is that so far the position of the Vajracaryas has not been effectively challenged.

63. Mahesh C. Regmi, *Landownership in Nepal* (Berkeley, 1976), p. 46.
64. Ibid., p. 47.

and to finance their feasts and festivals. In addition to this there are other *guthis* within the *sangha* whose function it is to see that certain specific tasks are performed, e. g., there is a *guthi* at Jana Baha whose task it is to care for the fixtures put on the *ratha* of Seto Matsyendranath.

Office and duties within the *sangha* are alloted on the principle of seniority of initiation. The head of the *sangha* or *thakali*, is the senior-most initiated member of the *sangha*.[65] If it is a mixed *baha*, the same principle holds whether the senior-most is a Vajracarya or a Sakya. There are two systems for governing a *baha*. The first system is government by the elders. A committee of the ten eldest members of the *sangha* comprise a governing committee. Though ten is the usual number, one *baha* has twenty, a few have twelve, and the *bahis* have five. The first duty of this committee is worship of the *agam* deities and for this they must take the *acarya diksa*, which in this case is often called the *cattrabhiseka* ("umbrella consecration"),as they are presented with a ceremonial umbrella at the conclusion of the rites and have a right to have this umbrella carried over them at festivals. The ceremony is also called *naya* (=*nayaka*) *luyegu* ("the making of the leaders"). They are given the Newari title of *adju* ("grandfather") and the Sanskrit title *sthavira*, an ancient Buddhist term for the elders of a *vihara*. The number ten is perhaps derived from the fact that in the ancient *viharas* this was the number required to be present at ordinations of new members.[66] The ten are also popularly referred to as the *dasa paramita*. The position of an *adju* is one of respect and, especially in the large *bahas* of Patan where the life of the *sangha* is still vigorous, it is a very coveted post. All of the business of the *baha* and its *sangha* is referred to this committee of ten. If they cannot agree on a course of

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65. See Allen, p. 7. The term *thakali* is used in Newar society for the chief, (who is always the eldest) of any *guthi* or agnatic circle. In conversation he is usually referred to by the honorific title *thapaju*. For the *thakali* of a *sangha* the Sanskrit term *sthavira* is also used, especially in older manuscripts and inscriptions. The wife of the *thakali*, who has several official functions to perform in the Vajrayana rites and at the *guthi* feasts, is called the *thakali nakin*.

66. See Allen, p. 9.

action there is a "cabinet" of the forty eldest members of the *sangha* which is summoned to consider the matter. If they cannot come to agreement, the entire *sangha* is summoned, i. e., all of the initiated male members. Most business is handled by the ten; very seldom are the forty or the entire *sangha* summoned.

The second system of government is by a committee made up of one member each from the families (*kawal*) attached to the *baha*. There are a recognized number of families attached to each *sangha*, for example, eighteen at Jana Baha in Kathmandu. If this system is used the three eldest members of the *sangha* form a committee that conducts most of the day to day business. More important business, or matters that cannot be settled by the three, are referred to an assembly made up of one representative from each family, who may be any initiated member, not necessarily the eldest. As with the first system, if this group cannot come to an agreement, the entire *sangha* is summoned and the matter is settled by ballot. Even if this system is followed, however, the ten elders are still considered to be the ritual leaders of the *sangha*.

In the days when the life of the *sanghas* was more vigorous and touched the daily life of the people more closely, the governing committee was busy, and each of the elders as well as the forty eldest of the *sangha* had clearly defined duties. At present their duties are limited to making arrangements for daily services in the temple, making arrangements for annual religious observances and feasts (*bhoj*), seeing to a few routine business matters like making repairs on the *baha* shrine, and settling alleged violation of *baha* customs and caste regulations.

The religious observances that the governing committee must see to at present are primarily three: providing for the daily service in the temple of the *kwapa dya:*, the monthly worship of the *agam* deities and the annual gathering of the whole *sangha*.

Daily service in the temple of the *kwapa dya:* (called *nitya puja*) is provided by the members of the *sangha* in turn. The man on duty is called the *deo pala* ("the guardian of the deity"). The *deo pala* serves in the temple for a period of a month in most *bahas*, but for only two weeks in some. There are two systems for alloting service, both of

which are in common use in Kathmandu and Patan. According to the first system, service passes right through the whole roster of initiated members in seniority from eldest to youngest. After the youngest serves, they start over again. Substitutes, who can be any initiated members of the *sangha*, are allowed and more frequent in this system. In large *bahas*, such as Kwa Baha with about 2,000 initiated members, one's turn comes only rarely and people do not want to miss it. In smaller *bahas* where the turns come more frequently substitutions are more common, since many of the Bare have jobs they cannot leave for a month at a time. According to the second system, service passes through the families attached to the *baha*. When a given family's turn comes up, they send any initiated member of the family to serve, though in practice there seem to be one or two who make this their specialty, and they always go.

The duties of the *deo pala* are to perform the daily prescribed worship of the *kwapa dya:*, assist other worshippers who come to the temple, and guard the temple treasures. The full schedule of prescribed worship, which will be described below, is performed in very few *bahas* today. In many of them, especially in Kathmandu, the *deo pala* comes in the morning and the evening to perform the first and last *puja* of the schedule. The rest of the day the temple is closed. In large and popular shrines such as that of Jana Baha in Kathmandu, the *deo pala* has a full and profitable day, as he gets to keep all of the offerings made by the faithful.

The monthly service consists of a *puja* of the *agam* deities, which must be performed by the elders themselves. After this *puja*, they have a feast.

Once a year all of the members of the *sangha* gather for a *puja* of the *kwapa dya:* and a feast. The day differs from place to place and is supposed to be the anniversary of the setting up of the *kwapa dya:*. On this day the *kwapa dya:* is bathed with water mixed with the *pancamrita:* milk, ghee, curds, honey and molasses. In some *bahas* the image is then redecorated and reconsecrated as if it were a new image. This is done for all of the images of Avalokitesvara--Matsyendranath, and the ceremony will be described in detail below. In most *bahas*

the reconsecration is not done. Some informants have told me that this is because of a lack of funds; the temples of Matsyendranath have large *guthi* funds and can afford this expensive ceremony. Others have said that only painted images which require an annual repainting are reconsecrated. The bathing ceremony and reconsecration of the image are followed by a tantric *puja* in the *agam* of the *baha* and a feast for the entire *sangha*.

Such then are the Bare, the direct successors of the Buddhist monks and the priests of the Newar Buddhist community. They constitute the clergy of the Newar Buddhists. Who then are their laity and what is their relationship to the Bare ?

**The Buddhist Newar Laity**

As nearly every writer who has considered Newar society has remarked, it is extremely difficult to define who are Buddhists and who are Hindus, and for the vast majority of the population it is a meaningless question. The Newar Brahmans and the descendants of the courtiers of the Mallas (most of the present "Shresthas") are clearly Hindu. The Bare are clearly Buddhist. Beyond this it is difficult to give clear labels, and most writers have settled on the criterion of the family priest: if the family priest is a Brahman, the family is Hindu; if he is a Vajracarya, they are Buddhist.[67] The criterion is valid enough for the Hindus. People who use Brahman priests would not identify themselves as Buddhists and do not ordinarily frequent Buddhist shrines and temples.[68] The situation is quite different among those who use Vajracarya priests. There is a group of Pradhans attached to the Thamel Baha in Kathmandu. Their family priests are Vajracaryas, yet they are generally considered to be Hindus and freely inter-marry with high caste Hindu Shresthas. The Jyapus (farmer caste) who constitute

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67. Haimendorf, "Elements", p. 18; Allen, p. 6; Rosser, p. 79.
68. Rosser (p. 79) has reported some families who use a Gubhaju for some rites and a Brahman for others. Their situation would have to be further clarified by finding out if their caste initiation rites are performed by a Brahman or a Gubhaju.

42% of the total Newar community, almost all use Vajracarya priests, yet their villages are dotted with Hindu temples, and many of their local festivals are clearly Hindu. Theco, for example, is a large Jyapu village about three miles south of Patan. The village is entirely Jyapu and all of the families without exception use Vajracarya priests from Patan. "No Brahman has ever been in our village," I was told by the people. Yet the village has but two real temples, one to a form of Bhairava and the other to a form of Durga, both of them tended by a sub-caste of Jyapu priests. There are some votive *caityas* in the village, but no Bare, and the religious and social life of the village centres around the two temples and the feasts of these two gods. The Udaya, who are found mainly in Kathmandu, are considered to be strictly Buddhist. It is they, and the Manandhars, who have provided the greatest financial support to the Bare over the last two hundred years. It is they who can be seen coming daily to the principal *bahas* of the city and taking the most active part in the Buddhist festivals and religious observances conducted by the Bare. Their priests are exclusively Vajracaryas. Yet the Nara Devi temple in Kathmandu, which is clearly a Hindu tantric temple, is tended by Tuladhars from Nara Devi Tole. Though Vajracaryas have told me that the deity enshrined there is really Basundhara, the iconography of the temple and the tantric rites performed there, including blood sacrifices, would not be accepted as Buddhist by anyone.

This situation will not seem so strange if we compare it with what we know of the situation in India during the days when Buddhism flourished. The *bhiksu sangha* was the core of Buddhism and was open to men of all castes. The *bhiksus* renounced the life of a householder and their caste status to devote their lives to the pursuit of enlightnment and *nirvana*. They did not frequent Hindu shrines and had no need for the services of the Brahmans. The lay devotees (the *upasaka*) patronized the monks, supported them, listened to their teachings and shaped their private lives according to the teachings of the Buddha. Yet they were still members of society, a caste-structured Hindu society, and had to be initiated, married, etc. The Brahmans continued to do this for them; the performance of such life cycle rites was never taken up by

the *bhiksus*.[69] There are numerous examples in India and Nepal of kings who were considered to be Buddhist, yet did not cut themselves off from Hindu society nor from the services of the Brahmans. Narendradeva who ruled Nepal in the middle of the seventh century, was considered a Buddhist by the Chinese traveller who met him. On his belt he wore an image of the Buddha. Yet in his inscriptions he used Saivite titles and said that he ruled by the favour of Pasupati.[70]

The lay Buddhists certainly continued to worship their family deities and the traditional gods; and at a very early date images of the gods found their way into the monastic shrines.[71] And why not?

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69. Not all those who supported the monks were *upasakas*. Those who were not *upasakas* took upon themselves no Buddhist obligations. One became an *upasaka* by an ordination rite of sorts. "In the lay world, there was no sharp distinction between the Buddha's regular *upasaka* and the non-*upasaka*. The lay disciple, in order to become one, did not have to alter his status in the social order; all that he was required to do was to take refuge in the Buddha. Almost all of the *brahmanas* who spoke to the Buddha became his *upasakas*. This did not mean that their social rank changed thereby or that they gave up their Brahmanical traditions and customs. In other words there was no incongruity in one's becoming an *upaska* and at the same time maintaining one's customary family duties, religious and social, provided they did not offend the obligatory rules, non-killing etc..."N. Aiyaswami Sastri, in 2500 *Years of Buddhism*, ed. P. V. Bapat (Delhi, 1971), p. 304.

70. For reference to Narendradeva's Buddha belt see D. R. Regmi, *Ancient Nepal* (Calcutta, 1969), p. 278. For the Saivite titles see Dhanavajra Vajracarya, *Licchavikalka Abhilekh* (Kirtipur, 2020), especially p. 496 and the Yaga Bahal Inscription: "*bhagavatpasupatibhattarakamaharajadhiraja narendradevah.*"

71. It is commonly believed that the worship of the Hindu gods by Buddhists in India and the erection of their icons at Buddhist shrines was a late aberration due to the rise of Tantric Buddhism or the Hinduization of the remnants of the Buddhist community. This is entirely erroneous. "We find Brahmanist gods every-where conspicuous in the earliest Buddhist sculptures, adorning the stupa of Bharhut, dating from the second to first century B. C.—that is, to within four centuries after the currently accepted date for Buddha's death,...and before the scriptures were reduced to writing in Pali. The gods are represented as servitors and worshippers of Buddha, whose own former existences also as a god or other spirit

The Buddha did not forbid worship of the gods, what he said was that for the attainment of true happiness and enlightenment culminating in *nirvana,* worship of the gods and sacrifices are useless. The gods, whose existence and control over natural forces he did not deny, are

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in the Jatakas are depicted in numerous reliefs...The great Buddhist Emperor Asoka's favourite title 'Beloved of the Gods,' and his reference to his efforts in bringing men nearer to the gods is proudly asserted in his edict." L. Augustine Waddell, "Evolution of the Buddhist Cult; Its gods, Images and Art," *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* (Jan., 1912): 107. One of the caves at Ajanta has a picture of nine *bodhisattvas* among whom appear the following: Brahma, Indra, Visnu, Isvara, all incarnated as earthly kings in order to hear the Buddha's teaching. Indra is frequently depicted as the umbrella holder to the Buddha. L. Augustine Waddell, "Note on Some Ajanta Paintings," The *Indian Antiquary,* 22 (Jan, 1893): 8–10.

The situation in villages around Patan like Theco, mentioned above, and Harisiddhi, where the life of the village centres around the temple of Harisiddhi who is tended by Jyapu priests who use Vajracarya priests for their family rituals, is paralleled by the finds at Nalanda. Commenting on the seals found around Nalanada, Jitendra Nath Banerjea says, "Nalanda was principally associated with Buddhism, and it is interesting to find so many Brahmanical Hindu deities and their emblems on these seals. But such devices appear mostly on the sealings of royal personages, private officials and village organizatons, the Mahavihara seals mostly bearing Buddhist emblems. It proves that the rulers of the land as well as a good many of their subjects living around the famous Buddhist monastery and seat of learning were followers of the Brahmanical creeds. Sometimes seals with Brahmanical deities on them were tested on lumps of clay bearing impressions of monastic seals, Hindu and Buddhist devices thus appearing side by side.

"...The aforesaid devices (seals bearing images of Sakti and Durga) fully prove that Nalanda and its environs were flourishing seats of Sakti worship in the late Gupta period and early mediaeval periods, when many of the iconographic varieties of the godess served as objects of worship to the local people." Jitendra Nath Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Inconography* (Calcutta, 1956), p. 185–187. The finding of the seals shows that the rulers of the lands as well as their subjects living around the monastery continued their worship of the gods and continued to use the services of the Brahmans, though they patronized the monks and may have considered themselves *upasakas.*

bound by the same law of *karma-samasara* as men. Ultimately they must return to earth to obtain their release and *nirvana* through enlightenment attained as a man. But the gods were not worshipped primarily for enlightenment and *nirvana*. In an agricultural society where the people were largely uneducated and totally unacquainted with anything like modern scientific ideas, the gods were worshipped for rain, to obtain children or health, to ward off calamities, to wreak vengance on an enemy-for all of the needs that man in this world feels and for freedom from the forces that oppress him. There was no real contradiction in their minds between worship of the gods and their adherence to Buddhism and their patronage of the monks. Worship of the gods was, in their minds, the only way to influence the forces and events which determined the quality of life here and now. Furthermore, the rationalistic approach to religion of the earlier Hinayana monks, with a minimum of ceremony and ritual, had a very limited appeal for the common people. It was precisely because of this that more and more of the common ritual and religious heritage of India was adopted officially by Mahayana and Tantric Buddhism and integrated into Buddhist religious practice. The monks realized that they would have to meet the needs of the people to gain their support and to provide the initial steps leading to an understanding and acceptance of a more orthodox Buddhist view of life.

The process is still going on today among the Newars. In the cities where the great *bahas* exist, the laity worship the Buddhist gods with a round of ritual conducted by the Bare which differs little in outward detail from the rituals performed by the Hindus, but which is replete with Buddhist symbols and with prayers drawn from Mahayana *sutras* and the Buddhist tantras. Many of the gods themselves are adaptations of Hindu gods or local deities metamorphosed and integrated into the Buddhist pantheon as protective deities. In the outlying villages where there are no *bahas* and no resident Bare, the people continue to worship their traditional gods. Even in the cities, the practice has not entirely disappeared as can be seen from the example of Nara Devi. Furthermore, each Newar family, the Bare included, has its family deity, its *digu dya:*, which may have been changed into a standard Buddhist deity, but was originally a protective spirit that could hardly be labelled Hindu or Buddhist, if one is meant to exclude the

other. What is peculiar to Newar Buddhism is that the Buddhist priests have taken over the role of the Brahmans as family priests who perform the life cycle rites. I know of no other instance of this happening where Buddhism flourished in a Hindu society. The *bhiksus* of India never took up the task.

The great Buddhist monasteries of India served as the central focus of Buddhism—the monks were the most truly and exclusively Buddhist sectarians, and they developed ritual and devotional practices that attracted the *upasaka* to the monastery and to the Buddha's teachings. It was in the monasteries that the doctrine was preached, new scriptures written, debated and copied to be handed down to future generations. Later the monasteries grew into great universities that were centres of learning and culture with a universal appeal. When the monasteries were destroyed and the *sangha* vanished, Buddhism died, cut off from its source of life.

Among the Newars the Bare carry on the tradition of the monasteries. They maintain the Buddhist shrines and tend the deities with a round of ritual that still attracts devotees. The *sangha* still exists, at least in name, but the tradition has deteriorated. There is no more scholarship in the *bahas*, the *dharma* is no longer preached and explained to the faithful, though it is evident from the large number of extant manuscripts written and copied in Nepal that such scholarship did exist. The Vajracaryas provide the people with a liturgy for their life cycle rites and religious devotions which is Buddhist and which should serve as an introduction to a deeper understanding and appreciation of Mahayana-Vajrayana doctrine. The sad fact is that, due to the decline of scholarship and the abandonment of Buddhist meditation among the Vajracaryas at large, the process is generally arrested at the level of ritual for its own sake.

What remains of *sangha* community life is gradually deteriorating as families move away from their quarters in the *baha* to which they return only once a year or for occasional rituals such as the essential initiation of their sons. At many *bahas* in Kathmandu, and at some in Patan, the shrine is opened only in the morning and evening for a perfunctory performance of the prescribed rituals by the *deo pala*.

9. Candidate being led to the barber for the cutting of the hair (*cuda karma*)

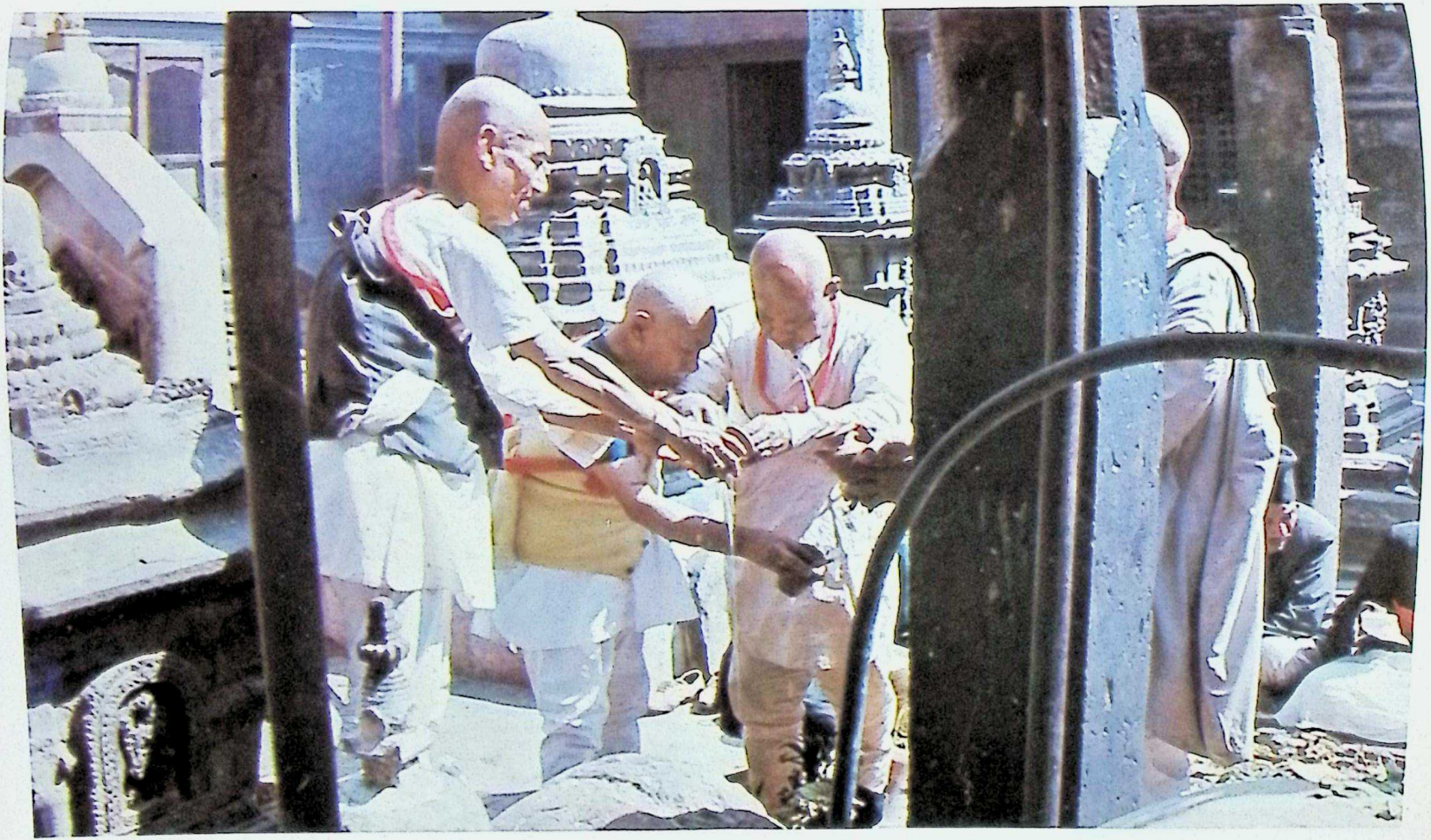
10. Removal of the top knot (*cuda*) at the initiation of the *bhiksu*

11. The Thakali of the *sangha* distributes monks' robes to the new *bhiksus*

12. The assistant priest marks the swastika on the shaved pate of the new bhikshus

13. The new bhiksu is presented with the golden *kalasa* and led into the *baha* shrine

14. The *desa bali* offering



15. Consecration of the *desa bali* offering

16. Ritual offering of grain to the new *bhiksus*

Jana Baha is one of the few *bahas* where one can see the full round of ritual performed and a steady stream of devotees coming to worship throughout the year.

The importance of the Vajracaryas as ritual adepts remains. Their services are still required by those who have traditionally used them as priests, and they are still held in respect by their *jajmans*. However, education and a growing secularism in the Kathmandu Valley have eroded their position. It is the Udaya, the wealthy trading community, who have been the most devout Buddhists and the most loyal supporters of the Vajracaryas. They have also taken the greatest advantage of modern education. The result has been that they question the meaning and value of the traditional round of ritual. It is precisely at this point that their questions should lead them to a deeper understanding of what Buddhism has to offer those who are ready to go beyond ritual, but their questions find no answers. Sons of Vajracaryas who have received an education take to secular occupations and the professions, and seldom, if ever, act as priests. The young men who take up the work of a priest are sons of the poorer and less educated Vajracaryas, men who do not have the education to interpret and adapt their tradition to the needs of their better educated and increasingly secularized *jajmans*. The position of the Vajracaryas has also been eroded among the Jyapus, with individuals slipping away to the Brahmans as an essential step in their attempts to better their status by becoming "Shresthas" through a process of sanskritization, one of the first steps of which is to establish themselves as practising Hindus.[72] At least some of the Vajracaryas and the Udayas realize the problem, and there is an effort being made to publish books and to spread the *dharma*. Whether this will result in a true renewal or whether Buddhism among the Newars, cut off from a vital and well-educated *sangha*, will meet the same fate as Buddhism in India, remains to be seen.

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72. See Rosser, p. 90–100 where he discusses "Individual Social Mobility among Newars." Sanskritization, a term first coined by Srinivas and in common use now in all current studies on caste, is defined as: "the process by which a 'low' Hindu caste, or tribal or other group changes its customs, ritual, ideology and way of life in the direction of a high and frequently 'twice-born' caste." M. N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India* (Bombay. 1969) p. 6.

## CHAPTER TWO

## The Principal Rituals of the Vajracaryas

Ritual is paramount in the Buddhism of the Vajracaryas and will play an important part in the treatment of the cult of Avalokitesvara—Matsyendranath. Some general description of the ritual as it is practised today is necessary before we turn to Avalokitesvara himself. The claim that the Buddhism of the Newars is a mixture of Buddhism and Hinduism comes mainly from an evaluation of its iconography and its ritual, as if both of these were something peculiar to the Valley of Nepal. The criticism is based on the thesis that Buddhism has little or no ritual and that the purity of the Buddhism practised in a given place is in inverse proportion to the amount of ritual. The judgment is given from the viewpoint of Theravada Buddhism by modern rationalists, who are attracted by the rationalistic approach of Theravada Buddhism and ignore even the ritual practised by the Theravada monks and their followers. In fact, many of these critics view Buddhism as a philosophy, choosing to ignore the fact that it is and has been practised as a religion by its followers. If Buddhism is traced in its historical development in India, it is clear that there was ritual from the very beginning and that this increased as time went on, first in the various sects of Hinayana Buddhism, then at a much more rapid pace with the development of Mahayana and tantric Buddhism.

By the time of the Chinese travellers in the seventh century A. D., ritual was well developed in the monastic communities. When Hsuntsang visited Amaravati in A. D. 639, it had developed from a Mahasanghika community to a flourishing Mahayana centre and ritualistic worship had become part and parcel of the monastic life. "The circumambulation of the sanctuary is as much a ritual act as the offering of flowers, lights, and incense...The worship of the Buddha-image has come into vogue, but the ancient canonial worship of symbols still continues: a compromise, however, is effected by having two kinds of shrine in a monastery—the Buddha-ghara for image worship and the

Cetiya-ghara for symbol worship."[1] This was a period of transition but the pattern was set for the worship of images. I-tsing, who travelled in India from 671 to 695, describes some of the rituals at Nalanda, principally the sounding of the hours, the morning bath of the monks followed by the bathing of images, the *caityavanadam,* and the ceremony of chanting. The daily bathing of the main image of the monastery was an important part of the official monastic day.

> In Indian monasteries, when the monastics are going to bathe the image in the forenoon, the priest in charge (*karmadana*) strikes a Ghanta (a gong) for an announcement. After stretching a jewelled canopy over the court of the monastery, and ranging perfumed water-jars in rows at the side of the temple, an image either of gold, silver, copper, or stone is put in a basin of the same material, while a band of girls plays music there. The image having been anointed with scent, water with perfume is poured over it.
>
> ...After having been washed, it is wiped with a clean cloth; then it is set up in the temple, where all sorts of beautifu flowers are furnished. This is the ceremony performed by the resident members under the management of the priest in charge (*karmadana*).[2]

In addition to this common worship, individual monks also performed the bathing of images kept in their apartments. The importance attached to such rituals was paramount, and if a monk should neglect this ritual for some time, or worse for his whole life, he was considered remiss and ineffective.

> It should never happen that a priest should neglect to wash the holy image during his whole life, and he is to be blamed if he does not even care to offer those beautiful flowers which are to be found everywhere in the fields. He must not be inactive and remiss, resting and simply looking at the gardens and pond, avoiding the trouble of picking flowers and bathing images, nor should he lazily finish his worship by simply opening the hall and doing general homage. If such be the case, the successive line of teacher and pupil will be broken, and the method of worship will not be according to authority.[3]

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1. Sukumar Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India* (London, 1962), p. 136.
2. I-tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion* (Delhi, 1966), p. 147–9.
3. Ibid., p. 150.

The daily bathing of Avalokitesvara—Matsyendranath and the annual great bathing ceremony have their roots in these monastic rituals.

It was the concept of devotion (*bhakti*) as fundamental to the Buddhist religion that inspired such rituals, and with the development of Mahayana Buddhism it proliferated, as the monks drew more and more on the common Indian heritage of ritual and ceremony. "The Buddhist (Mahayanist) rites of worship are described in Canto II, vv. 10 ff. of the Boddhicaryavarara of Santideva (eighth century AD). They are practically the same as those performed in Brahmanical image worship—bathing the image with scented water, vocal and instrumental music, offering of flowers, food and clothes, swinging censers and burning incense, etc. Only the images represent the deities of the Buddhist Mahayana pantheon..."[4] Nor was this development confined to the Mahayana monasteries. "In the Hinayanist monasteries of Valabhi, Buddha-puja, the ritual image worship, seems to have been a major activity of the monks attended with due rites and ceremonies. The kings in their grants provide for it; they include in the items of expenditure 'the cost of incense, lamps, oil, and flowers (*dhupa, dipa, taila, puspa*)"[5]

With the development of tantric Buddhism, ritual assumed a much more central role. "Whatever festival performances took place in connection with the popularising of early Buddhism were means of propaganda intended to induce people to live the Buddhist way, they did not themselves constitute the way. Now, however, ritual itself becomes the way and supercedes the *sutras;* the doctrine is to be acted out in tangible form, not 'simply' understood mentally."[6] The ritual, consequently, becomes more and more elaborate.

> All the complexities of Hindu ritualistic, the *puja* with its eight or sixteen kinds of offerings, the libations, the sacrificial fire lit with

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4. Dutt, p. 196.
5. Ibid., p. 229.
6. S. K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism* (Delhi, 1970), p. 490. As will be seen below, however, this is something of an over-simplified judgment of the place of ritual, as it always presupposed mastery of the doctrine and was integrated into the practice of meditaton.

a special wood in pits purposely dug (*kunda*), were now turned over to the Tantric cult which took possession of them and copied them.

The cult of the Tantric Buddhas and Boddhisattvas does not differ in any manner from that by which the Hindu devotees honoured their deities, to the exclusion, of course, of the bloody sacrifice, which Buddhism as well as Visnuism, always condemns as a sinful practice.[7]

The first text to give detailed instructions for the Buddhist performance of the *homa* sacrifice appears to be the *Manjusrimulakalpa*, an eighth century text.[8]

From the above it can be seen that the rituals performed by the Vajracaryas are not something peculiar to Nepal which developed out of the interaction of Buddhism and Hinduism in the Valley. The rites were developed in India in the great monasteries such as Nalanda and Vikramasila from the eighth century onwards. Furthermore, the Tibetans and certain sects in Japan, notably the Shingon sect, still perform the same rites and rituals.

The development of ritual in all religions is to some extent a spontaneous and unreflective development springing from the devotion of the people and their more primitive beliefs and practices. As Professor James says, "everywhere it seems that ritual as a product of unreflected habit normally has preceded the development of specific ideas concerning why and what has been done when the activity has been of a purely practical nature; the ritual enjoined by custom has in the process of time required justification and explanations in terms of a supernatural sanction."[9] The same process was certainly operative in

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7. Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls,* 3 vols. (Rome, 1949), 1: 219.

8. See David Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himalaya,* (Oxford, 1957), p. 112. Bhattacarya, however, assigns the text to the second century A. D. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism,* (Varanasi, 1964), p. 62. In a private communication Professor Wayman notes that the eighth century date for this work applies to the semi-legendary history in the third volume. The tantric material *per se* is centuries earlier.

9. O. E. James, *Myth and Ritual in the Ancient Near East* (London, 1958), p. 294.

Buddhism as Mahayana Buddhism adapted itself to the customs and habits of the ordinary people to draw them to the Buddha's teachings. It was operative again as yogis and great *siddhas* adopted tantric practices and adapted them to aid the Buddhist adept in the performance of the *sadhanas* which would bring him to the realization of the great truths of Mahayana Buddhism and true enlightenment.[10] The masters, however, never adopted ritual for its own sake. It had a clear purpose and whatever they took up was integrated into the Mahayana Buddhist tradition.

> Ritual for its own sake was held by the Buddha to be one of the four great hindrances to enlightenment. In his day, there were Brahmins who believed in the magical efficacy of rites supposing that a Vedic ritual perfectly performed would have the desired material effect whether or not the minds of the officiants were properly concentrated. The Tantric view is that rites are a hindrance to progress when looked to for mechanical results, whereas those employed to help in evoking desired states of consciousness are of inestimable value, especially to adepts still in need of symbolic aids. Such traditional aids as those of ritual implements or offerings of incense, flowers and lights are never deemed essential. The *sadhanas* can be well performed in a bare cave and, if some support is still required, *mudras* and *mantras* can be used to create in the mind whatever is necessary. Yet properly understood, ritual has a role in all forms of Buddhism...Even the Theravadins and Zen followers, who are the most austere Buddhists, perform quite elaborate rites morning and evening. In the eyes of Buddhists of all sects, rites with the proper mental accompaniment are an absolute necessity; deprived of its supernatural content, Buddhism would be no more than a system of ethics and psychology. With meditation but no rites, it would fortify the ego-consciousness it sets out to negate; its followers would be likely to herald such trivial success in meditation with such thoughts as "I have achieved this; I have reached such-and-such a state." Spiritual power has to be recognized and worshipped—though certainly not as a creator–god. What is worshipped in the Buddha is the principle of Enlightenment, the urge thereto and the power by which it is won. Between the Buddhist sects which emphasize self-power and those which stress other-power there is no difference. Man as his own saviour depends on self-power, that is to say his power of mind;but mind is not his exclusive possession,

10. For an explanation of *sadhana* see the note at the end of this chapter.

it is everywhere—the container of the universe—and therefore other-power. What is inside is also outside; what is self is also other.

To maintain proper balance, Buddhists worship the Buddha as symbolized by statues and sacred pictures; but in meditation they look to the Buddha in their own minds. Reverence paid to sacred symbols teaches awe and humility; reverence accorded to mind—the Buddha within—teaches reliance on one's own effort to achieve liberation. Most Buddhists peform rites in a temple or household shrine, whereas meditation is done in some secular place—a balcony or bedroom. Tantrists combine worship and meditation in one by means of the *sadhanas*.

It is taught that the ultimate fruit is Enlightenment. Earlier fruits are increasing control over body, speech and mind, the progressive negation of the ego and development of ever higher states of consciousness—all of them accompanied by an increasing influx of wisdom.[11]

Though it is possible to perform the *sadhanas* in a bare cave with little or no ritual, people differ and some are more inclined to ritual as a means of overcoming their ignorance and the karmic effects of their sins. For such people the masters developed a special class of tantras, the *kriyatantras*, which are devoted to a much more complicated liturgy.[12] Even here, though, ritual played a subordinate role; it was a tool or psychological instrument the adept used to help himself to the realization and enlightenment he was seeking.[13] It is mainly from this class of tantras that the rituals of the Vajracarayas have been drawn.

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11. John Blofeld, *The Way of Power* (London, 1970), p. 90–91.
12. See Giuseppe Tucci, *The Theory and Practice of the Mandala* (London 1969), p. 79.
13. This is not to deny that some may have used the tantras as "ritual for its own sake" or that some, who would or could not understand the symbolism, took the orgiastic rites at face value. Such action was condemned as utter folly and the fool's destruction by the tantras themselves. One cannot deny, either, that some of the tantras are not much more than collections of black magic intended to promote the worldly prosperity of the adept and the violent destruction of his enemies. The point is that the best of the tantras represent high spiritual attainments and detail the yogic and psychological means to produce these in the adept.

At first glance trantric ritual seems to be a bewildering complexus of rites, *mandalas, mudras, mantras* and *dharanis* that is purely magical. Two remarks are in order here. First, the tantras and the tantric ritual are not meant to be studied or read, but to be practised, realized, and lived. One who merely studies the tantras as one studies a philosophical text is in no position to criticize their effectiveness. As with all "spiritual exercises" it is only the one who has gone through the experience who is qualified to give a valid critique. Secondly, we must therefore rely on the testimony of experienced practitioners; and their testimony is that it does work. "Accomplished adepts do undoubtedly attain to states of consciousness and acquire curious psychic powers not easily attainable by other means. It should be emphasized that the rituals are never practised—unless by insufficiently instructed persons—in the hope of winning divine favour; from the first to last, they are subtle aids to apprehension which derive their power from the mystical correspondence of the outer forms with hidden psychic forces and with the special states of mind that result.[14]

There are, of course, levels of understanding. Not everyone who performs or attends these Buddhist rituals is interested in or capable of understanding the subtle teachings, or of experiencing the realization they are capable of leading to. For example, the offering of the Mt. Meru *mandala*, contained in the Guru Mandala rite to be considered below,

> can be viewed in several ways. At the most elementary level—that of those non-initiates who are simple folk—it is closely analogous to making an offering to God in the hope of pleasing Him and obtaining his favour. This conception, though not fully in accord with Buddhist teaching, forms part of the vast range of skilful means for attracting as many people as possible to the Dharma. In all Buddhist countries the peasantry by and large do think of the Buddha very much as Christians and Hindus think of the deity. The more subtle and mystical Buddhist beliefs are hard for them to comprehend, and, if they choose to conceive of the Buddha more or less as a god, there is no harm. It makes them glad to accept the Buddha's rules of restraint and compassionate conduct and many of them will presently reach a

14. Blofeld, p. 132-3.

stage at which they can be taught to understand a more orthodox concept of the Buddha.[15]

Any judgment, therefore, of those who practise or attend such rites should be made on the basis of the canons of tantric Buddhism. Do the rites lead these people to realization and enlightenment, or at least dispose them to accept the Buddhist rules of restraint and compassion as a first step on the road to enlightenment? Evaluation should not be made from the position of an a priori judgement which relegates all ritual to the realm of the magical and superstitous. Nor should the whole system of tantric Buddhism be condemned because there are some practitioners for whom these rites are not much more than supersitions and magic.

The ritual worship performed by the Vajracaryas and by their laity are all part of the common heritage of Mahayana-Tantric Buddhism developed and practicsed in the great monastic universtities of India from the seventh century until the disappearance of Buddhism in India. In the pages which follow I will list some of the common ritual offerings and then outline three of the principal rituals of the Vajracarayas. Some further elucidation of their meaning will be given in the footnotes, in some cases drawing on explanations of the rituals from Tibetan sources. The text itself will contain a description of the rituals based on the ritual texts used today by the Vajracrayas and on the explanations of these rites given by informants who are themselvs practising Vajracaryas.

**Ritual Offierings**

There are a number of substances offered to the Buddhist deities, many of them offered by any Buddhist when he visits a temple or performs worship in his home, all of them used by the Varjracaryas in their more elaborate *pujas*.

1. *Pancamrita* ("the five nectars"): This is a mixture of milk,curds, ghee, honey and sugar; though in fact it usually contains only four substances—the first three plus either honey or sugar, not both. The

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15. Ibid. p. 166.

*pancamrita* is used in a variety of blessings and offerings and is used in the temples of Avalokitesvara—Matsyendranath for the daily bathing of the image. After the image has been bathed the remaining liquid is sprinkled round the temple as a blessing and distributed to devotees as *prasada*. There is no specific prayer or recitation used for the offering of the *pancamrita*, though there may be something to recite when it forms part of another ritual.

2. *Pancagavya* ("the five elements"): This is a mixture of the five products of the cow—milk, curds, ghee, urine and dung. To this is usually added a bit of sacred grass (*dubo* in Nepali = Sanskrit *durva*). The *pancagavya* is used primarily in purification rites, in which case the ritual texts speak of *pancagavya sodhana* ("purification with the five elements"). For example, before any *puja* is performed the area of the *puja* is purified with the five elements. Informants tell me that the *pancamrita* is actually a modified form of the *panchagavya*, though the texts distinguish the two and they are not interchangeable.[16]

3. *Argha* ("respectful reception of a guest": The *argha* is a welcoming rite performed at the beginning of a ritual or at any time during the ritual when a deity has been summoned to be worshipped. For this rite the *pancamrita*, plus *dubo* grass, a few unbroken grains of uncooked rice (*aksata*), a jasmine flower, and a coin are put into a conch shell. This mixture is dribbled in front of the image, *kalasa* or *mandala* to welcome the deity.[17]

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16. Tantric texts speak of a *pancamrita* consisting of blood, semen, human flesh, urine and excrement. These are generated or visualized in a *sadhana* as offerings, and symbolize the five Buddhas: blood—Ratnasambhava; semen—Amitabha; human flesh—Amoghasiddhi, urine—Aksobhya; excrement—Vairocana. Wayman surmises that the symbolism of these and of the five fleshes may be drawn from, or at least related to, legends about Visnu. See Alex Wayman, *The Buddhist Tantras* (London, 1973), p. 116–7.

17. The ritual texts of the Vajracaryas give no recitations for the *argha* or the *padyadi*. Beyer gives the following used by the Tibetans: "Lord , it is good that you have come here, giving us the opportunity for merit, and when you have accepted our oblation we pray you remain here. Om Guru and all Tathagatas: accept this excellent, respectful, most respectful, and great oblation. Hum Svaha." Stephen Beyer, *The Cult of Tara* (Berkeley, 1973), p. 149.

4. *Padya*– ("relating to the feet"): The *padya* is another welcoming rite in which the same mixture is poured in front of the image, etc. as a salutation. The *argha* is considered as being offered to the head and the *padya* to the feet of the deity.[18]

5. *Tarpana* ("libation", or "propitiation"): This a propitiation rite peformed among the Hindus by first sipping water and then pouring water out as a libation from the extended fingers. The Vajracaryas perform it by flicking water with each of the fingers of the right hand in turn. They also interpret it as a propititation rite, and it is always offered in conjunction with the recitation of a hymn of praise (*stuti*). The *tarpana* rite is performed to the accompaniment of a *mantra* in honour of the five-fold Buddha.[19]

6. *Pancopacara puja* ("the five-fold offering"), also called *pancopahara puja*("the offering of five gifts"): This is a five-fold offering consisting of flowers, incense, light, scent and food (*puspa, dhupa, dipa, gandha, naivedya*).[20] The flowers offered may be of any type, though in Buddhist *pujas,* especially those associated with Avalokitesvara the favorite flower is the jasmine or the white lotus. For scent, red *tika* power (*sindur*) is most frequenly employed. The food offered is usually grains of uncooked rice. Perhaps the most common of all the offerings, the *pancopacara* is offered by the laity when they visit a temple or perform worship in their homes, and it is repeated several time during rituals performed by the Vajracaryas. There is a short and a long form of this *puja*. For the short form the *mantra*

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18. Recitation used in Tibet: "Just as the Buddha, as soon as he was born, was bathed by all the gods, we pray you likewise bathe your body with this pure divine water." Beyer, p. 149.

19. See Amoghavajra Vajracarya, ed. *Gurumandalaracanpustakam* (Kathmandu, 1092 N. S.), P. 11. (Hereafter referred to simply as *Gurumandala*).

20. The *Pancopacara* (*panca-upahara*) used by the Hindus actually contains six offerings, the five listed here plus the *padya*. In Hindu tantric practice the offerings are usually performed symbolically rather than by offering the substances. Each of the offerings made in one's meditation are accompanied by a *mudra* and symbolize a specific emotion. See Haridas Bhattacharya, ed. *The Cultural Heritage of India,* vols. 4 (Calcutta, 1956), 4: 461–3.

recited for the offering of each is simply, "*Om vajra* (*puspa*, etc.) *svaha*." For the longer form there is a series of more elaborate recitations:

*Puspa:* Let us praise the Buddha, let us praise the deities, including Indra. May they look with favour upon all living beings at all times by virtue of their sacred experience of the Buddha and the approval of the gods. May those intentions which we make be fulfilled today. May we have prosperity on the road, at the cross-roads. May we be safe walking on the road and returning. May we have prosperity at night, during the day, at mid-day. May we have prosperity wherever we are; may no sin find its way into our endeavours. To all living beings, to all sentient beings, to all spirits (*bhuta*), to all of us—happiness. May all be free from disease. May all of those living beings who have assembled here, whether they stay on earth or in the heaven, show friendship to people at all times. May they be attracted to the *dharma* day and night. *Om a hum vajrapuspa praticcha svaha.*[21]

*Dhupa:* Hail to the lord (name of the deity) resplendent with the auspicious *vajra*-knowledge. I desire to make your *mandala* which partakes of the nature of compasion. Oh, Lord, for the sake of your disciples and of your *puja*, you should look upon me, your devotee with favour. May the buddhas who are useful for the world i. e., who help living beings, the *bodhisattvas* who bestow their merit, the similar *mantra* deities, the deities who guard the directions, the spirits who have reached the goal of perfect (*sambohdi*) knowledge, the beings who follow the way of the Buddha, and everyone else receive me. I, so-and-so, a *mahavajra*, perform this *mandala* of (name of the deity being worshipped) for the purification of the world in so far as my service can effect this. Having taken mercy on your disciple, please make all these above mentioned deities present in the *mandala*. *Om ah hum varjradhupam*

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21. *Gurumandala*, p. 16. These recitations are given in full in the text of the Guru Mandala rite; in all other ritual texts the rubrics simply specify, "perform the *pancopacara puja*." Wayman gives the following correspondences for four of these offerings as explained by Buddhaguyha, a commentator on the lower tantras, where they are personified as four goddesses:

| Offering | Colour | Buddhist Meaning |
|---|---|---|
| Perfumed incense | White | Morality (*sila*) |
| Flower | Yellow | Deep concentration (*samadhi*) |
| Lamp | Red | Insight (*prajna*) |
| Perfume | Green | Mind of enlightenment (*bodhicitta*) |

See Wayman, p. 74

*niryatayami vajradhupam praticcha svaha.*[22]

*Dipa:* Pleasing to the eyes, shining like many jewels, the ruler at whose feet the lotus is offered, knowledge in the form of this light destroys the net of illusion (*moha*)—such is the garland of light prepared here. *Om ah vajradipe hrim praticcha svaha.*[23]

*Gandha:* I offer to you with great devotion this great, holy scent which has a pleasing smell. Or, an alternate form : I offer to you with respect this peaceful and amazing *sindur* which has a pleasing taste; please grant me success (*siddhi*). *Om vajra gandhe svaha.*[24]

*Naivedya:* Om, may you receive with pleasure these things put here for food, the observance of the *vajra* mysteries, imbued with the six tastes, with colour and a pleasing aroma. Or, an alternate from: Be pleased to accept this food imbued with all the virtues of good food, i. e., good colour, good aroma, and good taste. *Om vajra naivedyam prattccha svaha.*[25]

Though in most rites the substances mentioned are actually offered to the accompaniment of the *mantra,* the offerings may be made mentally without any material offerings. It is also possible to offer the *pancopacara puja* symbolically with a series of hand gestures (*mudras*) performed to the accompaniment of the short formula or another *mantra.* This is done, for example, in the *sata puja* (to be described below) when the *pancopacara puja* is offered 108 times in succession.

7. *Bali.* Monier-Williams defines *bali* as "any offering or propitiatory oblation, esp. an offering of portions of food, such as grain, rice,

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22. *Gurumandala,* p. 14. This recitation has obviously been taken from the introductory rities of a *mandala puja.* As will be seen below the rituals of the Vajracaryas have been composed by selecting various appropriate bits and pieces from different tantras.
23. *Gurumandala,* p. 20.
24. *Gurumandala,* p. 15.
25. *Gurumandala,* p. 17. Though this is the *mantra* given in the text for the offering of *naivedya,* informants tell me that it is most frequently omitted, as the *mantra* for the offering of the *puspa* is considered to cover both.

etc. to certain gods, semi-divine beings, household divinities, spirits, men, birds, other animals and all creatures including even lifeless objects."[26] The term has the same meaning among the Vajracaryas; it is an offering of food, and most frequently offered as a propitiation. There are three types of *bali* in common use in most of the Vajracarya *pujas:* the *samadhi bali,* the *nanda bali,* and the *loka-pala bali.* The *samadhi bali* follows on a meditation on the deity being worshipped.[27]

In this case the emphasis is on food, or a meal, prepared for the deity. The purpose is to feed the deity, to make him happy and satisfied so that he will grant what is asked. The *nanda bali* is a protective and purificatory offering. A *nanda bali* is placed in front of each of the accoutrements of the *puja,* i. e., in front of the light, the *mandala,* the pot containing the curds, the vessel containing the flowers and other offerings for the *pancopacara puja,* etc. A *nanda bali* is even offered to the *samadhi bali.* The *loka-pala bali* is offered primarily to propitiate the protective deities who are aksed to overcome the hindrances (*vighana*) which impede the correct performance of the rites. Hindrances hamper any work man undertakes. Some of these are malevolent deities, some spirits, or the influence of the planets. The *loka-pala bali* is offered to the guardians of the directions (*loka-palas*) who are asked to bind the hindrances which come from all directions and keep them capitve until the ritual is finished.[28] Another *bali* of this same type is the *desa bali* which is taken

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26. Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1956), p. 273.
27. *Samadhi* is a type of meditation; according to Blofeld "a deep state of concentration in which the void nature of existence is experienced." Blofeld, p. 250. Dasgupta defines it as the accumulation of and the meditation on all existence in the form of a circular mass (*bimba*) produced through Prajna and Upaya and the quick attainment of knowledge through meditation. Sashi Bhusan Dasgupata, *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism* (Calcutta, 1960) p. 167. In yogic terms it is the final stage of the six-part yoga that controls the flow of the *bodhicitta.*
28. The "hindrances" (*vighna*) are conceived as demons found on the edges of the *mandalas* and are almost always present at the entrance of temples which are architectonic *mandalas.* "By impediments is understood in tantric gnosis, those forces which menace the

out round the *baha* or the place where the *puja* is being performed and offered to the deities or spirits at the cross roads and shrines along the way; hence the name *desa* ("country")—it is taken round the country.

The *bali* contains mainly cooked rice; the *nanda bali* is simply a a small mound of cooked rice shaped like a cone, similar to the Tibetan *torma* and called *goja* in Newari, though strictly speaking the *goja* is the small brass or earthen lamp stand on which the *bali* is placed. More elaborate *balis* may contain other foods and be adorned with streamers and flags. Most of the *balis* offered by the Vajracaryas are *niramisa*, i.e., "meatless." However, *balis* offered to fierce tantric deities must also contain meat. The meat, usually buffalo, is purchased in the bazaar and added to the other ingredients. None of the Vajracarya rites includes the killing of animals or blood sacrifices, and they are not supposed to kill animals to obtain the meat required for their rites. *Balis* offered in the secret (*guhya*) tantric rites shold theoretically contain the flesh of a horse, a cow, an elephant, a dog and a man. According to informants buffalo meat is usually used for this, accompanied by a meditation on the identity of all substances in *sunyata*.[29] When the *bali* is offered it is consecrated, in the case of a *niramisa bali* by pouring the *pancamrita* over it, and in the case of a *bali* containing meat (*amisa bali*) by pouring rice beer (*jand*) over it. The *nanda bali* or *goja* is an

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sacral purity of the places where the rites are performed, and also those forces which are obscurely present within us and hamper our journey towards the light." Tucci, *Mandala*, p. 59.

29. Wayman describes a yogic meditation in which the yogi sitting cross-legged generates "the offering mateials in three steps or evocations, stacking up a wind, on that a fire, and on the latter a skull bowl... In that skull bowl...he generates from ten germ syllables, starting with *Him*, the five ambrosias [the tantric *pancamrita* mentioned above] and the five kinds of flesh. There is the flesh of a cow in the east, of a dog in the south, of an elephant in the west, of a horse in the north, and of man in the middle." Wayman, p. 116. This is all part of a meditation and each of the substances conjured up has a deeper symbolic meaning. There is no question of actually offering either these ambrosias or the five kinds of meat. What the ritual text of the Vajracaryas has done is to externalize this meditation.

exception to this. It is not consecrated but simply placed in front of each object at the beginning of the *puja*. After that it is used as a receptacle for other offerings; whatever is offered to a *mandala, kalasa,* etc. is placed on the *goja,* not on the object itself.

**The Guru Mandala Ritual**

The Guru Mandala rite is a ritual performed at the beginning of every *puja* performed by a Vajracarya. The *mandala* in question is the Mt. Meru *mandala* which is offered to the *gurus,* i. e., the Buddha, the Dharma, the Sangha and Vajrasattva. From the text it is clear that this is the meaning of the rite, but in speaking of the ritual the Vajracaryas invariably speak only of a *puja* to Vajrasattva. Vajrasattva is usually pictured white and adorned with full ornaments, rich dress and a crown, in contrast to the austere dress of the five Dhyani Buddhas. He sits cross-legged in the meditative pose and holds the *vajra* in his right hand with palm upwards against the chest and the *ghanta* ("bell") in the left hand resting against the left thigh.[30] He is sometimes pictured in union

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30. The *vajra* is the main ritual implement of the Vajracarya and the one he always has in his hand for any ritual act involving the use of power—consecrations, summoning of a deity into a receptacle, transference of the deity from one image to another, etc. It is used in conjunction with the bell (*ghanta*) for certain ritual acts such as the recitation of a hymn of praise (*stuti*). The Sanskrit term means either thunderbolt or diamond, but it is the latter meaning which is taken as the basic symbol for the philosophy of the Vajrayana. "*Vajra* stands for a substance so hard that nothing in the universe can dent or cut it. Irresistible, invincible, shining and clear, it is in fact the non-substance of the void, the 'substance' of the Dharma-Body of the Buddhas; and when an adept is so close to Liberation that nothing can effect his resolution or deflect his course, is is said that he has attained a Vajra-body and become a Vajra-being [Vajrasttva]. Henceforth he can bear the strength of any psychic force as easily as the Vajra-substance, if it existed in physical form, could bear the strongest heat or the most powerful strokes of lightning...The Buddha principle in its purest form is called Vajra-sattva or Vajra-Being...In its philosophical sense, Vajra means wisdom hard and sharp as a diamond which cuts through erroneous conceptions and leads to Buddhahood...The ritual implement called *vajra*...was originally the symbol of the Hindu deity Indra; it once signified a thunderbolt, but Buddhists no longer think of it as

with his consort, who is identified as Prajna, but these images are rare and are usually kept in secret. He is regarded by the Vajracaryas as the priest of the five Dhyani Buddhas and hence as their own special patron and *guru*. In conception he is inextricably mixed up with Vajradhara, considered by some sects to be the Adi Buddha, though the conception of Vajrasattva seems to be older than that of Vajradhara. The only iconographic difference between the two is that Vajradhara holds the *vajra* in his right hand and the *ghanta* in his left with the two hands crossed against the breast, in what is called the *vajrahumakara mudra*.[31]

Many of the Tibetan rituals also begin with a contemplation on Vajrasattva and a recitation in his honour as a means of purifying the practitioner. Beyond this the adept is expected to perform the Vajrasattva purification from time to time throughout his life, especially if he has infringed any provisions of the pledge he took at the time of his initiation.[32] The Varjacaryas attach the same meaning of self-puri-

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having this meaning. It is used in conjunction with a *vajra-bell*... Together they symbolize skilful means (which is equated with compassion) and the wisdom wherewith Enlightenment is won." Blofeld, p. 117–8.

31. See Bhattacharyya, *Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism*, p. 127–8. At a deeper level Vajrasattva is the "Being of adamantine substance-the ultimate principle as the unity of the universe. It has been said, 'By *vajra* is meant Sunyata, and by *sattva* is implied pure consciousness; the identity of the two follows from the nature of Vajrasattva." Dasgupta, p. 87. The aim of the Vajrayana meditation is the realization of the ultimate unity of oneself and Vajrasattva. "The Buddhist tantras say that the Saddhaka, who realises the Vajrasattva, himself becomes the Vajra-sattva. To realise the Vajrasattva is to realise that all existence is nothing but Sunyata in its pure form; but once the Sadhaka becomes endowed with this wisdom through his realisation, he becomes the Vajra-sattva." Dasgupta, p. 19 Yet even in the tantric texts themselves there seems to have been an ambivalence between this philosophical conception and a tendency to consider the ultimate principle, Vajrasattva, as a being, the personal God, the Lord Supreme. See Dasgupta, p. 78. In the highly ritualized Buddhism of the Newars, the ritual texts seem to consider all of the deities, and especially Vajrasattva, as individual beings after the manner of the conception of Hindu gods; and there is no questioning the fact that most of the practising Vajracaryas do so conceive them.

32. See Blofeld, p. 159–60.

fication to the rite. In his preface to the published text, the editor notes that the Guru Mandala is to be performed to purify oneself (*thagu deha suddha yaygu*) before one salutes the *guru,* takes refuge in the three jewels, or performs a *puja*. Just as a Hinayana Buddhist cannot worthily undertake any good work without taking the promises of morality (the *panca* or *dasa sila*), and just as a Hindu cannot worthily undertake a work without giving the gift of a cow, so a Mahayana Buddhist cannot undertake a spiritual work without performing the Guru Mandala.[33] Hence it is essential that the Guru Mandala rite be performed before every *puja* to purify the priest and the participants, though it may also be performed as a ritual by itself. Other informants have laid greater stress on the idea of a salutation to the *guru*. The *guru* of the Vajracarya is Vajrasattva and he begins every *puja* with this offering of himself to the *guru*.

The Guru Mandala rite can be performed by any Buddhist—Vajracarya, Sakya or *upasaka*. As noted in the previous chapter, the young Bare is taught the rite on the day before his ordination as a *bhiksu* and performs it again on the day of his ordination. At the beginning of any *puja* performed by a Vajracarya, he leads his *jajman* through the Guru Mandala rite as a purification.

The rite begins with a salutation to Vajrasattva followed by the drawing of the *mandala* on the ground with white sand.[34] The priest then purifies himself by sipping water three times from the palm of his hand. Next he declares the intention for which he is to perform this *puja* reciting a long verse which situates the place of the *puja* in the land of Sri Sakya Simha Tathagata (Nepal), mentioning a number of real and legendary Buddhist shrines in India and Nepal and ending with the exact specifications of the date according to the lunar calendar and the specific intention for which the *puja* is to be performed as well as the name of the donor (*danapati*) who is paying to have the *puja* per-

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33. *Gurumandala*, p. "ka".
34. For the description of the rite which follows I have relied on the text of the Guru Mandala published by the Vajracarya Sangha of Kathmandu mentioned above. The editor gives no manuscript source or date for the text.

formed. At the conclusion of this, the priest consecrates the vessel containing the flowers, incense, etc. which will be used in the *puja*. Next he receives some unhusked rice (*dhan*) from the donor (here called *jajman*), as he prays for the health and prosperity of the *jajman*.

A series of self purificatory rites to prepare the priest to perform the ritual follows. The first of these is the *nyasyoga* rite in which the priest touches the various parts of his body in turn reciting a *mantra* for each, in order, according to my informants, to bring his body under the spell of the mantras (*mantrama dalna*),or more properly, to bring his body under the influence of the *vajra*.[35] This rite concludes with a salutation to the *gurus*, i. e., the Guru Buddha, the Guru Dharma, the Guru Sangha, and the Guru Vajradhara (i. e., Vajrasattva). Next, the priest consecrates the water in the conch shell with a *mantra* making it *vajra* water. This water will be used for various blessings, and he uses it immediately to purify himself, sprinkling it first on his head and then over his whole body, praying that he be purified by all the *tathagatas* (i. e., the Buddhas) through this consecration or baptism (*abhiseka*). Again taking the conch shell he touches the *mandala* and drops water on it praying that he overcome all hindrances. Then taking a flower he touches it to his throat, neck, and chest praying that each of these become the seat (*asana*) of the *vajra*, reciting as he does so the *mantra* Om, Ah, Hum.[36] To destroy any sins he may have committed he next throws flowers to left and right praying that all sin be destroyed. Finally, he places a flower on his head for self protection reciting a *mantra* to the great Pratisara (a Buddhist protective deity), asking for protection for himself and all living beings.

Having completed these self-purificatory rites the priest turns his attention to the *mandala*, first putting a red *tika* on the *mandala*

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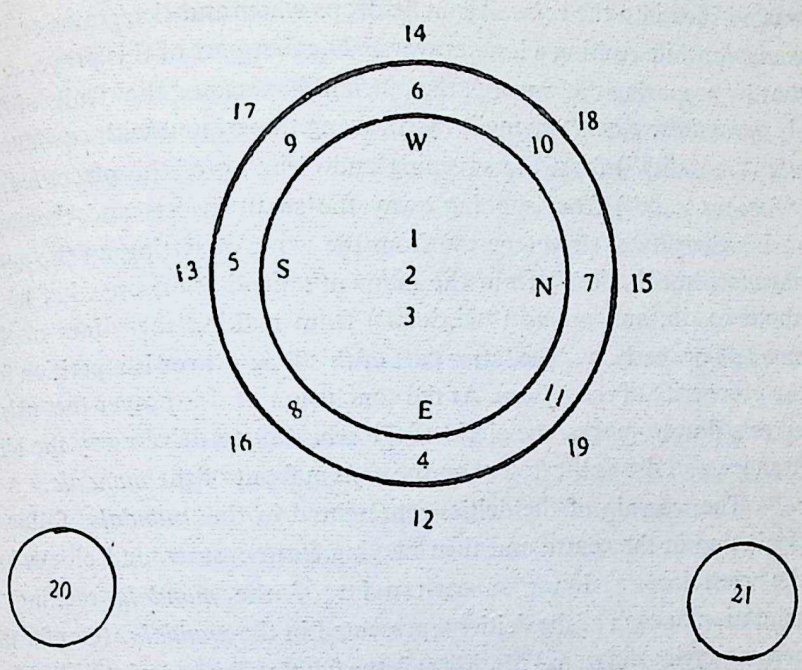
35. *Nyasa* is a yogic technique consisting in the "assignment mentally of various parts of the body to the protection of tutelary presiding deities, with the imposition of the hands, or fingers, and the repetition of texts and mystical words and the use of symbols." George W. Briggs, (*Gorakhanath and the Kanphata Yogis*; Delhi, 1973) p. 178.

36. For the meaning of this rite which brings into play the three powers of body, speech and mind see the note on *sadhana* at the end of this chapter.

## The Mount Meru Mandala




1. Mahamadhyameru
2. Madhyameru
3. Suksmamdhyameru
4. Purvavideha
5. Jambudvipa
6. Aparagodavari
7. Uttararvrve
8. Upadvipa (=subcontinent)
9. Upadvipa
10. Upadvipa
11. Upadvipa
12. Gajaratna-Jewel of the Elephant
12. Asvaratna-Jewel of the Horse
14. Purusaratna-Jewel of Man
15. Striratna-Jewel of Woman
16. Khadgaratha-Jewel of the Sword
17. Cakraratna-Jewel of the Wheel
18. Maniratna-Jewel of the Gem
18. Sarvanidhana-All Treasures
20. Candra-the Moon
21. Surya-the Sun
22. Hail to Vajrasatva the Guru

and then on himself. He sprinkles water from the conch shell on the *mandala* thereby changing the ground and the cow dung with which it was purified into the *vajra*. Again he drops water and rice grains on the *mandala* while reciting a long prayer. The first part of this prayer says that by preparing the *mandala* the officiant has reaped the fruits of the six *paramitas: dana* ("giving") by smearing the ground with cow dung, *sila* ("morality") from the sweeping and cleaning of the place, *ksanti* ("forebearance") from shooing away the small insects and thereby saving their lives, *virya* (energy) from the work of setting up the *puja*, *dhyana* ("meditation") from the moment's meditation on what he is about to do, and *prajna* ("wisdom") from making the lines of the *mandala* properly.[37] The latter part of this long prayer is a petition for the prosperity of the *jajman*. At the conclusion of this prayer the priest takes a flower, makes one circle of the *mandala* to drive away the hindrances, and drops the flower on the *goja* in front of the *mandala*.

The worship of the deities represented in the *mandala* follows. Beginning in the centre and then moving from east around clockwise, the priest drops a flower on each point of the *mandala* reciting a salutation to each of the deities represented in the *mandala*. (Confer the accompanying diagram.) Mt. Meru is the fabulous mountain said to form the central point of the world; round it are four continents and four sub-continents with Jambudvipa (the Indian sub-continent) to the south. In the second circle of the *mandala* are a series of "jewels" and outside of the *mandala* itself the sun and moon.

The significance is twofold. At one level the *mandala* is considered to be a representation of the entire world symbolized by Mt. Meru and the continents plus all the wealth and glory of men and the gods represen-

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37. *Gurumandala*, p. 4. The six (or sometimes ten) *paramitas* are perfections which must be practised by the *bodhisattva*. To attain the fruits of Mahayana Buddhism one must practise or "cross" these. Informants tell me that this prayer can be interpreted in two ways, either the rather simplistic interpretation that by doing these simple acts one practises these perfections and thus attains the aims of Mahayana Buddhims, or, they can be looked on as symbolic examples of the sort of practices one should be doing throughout one's life.

ted in the outer circle.[38] By offering the *mandala* the devotee is offering the entire world to the deity. At the level of tantric yoga the *mandala* represents the human body. The continents situate the person who is offering himself, and the seven jewels correspond to the seven limbs of enlightenment.[39] This is followed by a *pancopacara puja* of the *mandala* using the short formula. The priest then drops rice, water and flowers on the *mandala* in a stream as he recites a prayer offering the *mandala* to the three *gurus:* the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha. Then taking rice and the *vajra* in his right hand he recites a hymn (*stortra*) to Vajrasattva. (This is the standard rubric to be followed whenever a *stotra* is recited.) In the hymn the priest offers himself, symbolized by the Mt. Meru *mandala,* in salutation to the Guru Vajrasattva.

Then the priest folds his hands in the *kritanjali mudra* and recites a long prayer or meditation saluting first the sun (*Gurubhaskara*) as a symbol of the Buddha, and then in turn the three jewels: the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha. He takes refuge in the three jewels praying that he himself become a buddha for the welfare of the whole world. He takes upon himself all sins and bestows all his merit on others promising the observance of the eightfold way. He acknowledges his sins and failings and offers these to the *guru* Vajrasattva and then again prays that he have the power to wipe away all suffering (*duhkha*) from this world and create happiness (*sukha*) in its place for the happiness and prosperity of all men. At the conclusion of the recitation he throws rice grains into the air.

If the Guru Mandala is being performed alone as a separate rite, the priest next recites a series of *mantras,* 108 times each. If it forms part of another *puja,* as it usually does, he goes on to the next rite, since the *mantras* will be recited in the course of the rest of the ritual.

The next series of rituals are all connected with the worship of the Guardians of the Directions, the Loka-palas. They are summoned

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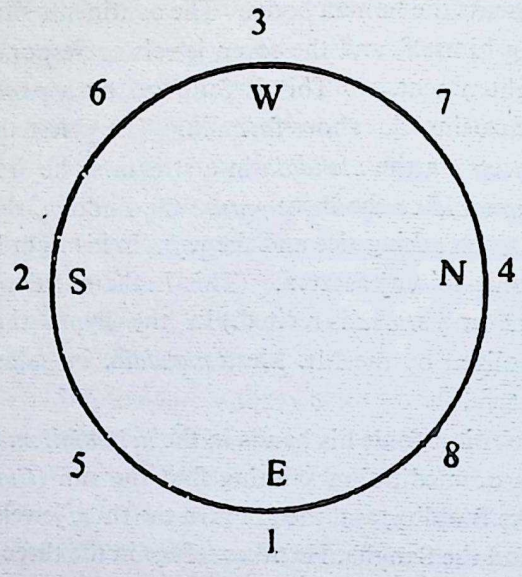
38. See Beyer, p. 168.
39. See Wayman, p. 101; 107 ff. Wayman gives the complete diagram of a much more elaborate Mt. Meru *mandala* used by the Tibetans and the temple banners based on it.

## The Guardians of the Directions




1. Indra — East
2. Yama — South
3. Varuna — West
4. Kubera — North
5. Agni — Southeast
6. Nairtya — Southwest
7. Vayuvya* — Northwest
8. Isana — Northesast
9. Urdha-Brahman — the Lord of the region above the world
10. Adhaprithvi — the Lord of the underworld
11. Surya-grahadipati – the Lord of the sun and planets
12. Candra-naksatradhipati — the Lord of the moon and constellations
13. Naga — the Nagas (the mythical snake deities)
14. Asuras — the *asuras* or demons
15. Yaksas — the *yakasa* or demi-gods who are usually considered to be attendants of Kubera
16. Sarvadigavidiga-lokapala — the Lokapala deities of all the directions

* Spelling as given in the text of the Guru Mandala rite.

and worshipped to protect the circle of deities in the Mt. Meru *mandala* and the area of the *puja*. First the priest consecrates the Loka-pala *bali* by pouring water over it from the conch shell and reciting a *mantra* which describes the *bali* in yogic terms. Then he summons the Guardians of the Directions by showing the *garuda mudra* and reciting the *mantra "phem"* three times. Immediately he welcomes the deities by showing four *mudras:* Vajrankusa (Vajra-hook), Vajrapasa (Vajra-noose), Varjrasphotaka (Vajra-burst) and Vajravesa (Vajra of the act of taking possession). This rite of binding the deities in place, performed in every *puja* immediately after the deity or deities to be worshipped have been summoned and welcomed, is indicated in the texts by the ritual shorthand Jah-Hum-Vam-Hoh.[40] Having summoned the deities and performed the above *mudras* the priest salutes the sixteen Guardaians of the Directions, first circling the Loka-pala *bali* with a flower for each of the sixteen, reciting the *mantra* salutation to each, and finally dropping the flower on the *goja* in front of the Loka-pala *bali.* See the accompanying diagram for the names and positions of the deities. There is no *mandala* of the Guardians of the Directions; rather they are considered to be ranged round the *mandala* of the deity being worshipped to protect it. Hence there is no deity in the centre.

There follows a series of offerings to the Guardians of the Directions beginning with the *pancopacara puja*. Secondly, the priest worships them by offering to them the following dance postures (*lasya*) which symbolize the sixteen dance goddesses of sensual enjoyment:

1. Vajra Vina — Diamond Lute
2. Vajra Vamse – Diamond Flute
3. Vajra Mridange – Diamond Drum
4. Vajra Muruge (or Muraje) – Diamond Drum ( A tambourine-like Drum)
5. Vajra Lasya — Diamond dance

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40. Snellgrove identifies these four *mudras* as four fierce divinities summoned to protect the circle of the *mandala*. Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himalaya*, p. 68. For a fuller explanation of the *mantra* and its use see the note on *sadhana* at the end of this chapter.

6. Vajra Mala – Diamond Garland
7. Vajra Gita — Diamond Song
8. Vajra Nritya – Diamond Dance
9. Vajra Puspa — Diamond Flower
10. Vajra Dhupa — Diamond Incense
11. Vajra Aloke — Diamond Lamps
12. Vajra Gandha – Diamond Scent
13. Vajra Darsa — Diamond Sight
14. Vajra Rasa — Diamond Taste
15. Vajra Sparse — Diamond Touch
16. Vajradharmadhatugarbha — Diamond-womb-of-mental-events

These *lasya* or dance postues, performed in most cases with hand postures (*mudras*) and not actually with dance postures, are one of the standard offerings made to a deity in any *puja*.[41] Thirdly the priest takes the *vajra* in his right and the bell in his left hand and, ringing the bell, he recites a *mantra* extolling the *vajra* and bell. Fourthly, there is a short hymn (*stuti*) to the Guardians of the Directions who "bind fast the harmful *krodhas*," the malevolent spirits who interfere with performance of the ritual.[42] Finally, he offers a libation (*tarpana*),

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41. In Tibetan rituals these are referred to as the sixteen secret offerings and the goddesses are sometimes pictured in the *mandala* of the deity. See Beyer, p. 159.

42. This is the explanation of the *krodhas* given by informants. However, considering their role in the psychic process of yogic meditation they should be thought of as guardians themselves, not hindrances. "The unconscious may overflow into the conscious and suffocate it, extinguish it, but the conscious has no such power of eliminating and dispersing the unconsious. It is a matter of a long and difficult struggle that never ceases and which consciousness must carry right into the enemy's camp. This is possible in only one way, by assuming a pugnacious and terrifying appearance suited to the powers which must be combated.

"As a result each of the deities of the superior plane emits from himself a *krodha*, that is to say a terrifying (*rudra*) emanation, a 'wrathful' one, which symbolized in monstrous forms, represents the violent ingress of conscious forces into the shadows of the unconscious so as to cut at the root of the rival, or decompose it and lead it, submissive and docile, towards the realms of light." Tucci, *Mandala*, p. 60.

this time with rice beer to the accompaniment of a *mantra.*

These rites comprise a series that is used frequently in other rituals and is referred to in other texts simply by the ritual shorthand: *pan-la-ghan-stu-ta* (*pancopacara puja, lasya, ghanta, stuti, tarpana*). As with many of the rituals described here the full rite is found only in the Guru Mandala. In this way the Guru Mandala is a sort of primer of basic ritual acts that the Vajracarya must commit to memory for use in all of his rituals.

Following this series of offerings the priest drops rice, flowers and water on the *bali* as he recites a prayer asking Indra and the *vajra* gods, all of the other gods, the *nagas,* spirits, etc. to accept the *bali,* the flowers, incense and scent. Again dropping rice, flowers and water on the *bali* he prays to the fierce deities Vajrapani, Mahakrodha and Bhairava beseeching them to destroy the *krodhas.*

The priest then concludes the *puja* of the *bali* with another series of rites which is always employed as the final worship of a deity in whatever ritual he performs. It is called either the *puspadi puja* ("offering of the flowers, etc.") or the *vidhivata puja* ("the prescribed offerings"). Wherever the rubric *puspadi puja* or *Vidhivata puja* occurs in the ritual text the entire series of rituals, or a specified part, is to be performed. The series consists of the offerings of the *pancopacara puja* interspered with other offerings and rites, and it comprises a complete circle of worship beginning with a summoning of the deity and ending with an offering of a stipend to the deity. It would seem then to be another series of rituals added to what has gone before without too much regard for the logical progression of the ritual.

1. *Puspa bhavana*—meditation on the flowers to be offered as partaking in the nature of the void (*sunyata*), i. e., the nature of the *vajra.*

2. *Avahana--Dhupa vakya*—the summoning of the deity by the offering of incense. This consists in the offering of incense with the long recitation quoted above. The offering of incense is always considered to be a summons (*avahana*) to the deity.

3. *Adhyesana vakya*—a recitation of salutation. Taking rice and the *vajra* in his right hand the priest meditates on his own destiny as one who has given himself to the enlightened mind (*bodhicitta*), as

one who has summoned the deities present, and he asks that his performance of the worship be successful.

4. *Dharamandala*—pouring water on the *mandala*. Pouring water from the conch shell with his right hand and dropping rice grains with his left hand, the priest prays that all the *tathagatas* (i. e., buddhas) take up residence in the *mandala*.

5. *Gandha*—offering of red *tika* powder to the *mandala* with the long recitation quoted above.

6. *Yajnopavitadi vastram*—offering of the sacred thread or garment, etc. A piece of string, abut six inches long and made up of five coloured strands in honour of the five Buddhas and tied in a loop, is offered to the *mandala* with a *mantra*. At the end of the Guru Mandala *puja* this thread is presented to the *jajman* as a sort of *prasada* which he then ties round his wrist.[43]

7. *Pusparohanam*—offering of flowers, with the long recitation quoted above.

8. *Naivedya*—the presentation of a food offering to the deity accompanied by one of the two recitations quoted above.

9. *Madyadhara*—offering of spirits to the *mandala* to the accompaniment of a *mantra*.

10. *Godugdhadi*—offering of milk, etc. Milk is poured on the *mandala* with the recitation of a *mantra* equating the milk to a fountain of nectar (*amrita*) turned into the enlightened mind (*bodhicitta*).

11. *Phaladi*—offering of fruits to the *mandala* with a *mantra*.

12. *Dipam darsayet*—the showing of the light to the accompaniment of the recitaton quoted above.

13. *Lajaksata*—offering of parched rice and unbroken rice grains to the accompaniment of the Buddhist motto: *Ye dharma hetuprabhava*, etc. "Of all phenomena that proceed from a cause, the Tathagata [the Buddha] has told the cause, he has also told about their ending. Thus has spoken the great *sramana* [i. e., the Buddha]." From at least

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43. This is the usual form of the string; however, in some rituals the colour differs. Thus in all *pujas* to Avalokitesvara a five-stranded white string is used, as his colour is most frequently considered to be white.

the beginning of the Gupta Age, Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhists alike have accepted this formula as a summation of the Buddha's teachings and have used it as a motto or slogan.[44]

14. *Sajalapuspaksatena*—offering of water, flowers and unbroken rice grains to the accompaniment of a *mantra* in honour of the sacred syllable Om.

15. *Daksana svarupa tandulena puja*—the priest again offers rice grains, this time to Manjusri. The basic meaning of *daks* is to act to the satisfaction of, and the noun *daksa* is usually taken as referring to mental ability or mental powers. Informants, though, have interpreted it as something given to satisfy the deity, and therefore *daksina,* an offering or stipend given to the deity. The deity being worshipped is considered to be the priest's *guru* and just as any *jajman* offers a stipend to his *guru* at the end of a *puja,* so the priest offers a stipend to the deity.

16. The series of rites concludes with the recitation of the "Hundred-syllable-mantra of Vajrasattva," a basic recitation used by the Vajracaryas in every *puja* and recited to whatever deity they are worshipping. Though informants have told me that they should change the name to the deity they are worshipping, if it is not Vajrasattva, this is usually not done and with sound reason. Any deity can be considered to be ultimately Vajrasattva, the diamond-being, the void with which

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44. थे धर्म हेतुप्रभवा हेतु तेषां तथागतः ह्यवनत् तेषां योनिरोध एवं वाणी महाश्रमणः।
"The formula itself is very ancient. It is found in the Theravada Pali canon where it is called Dhamma-paruyaya (formula of Dhamma) for a *paribbajaka.* It is found inscribed on votive *stupas* and clay tablets all over India from Taxila and Kushinagara in the north to Ajanta and Kanheri in the South, mostly in its Sanskrit version. Perhaps its use as a credal formula commenced not much earlier than the commencement of the Gupta age...The practice of imbedding such seals in *stupas* and even on statues has been illustrated by many Buddhist monuments both in India and Burma." Dutt, p. 224–5, Note 1. Such clay seals, dating from the 7th century A. D., were recovered from a crumbling *caitya* at Chabel, near Kathmandu, in 1972. The formula is found frequently on images and *bahas* all over the Valley, and a recitation of it is included in all Vajracarya *pujas.*

all phenomena is ultimately identified. Though, as with all *mantras*, translation is difficult and often meaningless, since the important thing is not the meaning but the sound and the state of the mind generated by the recitation of the *mantra*, I give here Beyer's translation: "Om, Vajrasattva, guard my vows. Vajrasattva, let them be firm ! Be steadfast for me, be satisfied, be favorable, be nourished for me ! Grant me the magical attainments ! Indicator of all karma: Make glorious my mind HUM HA HA HA HA HOH ! Blessed One Diamond of all the Tathagatas: do not forsake me, make me diamond! Great Being of the vow Ah ![45]

Next the priest places a *tika* on himself, claps his hands once, takes one of the sixteen flowers offered to the *mandala* and placing it on his head recites a long prayer asking for forgiveness for any mistakes, omissions, or superfluous acts he may have performed in the course of the ritual. The prayer also includes a petition for the peace, health and prosperity of the *jajman* and a final salutation to the Buddha. This is followed by the *virsarjana*, or dismissal rite, which consists in the recitation of the following: "Having given to all of us magical powers (*siddhi*) according to your way, please return to your Buddha place and come again when we call. Each go to his own place. [Addressed to all the deities that have been summoned in the course of the ritual.] *OM AH HUM Vajramandalamuh.*"

This, or a similar dismissal rite, concludes every *puja*, as the deity (or deities) who have been summoned must be ritually dismissed before the priest rises from his seat. If the Guru Mandala is being performed as a separate ritual it concludes here. More frequently,

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45. Beyer, p. 144. The Sanskrit is as follows: ऊं. वज्रसत्त्व समयमनुपालय, वजसत्त्वत्वेनीपतिष्ठ, दृढो मे भव, सुतोष्यो मे भव, सुपोष्यो मे भव, अनुरक्तो मे भव, सिद्धि मे प्रय छ सर्वकर्म्मसु च मे चित श्रेयः कुरु, हु हहहह होः भगवन् सर्वतथागतवज्र मा ने मुच, वज्रोभव महासमयसत्त्व अः । Benoytosh Bhattacharyaa, *Sadhana-mala*, 2 vols, (Baroda, 1968), p. 174 and 145. In Tibet where the Vajrasattva purification as used as a preliminary rite, the *mantra* of Vajrasattva is to be recited by the initiated a hundred thousand times within about two years. See Blofeld, p. 160.

though, it is just an introductory rite to another rite such as the *kalasa* and *homa puja*, in which case the priest passes immediately on to the next ritual omitting the *visarjana* of the Guru Mandala which he will perform only at the end of his *puja*.

### The Kalasu Puja

The basic *puja* of the Vajracaryas is the *kalasa puja*.[46] The *kalasa* is a small water pot or flask, usually with a spout, into which the deity is summoned and then worshipped. The ritual is an ancient one in India, and the Brahmans still make use of it in their rituals. Early in the development of Buddhist ritual it was taken up by the Buddhists also. The use of the *kalasa* continued even after the worship of the *mandala* was developed, and it is even used if the *puja* takes place before a consecrated image of the deity in question. Though the deity is considered to be present in a consecrated image, if a *puja* is to be performed before it, the priest first summons the deity into the *kalasa* to involve him in the rite and make him immediately present to those performing the *puja*.[47] The ordinary officiant at a *kalasa puja* is the Vajracarya, but a Sakya may also perform it as a part of his private

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46. The text I have used for the ritual of the *kalasa puja* is the following: Amoghavajra Vajracarya, ed., *Kalasarcanadi-homavidhana-pustakam* (Kathmandu, 1093 N. S.). The text was prepared by the editor from a manuscript preserved at Kwa Baha in Kathmandu dated 650 N. S. (1530) and copied by one Sri Gopal Vajracarya.

47. In terms of tantric yoga the use of the *kalasa* has much the same significance. So that the mystic can identify himself with the forces that govern the universe and collect their thaumaturgical power within himself 'a vase was employed, a round receptacle which was not abandoned when the theory of the *mandala* was elaborated in all its details and in a definitive manner...A vase remains an indispensable adjunct in all those Hindu ceremonies designed to bring down the divine essence into a statue or other object. Such a 'descent' takes place first of all, from the celestial plane into the vase and then passes through the channel of the sacrificer. Then, the small volume of the vase, or small delimited surface, became, magically, the universe on which the magician or the mystic—identified with the supreme powers—operated according to the inviolable laws of the rite." Tucci, *Mandala*, p. 24.

worship. Thus a Vajracarya initiation is not required for the performance of this rite. However, a Sakya may not have *jajmans*, i. e., clients for whom he performs the *puja* and from whom he is entitled to receive a stipend (*daksina*).

As will be evident as the ritual unfolds, both the *kalasa* and *homa puja* are a ritualization of the *sadhana*, the yogic evocation of a deity. (See the note on *Sadhana* at the end of this chapter.) In the minds of most priests, and of the laity for whom they perform this rite, though, it is conceived as a summoning of the deity (conceived after the manner of the Hindu gods) and the worship of him to show one's devotion, to satisfy, please and propitiate him, and to present one's petitions. That the true meaning of the ritual is not entirely lost to the Vajracaryas, though, is evident from the remarks the editor makes in the preface to the text: "The main aim of the *kalasa puja* is to make the deity present in the *kalasa* by means of a *sadhana* and then through the consecration (*abhiseka*) of the *kalasa* to bring about a participation in *nirvana* itself." This, the editor notes, is the explanation given in the *Kriya-Sangraha* (a voluminous collection of all the Vajrayana rituals).[48]

After the area of the *puja* has been swept clean and purified with cow dung, the *kalasa* is placed on top of a drawing in white sand of an eight-petalled lotus (*asta-dalakamala*). This is considered to be a form of the basic Mt. Meru Mandala, the eight petals representing the four continents and four sub-continents. The deity to be worshipped is thus placed in the commanding position in the centre of the world. In some *bahas* there is a large *dharma dhatu mandala* set into the pavement in front of the shrine of the *kwapa dya:*; if the *puja* is being performed before the *kwapa dya:* the *kalasa* is placed there. Instead of the simple lotus *mandala* the priest may use the proper *mandala* of the deity to be worshipped. Thus if he is to perform a *puja* to Amoghapasa Lokesvara, he may draw his *mandala* and place the *kalasa* on that.

To the left of the *kalasa* the priest draws a swastika and in front of this he places a dish of curds (*dahi*). The swastika has been used by

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48. *Gurumandala*, first page of preface (un-numbered).

Buddhists from the earliest days as a sign of good luck and prosperity. Often it is found on the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet of a Buddha image. For the tantric Buddhists, though, the intersecting lines of the swastika represent the union of the male and female principles of tantric philosophy, the male principle being "means" (*upaya*) and the female "wisdom" (*prajna*). This union produces the enlightened mind (*bodhicitta*) and the curds represent the *bodhicitta*. To the right of the *kalasa* is drawn an equilateral triangle and above this is placed a lamp. According to informants, the triangle represent *sakti* in tantric symbolism. The union of *prajna* (*sakti*) and *upaya* gives men power, i. e., through the union of these two, man has the power to attain *nirvana*. This *sakti* is the very power by which the world runs. The light placed on top of the triangle also represents *sakti*, as fire is a common figure for power.[49] Though this is the explanation of the curds and the light given by informants, the ritual text itself indicates that the curds represent the moon and the light represents the sun, both of which in turn are represented by the *kalasa*. The sun and moon are common symbols for the male and female principles; they are united in the deity present in the *kalasa*.

To the right of the light the priest draws another eight-petalled lotus on which he places an earthen vessel with an image of a snake (*naga*) painted on it. In Newari this is called the "*nagpan*". This situates the area of the *puja* geographically. The Valley of Kathmandu, since it was once a lake, is considered to be the special abode of the *nagas* who rule over it. Hence every *puja* contains a worship and *samadhi*

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49. This is the explanation given to me by practising Vajracaryas; however, it is a mixture of two totally different theories, those of the Hindu and the Buddhist tantras. *Prajna*, the Buddhist female principle, in contrast to the female principle of the Hindu tantras, is not *Sakti* or power, but exactly the opposite. The active and "powerful" principle is the male principle, the "means" (*upaya*). The female principle is quiescent and it is only by union with her partner that she is aroused to activity. The term *sakti* is not used in the Buddhist tantras. *Prajna* united to *upaya* produces the mind of enlightenment (*bodhicitta*) which gives man the "power" to attain *nirvana*. See Wayman, p. 7–8 and David Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1959), 1: 44.

of the *nagas*, especially of Vasuki Nagaraja, who is considered to be the ruling *naga* of the Valley at the present time.

These four—the *kalasa*, light, curds, and *nagapan*—constitute the basic requirements for the performance of a *kalasa puja*. In addition to these the priest draws the Guru Mandala in front of the *kalasa* for the performance of that rite which must be performed first. To the right of this he places the Loka-pala *bali* and to the left of this another *bali* known as the *tri-samadhi bali* to be offered to Herukacakrasamvara. In front of each of these and of the four items mentioned above he places a *goja*. To one side he places a small vessel containing *dubo* grass and milk, another containing milk and flattened rice (*cyura*), and a large metal vessel containing the conch shell and the substances required for the *pancopacara puja*, the *pancamrita* and the *pancagavya*. This is called the *puja bhanda*, the "*puja* vessel".

The *kalasa* itself is always of metal–gold or silver if possible—but usually brass and sometimes copper. Into the *kalasa* the priest places five grains of parched rice, five grains of uncooked, red rice, some ghee and honey, a jasmine flower, a peacock feather and a sprig of long grass such as is used to make the ordinary house brooms. Water, either from the Bagmati or the Visnumati River, will be poured into the *kalasa* at the appropriate moment during the ritual. On top of the *kalasa* he places a small saucer containing a few grains of uncooked rice, a round betel nut and a coin.

When all these arrangements have been completed, the priest begins the performance of the *kalasa puja* by performing the entire Guru Mandala rite as described above. This is followed by the *tri-samadhi*, a triple meditation on Herukacakrasamvara. There are no ritual acts to perform, the priest merely meditates for a few moments on Heruka. At the time of his initiation the Vajracarya was initiated into the *mandala* of Herukacakrasamvara, and this brief meditation is a re-enactment or recollection of his initiation rite. If the priest performing the rites is a Sakya, he, of course, has not been initiated into the *mandala* of Heruka (unless he has taken the *acarya diksa*), but he was given a *mantra* of Heruka at the time he laid aside his *bhiksu* robes. At the conclusion of the meditation the priest performs a *puja* to the *tri-samadhi bali*, similar to that performed for the Loka-pala *bali* above.

Next the priest performs the *pancopacara puja* on the vessel containing the red powder (*sindur*) used for *tika*. The *pancopacara* is followed by a prayer to Vajravarahi, the consort of Herukacakrasamvara.[50] He then places a red *tika* on each of the following in turn: the lamp, the *nagpan*, the *kalasa*, the vessel of curds, and the Lokapala-bali. If the *puja* is being performed in secret in the *agam*, this is followed by a secret (*guhya*) tantric ritual known as the *kumbha puja*. I omit this here since I have not seen the ritual and the secret tantric rites are not performed to Avalokitesvara. Next the priest has the *jajman* perform a shortened form of the Guru Mandala rite for his purification. This concludes the preparatory rites.

The rites which follow are connected with the summoning of the deity into the *kalasa*. First the priest meditates on two *mantras* which extol the inherent purity of all worldly phenomena and the voidness of all phenomena. Both of these *mantras* serve to remind him that the deity he is about to summon has no reality in itself; like everything else it is *vajra*.[51] After the recitation of these two *mantras* he offers

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50. Red power (*sindur*) is associated with female deities and yellow with male deities. There is an initiation rite into the *mandala* of Vajravarahi, usually given in conjunction with the long *acarya diksa*, which is also known by the name of Sindur Puja.

51. The first of these mantras is: "All dharmas are perfect by nature, I am perfect by nature." ऊ स्वभावशुद्धाः सर्वधर्माः स्वभावशुदेहम् । "All worldly phenomena are indeed pure by nature, and therefore the worshipper should think himself pure by nature...

"If all phenomena are naturally pure, where, then is the possibility of the cycle of existence ? Because of their being covered up with the impurity of such thought categories as the subject and the object. This impurity can only be purged off by the meditation on the good path. By this it is restrained. Thus is established the essential and inherent purity of all Phenomena." B. Bhattacharya, *Buddhist Esoterism*, p. 106–7. The second *mantra* is "My nature is at one with the nature of the *vajra* knowledge of the void." ऊं शून्यताज्ञानवज्रस्वभावात्मकोहम् । "Here void means this. He should conceive the entire universe, with its mobile and immobile creations, as the clear manifestation of non-duality, when the mind is devoid of all kinds of false reflections and of such thought-categories as the subject and the object." Ibid., p. 107. The concept of emptiness or

incense, using the long formula. Then he has an assistant pour water from the conch shell into the *kalasa,* after which the conch shell is placed on top of the small saucer which covers the *kalasa.* (This must be done by an assistant, as the priest cannot rise from his place from the time he begins the Guru Mandala rite until he performs the final *visarjana.*) This is followed by an evocation (*sadhana*) of the personification of the water (*vajramritodaka*—"the diamond-nectar-water).[52] By means of this *sadhana* the priest is supposed to evoke the deity and then come to a realization of its ultimate identity with the divine principle, the void.

There follows next a protection rite, consisting in a *puja* to the eight cremation *ghats* (*smasana* ) to protect the area of the *mandala* and the *kalasa* resting on it. The eight cremation *ghats,* where the tantric yogis met to perform their secret rituals, are included in every *mandala* and considered to be the places where the Loka-pala deities reside.[53] Here they are represented by eight lumps of earth (called

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the void (*sunyata*) is the highest concept of Mahayana Buddhism expounded in the Prajnaparamita *sutras* and in the Madhyamika school of Nagarjuna. In the Vajrayana philosophy *vajra* is the perfect void, hard and indestuctible like the diamond (*vajra*). Everything is ultimately *vajra.* According to the formula of worship found in the tantras, meditations on these two formulas preceded by a meditation on the Four Unlimited (the four Brahma *viharas*—friendship, compassion, happiness and indifference) should come before the evocation of the deity and the ritual offering of flowers, incense, etc. A meditation on these two *mantras,* then, forms a part of the preliminaries of every *sadhana.* They present a summary of the Mahayana philosophy which the adept is presumed to have mastered before he begins the performance of the *sadhanas.* See note on *sadhana* at the end of this chapter.

52. See note at the end of this chapter for an explanation and translation of this *sadhana.*

53. "In exoteric terms [the *smasanas*] are eight awe-inspiring places where in various parts of India ascetics retire to meditate. They are disposed in a cross. like the diagram of the *mandala,* four on the principal and four on the intermediate points. They are not nine, for there is no central point. They are peripheral, disposed on the outside limits of the *mandala's* cross-pieces or of the eight-petalled lotus which corresponds to

*alu* in Newari) placed in an earthen vessel. First the priest sprinkles the vessel with water from the conch shell to purify it and then placing four of the lumps in the earthen vessel he prays that "all the defilements (*klesa*) of this Vajrasattva [himself] be destroyed." Lighting a small lamp in the centre of the earthen vessel he prays that all his sins be burned up. Placing the remaining lumps of earth on the vessel he again prays for peace from all his defilements. Placing flower petals on top of these he prays for an increase of knowledge. Placing a mustard seed on the earthen vessel he prays that all beings which hinder the performance of the rite, such as the *maras,* be destroyed. Placing rice grains and flowers in the earthen vessel he recites a *mantra* on the meaning of the letter *a*. Finally, waving the light (symbolic of the dispelling of ignorance), he prays for all his organs.

What follows is the actual calling down of the deity into the *kalasa*. First, the priest performs the *puspadi puja* down to the offering of the light. Then placing a flower on the *goja* in front of the *kalasa* and placing his *vajra* on top of the *kalasa* he recites a *mantra* 108 times to summon the deity into the *kalasa*. The deity summoned into the *kalasa* depends on the purpose of the ritual and the place it is being performed. Thus, if a *kalasa puja* is being performed to Avalokitesvara, he is summoned into the *kalasa*. I have been told by some practising Vajracaryas, though, that the deity summoned into the *kalasa* is always Guhyesvari, i. e., Vajradevi or Vajravarahi. This has no justification

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the place of spiritual essences. The central point is lacking because, esoterically, these graveyards do not correspond to definite places but symbolize the eight aspects of the individual and individuating cognition which has been lost. The individual is shipwrecked in the world of experience, is overwhelmed by the impact of his *karma* and has fallen into the power of the unconscious. There are eight aspects, because five are in contact with the five sensory consciousnesses, that is to say, they correspond to the impressions which through our senses, the external world communicates to us. Then come the intellective consciousness (*manovijnana*), the thinking faculty of the individual, in itself and by itself (*vijnana*), and lastly the storeconsciousness (*alayavijnana*), which gathers together and retains both individual and collective experiences." Tucci, *Mandala,* p. 40–41.

in the texts. As soon as the deity has been summoned, the priest places flowers on the curds and is asked to think of the curds as representing Asvini (the first of the lunar mansions) and then of all of the lunar mansions, i. e., the curds represent the moon—the symbol for the male principle (*upaya*). Next he places a flower on the light thinking of the light as the sun, i. e. the female principle *prajana*.

Now that the deity is present he is worshipped by offering the *pancopacara puja*, the dance postures, the ringing of the bell, chanting of a hymn of praise (*stuti*), and the offering of a libation. Finally, the priest places his *vajra* on top of the *kalasa* again and recites the Buddhist motto (*ye dharma*, etc.), offers a stipend to the deity, and recites the hundred-syllabled *mantra* of Vajrasattva.

If the rite being performed is a simple *kalasa puja* it ends at this point with the *visarjana* of the *kalasa* deity, the *visarjana* of the Guru Mandala, and finally the *visarjana* of the *bali*.

This is the basic form of the *kalasa puja*, but it has several more elaborate forms and is used as the basic rite to which other rituals such as the *homa* rite, initiations, the marriage rite, and other occasional *pujas* are added. One elaborate form comprises the addition of the offering of the *astamangala*, the eight auspicious signs.[54] This is a long ritual taking two to three hours and can only be performed by a Vajracarya. Another variation is the *sata puja* the "*puja* of the hundred offerings," consisting of 108 small dishes of rice, 108 dishes of water, 108 lamps, and 108 small *caityas* made of barley. The *caityas* are called *torma* in Tibetan and in Newari; and the custom of offering them may well have originated in Tibet. The name of the *puja*, though, comes not from these offerings but from the fact that the *pancopacara puja* must be offered 108 times, usually done with the short recitations and the hand postures (*mudras*). This is a favourite *puja* performed by family groups through their priest on the day of the showing of the *bhoto* of Matsyendranath in Jawalahhel. The *sata puja* may be expanded to a *sahasra-puja* (1,000 offerings), and may be combined with the off-

54. The *astamanagala* or eight sauspicious signs are: the endless knot (*sri vatsa*), the white lotus, the banner, the *kalasa*, the yak tail fan, two fishes, the umbrella, and the conch shell.

ering of the *asta mangala* and the homa *puja*. A *sata puja* with the *asta-managala* and the *homa* is usually reserved for very special occasions and involves an expense that many ordinary familics cannot afford. Hence the degree of solemnity of these *pujas* is determined as much by the resources of the *jajman* as by the occasion.

### The Homa Sacrifice

The *homa* sacrifice, or the offering of oblations to the gods by casting ghee and grains into the sacred fire, is an ancient Indian ritual and one of the five *yajnas* performed in ancient times by the Brahman each day before his main meal. The Brahmans expanded the simple vedic rite in later times with a profusion of yogic and tantric tritual. This more elaborate *homa* was adopted by the tantric Buddhists and adapated to their uses, and the philosophy of the Vajrayana.[55] As mentioned above, the *Manjusri-mula-kalpa,* probably an eighth century work, seems to be the first Buddhist text to detail its performance. It is performed by the Vajracaryas for all of their more elaborate *pujas* and forms an integral part of some of the life cycle rites, notably the marriage ceremony, caste initiation rites and the *diksa* ceremony. It forms a part of the consecration rite of images, is used for the annual worship of the family deity and for other occasional *pujas* a family may ask their priest to perform if they can afford it.

In the published edition of the text the editor gives his interpretation of the meaning and purpose of the rite. "The rite of the *homa,* called *jajnavidhana,* gives the fruit of satisfaction and salvation (*mukti*) to living beings, averts calamity from the country and brings peace; it is used both for the initiation rites of men and the setting up of deities

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55. To what extent it was adapted can be seen by comparing the ritual of the Vajracaryas with the current Hindu rite. The Hindu rite is a much longer, but exoteric rite. The Vajrayana masters took the basic structure of the rite i. e., the use of the fire and the offering of grain and ghee, changed all of the recitations or *mantras* to selections from the Buddhist tantras, and thus converted it into a Buddhist esoteric rite, i. e., a ritualization of the tantric *sadhanas* whose various levels of meaning can only be understood by one familiar with the tantras. See Dhanasamser J. B. Rana, ed. and trans., *Agnisthapanavidhih* (Kathmandu, 2026 B. S.).

## The Homa Sacrifice

1. *Bali*—this *bali* seems to be offered to the deities residing in the place where the *puja* is to be performed. There is no special worship for it; a simple *pancopacara puja* is offered.

2. Dish of curds.

3. The main *kalasa*.

4. *Nagpan*—an earthenware pot with an image of a *naga* on it.

5. *Kunda*—the pit for the sacred fire, enclosed by unburnt bricks.

6. Small metal dishes with the 32 different kinds of grain.

7. Crown—the *vajracarya* crown with images of the five Dhyani Buddhas, usually metal, the more elaborate ones of silver or gilded copper and adorned with semi-precious stones. The priest must wear the crown when making offerings into the fire and at other times during the ritual.

8. *Tri-samadhi bali.*

9. *Gurumandala.*

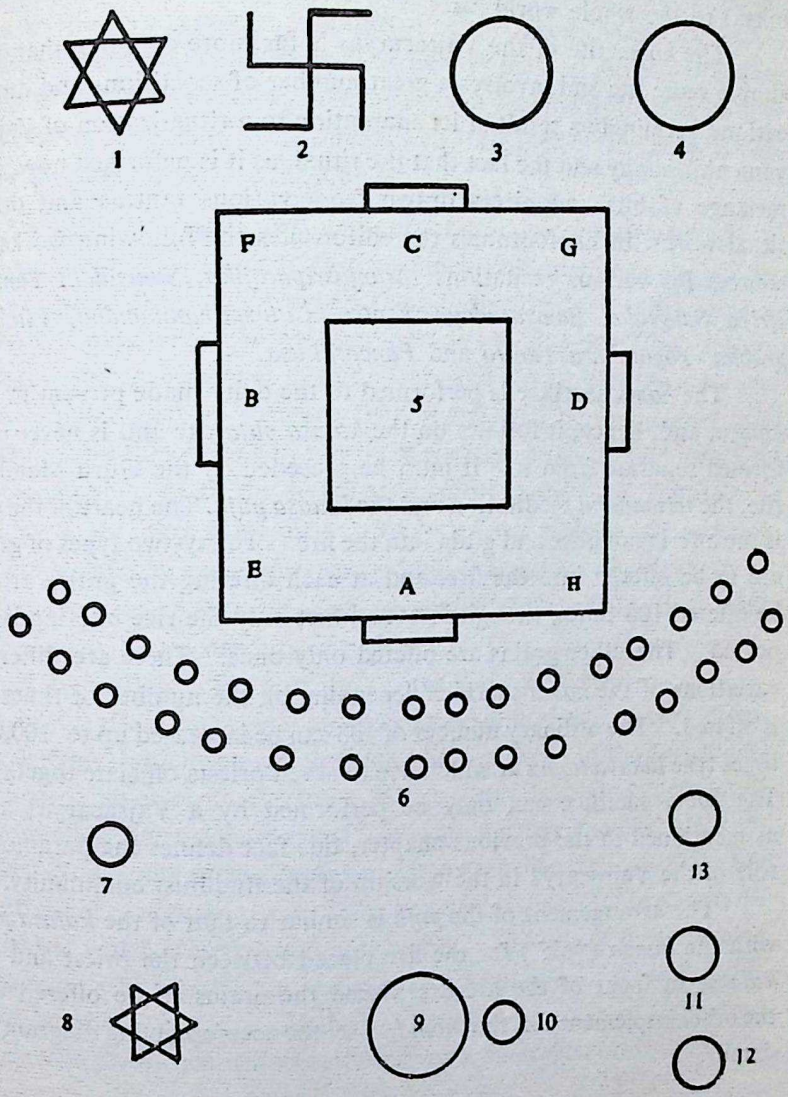
10. *Lokapala bali.*

11. Vessel for the *pancagavya.*

12. The *puja* vessel with the substances needed for the *pancamrta,* and the *pancopacara puja.*

13. Lamp.

A-F Symbols representing the eight Lokapala deities.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[i. e., the consecration of images, etc.]. The performance of the various forms of the *homa* rite brings satisfaction to the gods manifest in a visible form. The main aim of the *homa* ritual is to provide plenty (*subhiksa*) to the whole world."[56]

The *homa* rite of the Vajracaryas is far more complex than the simple vedic rite and involves a great number of repetitions and duplications, seemingly a result of its adaptation to a ritualization of Vajrayana philosophy and the fact that the ritual, as it is peformed now, is a melange of bits and pieces drawn from various tantras and other ritual works. In his footnotes the editor cites the following works as sources for various recitations: *Manjusriparajika, Samsiddhi Tantra, Kriya Sangraha, Samvarodaya Tantra, Catuspithanibandha, Vimalaprabha, Yogambara Tantra* and *Pancarakasa.*

The *homa* sacrifice is performed to the deity made present in the *kalasa,* and, hence, it follows on the *kalasa puja* rite and is never performed separate from it. It must be preceded by the Guru Mandala rite, the *trisamadhi* meditation and the *kalasa puja.* The heart of the rite is the offering of ghee and grain into the fire. Thirty-two types of grain are to be offered into the fire, and at each offering the grains are to be offered 108 times, though in actual fact only the rice offering is repeated. The other grains are offered only once. There are different variations of the *homa* sacrifice depending on the number of times rice is offered. The ordinary number of 108 can be increased up to 100,000 times (the *laksya homa* at which five to seven priests officiate together). The *homa* sacrifice can only be performed by a Vajracarya; and, as mentioned in the previous chapter, this fact defines the paramount role of the Vajracarya in the worship of the Buddhist community.

The arrangement of the *puja* is similar to that of the *kalasa puja* with the *kunda* ("pit") for the fire placed between the priest and the *kalasa.* In front of the fire are placed the grains to be offered and the other implements of the *homa.* See the accompanying diagram for details.

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56. *Kalsarcana,* second page of the preface (un-numbered). The text for the *homa puja* is contained in this same volume.

The ritual itself can be conveniently divided into six parts: [57]

1. Preparatory rites. After concluding the *kalasa puja* rites the priest takes a long, iron ladle used for dropping grains into the fire (called *sulapa* in Newari) and touches the centre of the *kunda* three times reciting a *mantra* to Vajrasattva. Then taking several pieces of the long sacred grass known as *kusa,* he lays them in the centre of the *kunda* in the form of a swastika, reciting a *mantra* in honour of the *kusa* which "is pleasing to the three Jewels." He then performs the entire rite of the *puspadi puja* to the Kunda.

Next he takes thirty-two pieces of chestnut wood (*katus* in Nepali), sprinkles them with water from the conch shell, performs the *pancopacara puja* to them and arranges them in the *kunda.* He then takes a handful of pine twigs and needles, used as kindling, and after performing the *pancopacara puja* to this, lights and places it in the *kunda* to the accompaniment of a *mantra.* This is followed by the *puspadi puja* to the fire and the offering of a little of each of the thirty-two grains to the accompaniment of the hundred-syllabled *mantra* of Vajrasattva. Then he again takes some of the pine twigs, lights them and recites a verse to Agni, the personification of the fire, asking the deity to be present and burn so that the *homa* rite can be performed for the benefit of the *jajman* whose name he mentions.

2. Evocation and worship of the *samaya-devata.*

In this rite Agni is personified and worshipped as a deity. Vajrayana worship, which is a ritualization of the *sadhana* of the deity being worshipped involves an evocation in two steps: first the evocation of what is called the *samaya-devata* ("conventional deity") which the worshipper evokes out of the depths of his own being, and secondly the evocation of the *jnana devata* ("the knowledge deity"), the eternal divine power which is evoked out of the ether. The two of them dissolve into one, at which point the worshipper is identified with the deity he is worshipping (*ahamkara*). If there is question of a consecration of an image, the priest next infuses himself, now identified with the deity,

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57. No such divisions exist in the text itself. I have made the divisions on the basis of the internal evidence of the text and information supplied by informants.

into the image. Here he infuses the spirit of the deity Agni into the fire.[58] Though the outlines of this yogic process of the *sadhana* are obscured by the profusion of ritual detail in the *homa* scacrifice, it is clear from the text that this is what is going on, though little understood by most of the priests performing the rite and divorced from its context of yogic practice and meditation.

The priest lights a lamp and taking a flower in his hand he performs a *sadhana* (called simply "*bhavana*" in the text). The performing of the *sadhana* consists simply in the recitation of the *sadhana* as though it were a *mantra*, at the conclusion of which the priest places the flower in the *kunda*. The text explicitly states that the purpose of the *bhavana* is to summon the *samaya-devata* Agni.[59] Next the priest shows the hand gesture (*mudra*) of Takkiraja, one of the ten Kordhas, as a protection rite, lights incense and performs the rite of showing the light (*niranjaana*). Following this he performs the *jha-hum-vam-hoh mudras* to bind the deity in place, followed by another protection *mantra* and the usual welcoming rites. Next he infuses the *samaya-devata* into the fire and recites a purification *mantra*. Then he sprinkles water from the conch shell and the *pancagavya* round the fire, followed by the *puspadi puja*. At the conclusion of this he places a flower on each of the eight points round the fire where the Guardians of the Directions are represented and performs the *pancopacara puja*, followed by the offering of the dance postures (*lasya*), ringing of the bell and the recitation of a hymn of praise (*stuti*)—all offered to Indra and the other Guardians of the Directions for protection from hindrances (*vighna*).

The offering of ghee follows. First, he heats the ghee in a ladle over the fire while reciting a *mantra* 108 times. Then he touches the

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58. For a fuller explanaton of these terms confer the note on *sadhana* at the end of this chapter. Most informants were able to give me no explanation of the terms *samaya-devata* and *jnanan-devata*. One informant said that the *jnana-devata* refers to the worshipper himself since knowledge is something acquired by man himself through the use of his brain, and *samaya-devata* refers to the real deity with whom the worshipper is going to identify himself. This is an exact reversal of the significance of the two terms.

59. See note on *sadhana* for a translation of this evocation.

ghee with another ladle used for pouring ghee into the fire, performs the *pancopacara puja* to the ghee, gives the *jajman* a sesame seed (*tila*) which he touches to his body, and then puts the seed into the ghee and pours it into the fire, saluting the fire as the "sin-destroying diamond (*vajra*)" and asking that all the *jajman's* sins be destroyed. Again he salutes the fire three times by pouring ghee into it and reciting a *mantra*.

Following this there is another series of offerings to the fire, consisting of eighteen types of wood which are considered of obligation and another fifteen items consisting of various types of grain which may or may not be offered, followed by an offering of fruits and any other substances the *jajman* may have brought. None of these items are actually put into the fire but touched by the ladle dipped in ghee with the recitation of a *mantra* for each. There is often some difficulty in getting the eighteen kinds of wood, and in their place leaves, flowers, or fruits of the specified trees may be offered. After touching each of these, the priest pours milk on the ladle and turns it round the fire three times reciting a *mantra* to Vajrasattva. Then putting ghee on the ladle he performs the *pancopacara puja* to it and offers it to the fire to the accompaniment of the same *mantra* he used for the first offering of the ghee. This is followed by the *pancopacara puja*, the offering of the dance postures, ringing of the bell, chanting of a hymn of praise (*stuti*), and recitation of the hundred-syllabled *mantra* of Vajrasattva.

3. Evocation and worship of the *jnana devata*.[60]

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60. A this point the text says "*thanali devapuja*—then(perform) the *puja* of the deity". I take the deity to be the knowledge deity who has just been evoked and consigned to the fire, or better perhaps, the two now united in the fire. I cannot see that the text admits of any other meaning since it is followed by the welcoming rites and the usual series of rites which follows these. Some informants have told me, however, that the deity in question is the one before whom the *puja* is being performed: this makes little sense as the worship of this deity follows immediately. Some have told me that it is a worship of all the deities present in the compound or shrine where the *puja* is being performed,and hence is equal to what is called a *cakra puja*. First, the priest cannot, and does not, rise from his place to perform a *cakra puja*. Secondly, if it is a *cakra puja* the welcoming rites make no sense. The deities around the compound have not been

Sprinkling water from the conch shell and some water taken from the *kalasa* into the fire the priest evokes the knowledge deity (*jnana-sattva*) with "the hook of the *vajra*." Once again he performs the *puspadi puja* over the sacrificial fire, reciting the "main *mantra*" of Agni, at the conclusion of which he consigns the knowledge deity to the fire. [61] The knowledge deity, the eternal principle, is now united to the conventional deity evoked from the depths of the priest's own being. Then the deity is welcomed with the rite of summoning (*avahana*), incense, *padya*, the showing of the light and the *argha*. Finally the priest holds a metal mirror in front of the fire and bathes the reflection of the deity (i. e., the fire), first with water from the *kalasa*, then with the *pancamrita*, and finally with water from the conch shell praying that the blessing which resides in the heart of all beings, the blessing of the lord of the *dharma* family, the blessing which frees one from all faults be conferred through this consecration (*abhiseka*) on all present. Then he shows the mirror to the fire and to the *kalasa* saying "all phenomena which exist are mere reflections, clear, purified, undefiled, unable to be grasped or attracted—they are all arisen from cause and action."[62] Then he sprinkles whatever bathing water is left on all of

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summoned, the knowledge deity has been. Such a variety of answers is not unusual as many of the priests obviously have no understanding of the logical progress of the ritual or the original context from which these bits and pieces have been extracted.

61. "Main *mantra*"—*mula mantra* in the text; the *mula mantra* is the common *mantra* used in the worship of a given deity, here, Agni. It is often nothing more than a salutation with the name of the deity.

62. The bathing of an image of the deity by pouring water over its image reflected in a mirror is a common practice as will be seen below in the section on Seto Matsyendranath. It is partly a practical measure, i. e., to avoid soiling or damaging the image, but it has a deeper significance which is expressed succinctly by the verse here quoted. Meditation on the mirror leads to the realization that all phenomena (and hence all images, all deities, even the concepts *samsara* and *nirvana*) are mere reflections of the void (*sunyata* = *vajra*).This leads the adept to the realization of non-duality, and therefore, to a realization of his own identity with the void. He has become *vajrasattva*—the diamond being. See Blofeld p. 232 and Wayman p. 68-9. Wayman has a treatment of the

those present saying, "I give you the consecration (*abhiseka*) of all the *tathagatas* (buddhas)."

4. Worship of the deity before whom, or in honour of whom, the *homa* is being performed.

The priest performs the *puspadi puja* from the *dhara mandala* rite up to the light ceremony in honour of the deity before whom the *puja* is being performed. (The *adhyesana* to invite the deity and the offering of incense are omitted because the deity is already present in the *kalasa*.) Then taking a flower which he should think of as representing the deity, the priest offers it into the fire, mentioning the name of the deity. He then performs the *pancopacara puja*, offers the dance gestures, rings the bell, recites a hymn of praise, offers a libation, recites the Buddhist motto, followed by another *mantra* called *akalamukha*, and finally the hundred-syllabled *mantra* of Vajrasattva—all in honour of the deity before whom the *puja* is being performed.

Superficially this whole series of rites constitutes a worship of the deity, conceived of as a separate god. At a deeper level, though, the casting of him into the fire signifies that he too is a phenomenon now dissolved into the void of the fire. This meaning is underlined by the fact that the next thing the priest does is to place a red cloth across his left shoulder and tie it under his right arm imagining that it is the fire and signifying the offering of himself into the fire and hence his own dissolution into the void.

The series of rites concludes with au offering of seasame seeds (*tila*) into the fire 108 times.

4. *Bali puja.*

The next series of rites is a *bali puja* offered to the Guardians of the Directions. The priest begins by placing one flower each for the sixteen deities round the *bali* as in the Guru Mandala rite. He consecrates the *bali* with a long recitation beginning with a salutation to Vajrasattva and continuing with a recitation of the names of the female deities associated with the *smasanas*. This concludes with a prayer for the King, mentioning him by name, and one for the *jajman*, asking for

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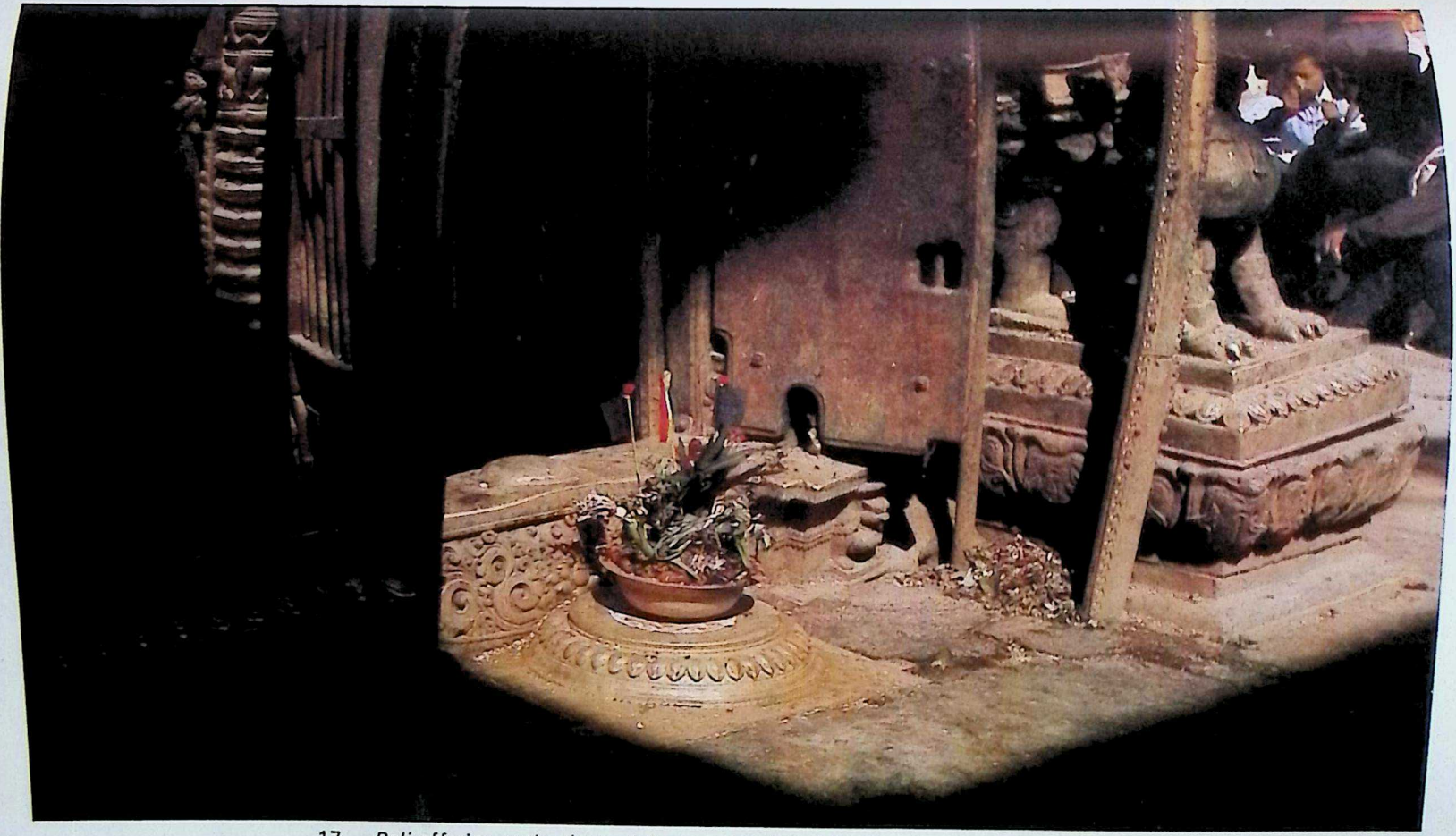
Mirror Consecration which uses a fuller version of the recitation than found in the text of the *homa puja*.

protection from hindrances for both of them. This is followed by the *puspadi puja* to the *bali*. To this *puja* then is added one to the *pithas*, the legendary places where the tantric yogis met.[63] First, the *jajman* is asked to offer a flower to the Guru Mandala. Then the priest recites five *mantras* in honour of five different kinds of *pithas* represented by little lumps of earth (*alu*) which are placed in a small earthen vessel, followed by the offering of the *pancopacara puja*, flowers, rice grains and water. This is followed by a *mantra* in honour of Bira and Biresvari (the spirits who reside in these *pithas*). At the conclusion of this all the participants offer rice by throwing a handful into the air as the priest recites a *mantra* offering the rice to the feet of Vajrasattva.

6. Final offering to the *homa* fire.

Before the priest makes the final offering to Agni he once again summons the deity with a *mudra* and a *mantra*, and binds him in place with the *jha-hum-vam-hoh mudras*. Then he offers a series of fifteen substances touching them with the ladle. The first of these is a bel fruit which he offers as he makes a prayer for the *jajman* mentioning him by name. This is followed by the offering of fruits, clothes (i. e., the small, five-stranded string), flowers, incense, a lamp, a coconut, herbs, three specific fruits, a banana, sugar cane, a radish, a kind of thick bread, herbal medicines, a betel nut and any other offerings the *jajman* may have brought. Finally, he offers the thirty-two kinds of grain into the fire as before and then offers ghee, the five-stranded string and a coin, all together. There follows a verse in praise of Agni after which the *jajman* touches the ladle to his forehead as a blessing. Then the priest performs the *pancopacara puja*, the offering of the dance postures, ringing of the bell, recitation of a hymn of praise, offering of libations, and the recitations of the hundred-syllabled mantra of Vajrasattva

63. Five kinds of *pithas* are mentioned in the text: *pitha* ("seats"–of the yogis), *ksetra*, ("fields"), *chandoha* ("a place where singers gather"), *melapaka* ("meeting places") and *smasanas* (cremation *ghats*). Each of these is subdivided by the prefix *upa*– thus bringing the total to ten. The *Hevajra Tantra* adds two more *pilava* and *upapilava*, bringing the total to twelve which are then identified with the twelve stages of a Bodhisattva. See Snellgrove, *Hevatra Tantra* 1: 68–9.

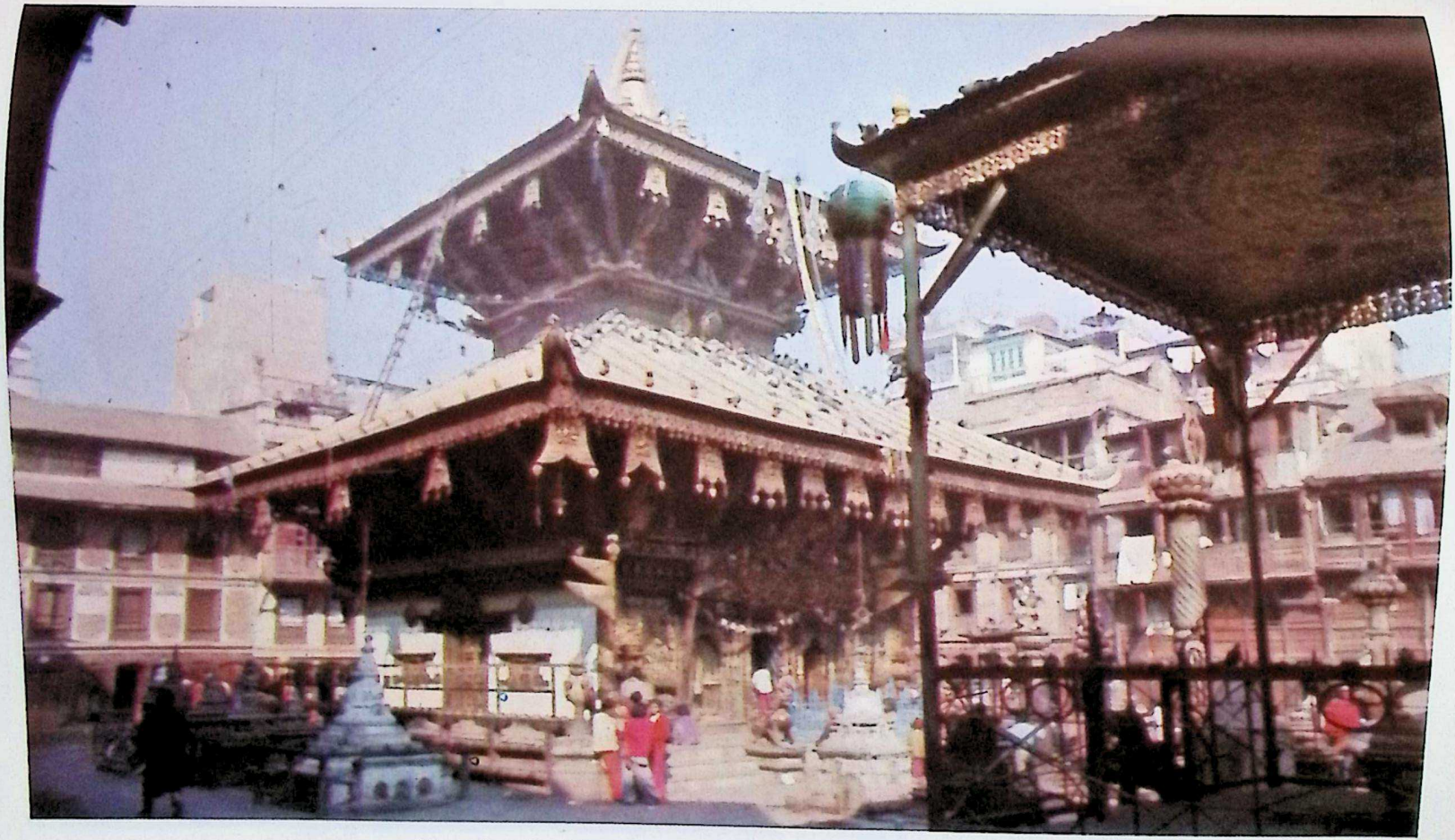


17. *Bali* offering at the door of the temple of Hariti (Ajima) at Swayambhunath

18. Elaborate *kalasa puja* at Jana Baha with three priests officiating

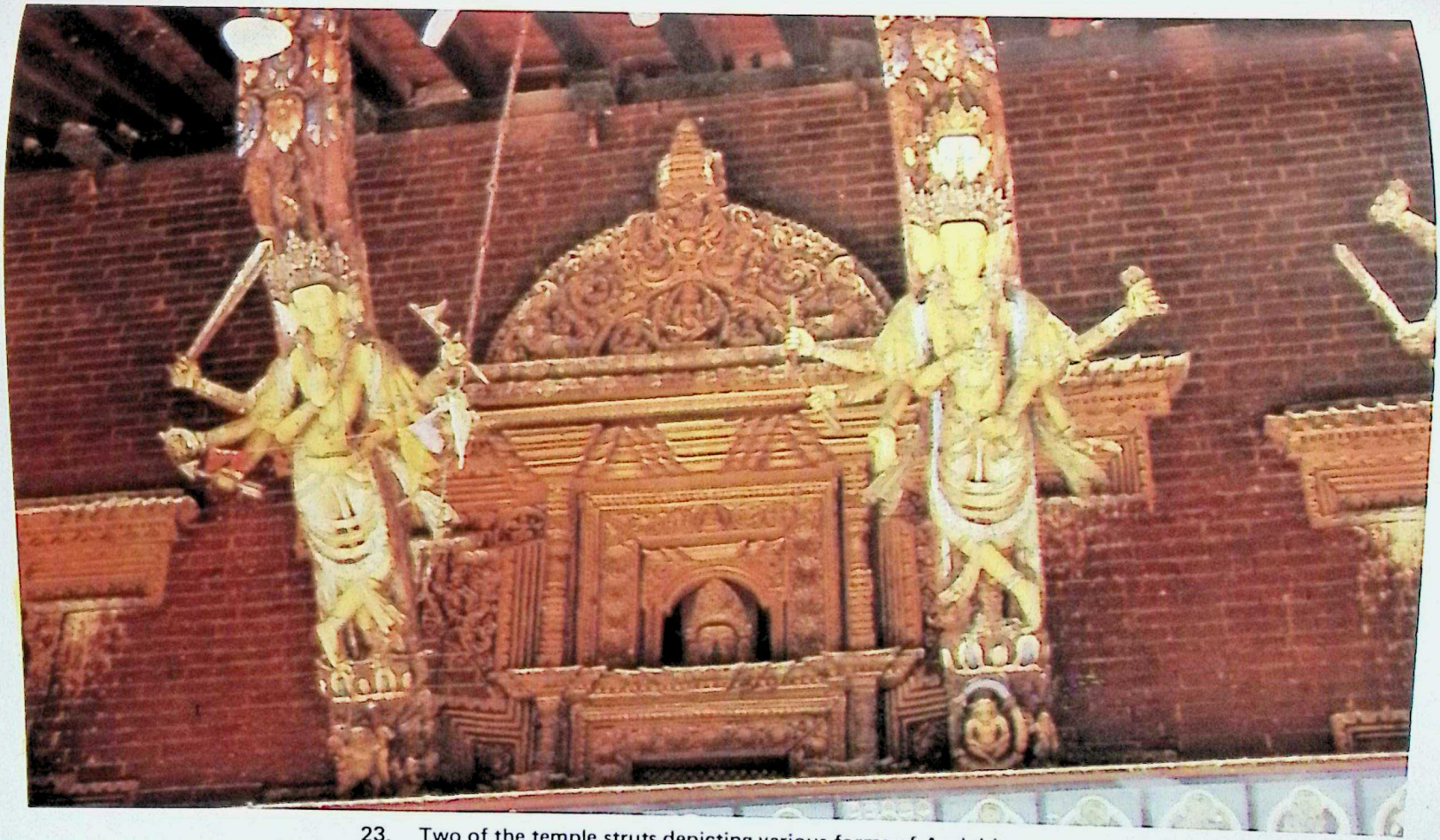
19. *Astamangala-sata-puja* performed before the *ratha* of Matsyendranath

20. *Kalasa-homa puja*



21. Temple of Seto Matsyendranath, Jana Baha, Kathmandu

22. Small plastered *caitya* (Kanaka Caitya) at Jana Baha, Kathmandu



23. Two of the temple struts depicting various forms of Avalokitesvara

24. A hanging banner (*halampo*) depicting one of 84 *siddhas*

followed by a prayer asking for forgiveness for any mistakes or omissions committed in the performance of the rite.

7. Concluding rites.

a. *Visarjana* of the Guru Mandala and offering of curds to all the deities.

First the priest performs the *visarjana* of the Guru Mandala throwing a flower into the air and clapping his hands. He then offers curds to the *kalasa*, the *balis*, the *nagpan*, the *homa* fire and the lamp while reciting a verse praying for long life, praise, knowledge, happiness and offspring.[64] He then gives a *tika* to himself and to all of the worshippers, who come up to him one by one, at which time he receives a stipend, or offering, from each of them.

b. *Sesahuti*—offering of whatever remains.

First, the priest thinks of Agni and all his troup of attendant deities and considers that all of them have entered into his own body. Then he summons the deity once again and performs the welcoming rite and the *pancopacara puja*. Next he offers all of the remaining grain into the fire followed by the ghee, as he recites the following: "Happiness to all living beings, those that move about and those that do not move. I salute the Buddha, who is above all the scriptures, who is worthy of receiving respect from all men. Today I salute the Dharma which is peaceful, non-passionate and worthy of the respect of men and gods. Today I salute the Sangha which is worthy of the respect of men, the gods and all their attendants; let it prosper by their favour. May all the living beings who are present here, all those on earth, all those in the sky, have feelings of friendship for all people; may they walk the way of the *dharma* day and night. Consume all of this which is being offered; may this man who has given the offering accomplish what he desires; for this intention I make this offering". This is followed by the *pancopacara puja*, offering of the dance postures, ringing of the

64. The verse read for the offering of curds here, and whenever curds are offered, is actually the opening salutation found in most Mahayana *sutras*. No one has been able to explain why this verse is used. In its original context it is a salutation to the scripture. Here the name of the deity to whom the *puja* is being offered is substituted for the name of the *sutra*.

bell, a hymn of praise, libations and the recitation of the hundred-syllabled *mantra* of Vajrasattva.

c. Final *visarjana* and blessings.

The priest performs the *visarjana* of the main *mandala* (that of the *kalasa*) clapping his hands and placing a flower on his head. Then with the *vajra* he touches in turn the *bali*, the *kalas*, the *nagpan*, the various *gojas* and the dish containing curds, and touches with his hand the bell and the crown. Then taking the *nagpan* he disposes of the water. Finally he sprinkles all present with the water from the *kalasa* as a blessing and then performs the *visarjana* of the *bali*,

This concludes the long and elaborate *puja* of the *kalasa* combined with the *homa* sacrifice. The rite can be shortened somewhat by curtailing the number of offerings, but usually takes two or three hours to complete.

## Note: Sadhana

The *sadhana* lies at the very heart of all Vajrayana worship and its philosophy. The *mandala* is a concrete representation of the *sadhana* and the *puja* of the *homa* is a ritualization of the *sadhana* of Agni, the fire deity. What then is a *sadhana* ? The basic meaning of the Sanskrit word is "leading straight to the goal," and the term as used by the Vajrayana masters means a visualization and calling forth of a deity, i. e., an evocation, which leads the worshipper straight to the goal of Vajrayana Buddhism, namely, the realization of the void (*sunyata*) and the identification of the worshipper with it.

The ultimate aim of the *sadhana* is to transcend duality by attaining a vivid conscious experience of the non-dual state. "The peaceful and wrathful deities invoked during a *sadhana* correspcnd to components of the adept's own being and are the forms they assume in certain states of consciousness, such as the state which follows death, certain dream-states and some of the states reached during meditation. The adept must behold the universe as a vast expanse of spotless purity, as the 'container' or 'fold' inhabited by 'deities,' whose very nature he recognizes as pure void and whose immense power is the creative power of void manifested in its non-void emanation."[65]

*Sadhana* is sometimes translated as meditation, and it is this, but a meditation in which the visualization of the deity involving the three faculties of body, speech and mind (*kaya-vak-citta*) plays a paramount role."The purpose of this visualization is to gain control of the mind, become skilled in creating mental constructions, make contact with powerful forces (themselves products of mind) and achieve higher states of consciousness in which the non-existence of own being and the non-dual nature of reality are transformed from intellectual concepts into experiential consciousness."[66] The visualization is thus a yoga of the

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65. Blofeld, p. 199.
66. Ibid., p. 84.

mind, and the practice of it presupposes a thorough grounding in the Mahayana *sutras* as well as a mastery of Hatha yoga practices. According to the recorded experiences of the masters it produces quick results, as opposed to the slow process of realization used in standard Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhism. It makes use of forces 'familiar to man only at the deeper levels of consciousness, of which ordinary people rarely become aware except in dreams. These are the forces wherewith mind creates and animates the whole universe;ordinarily they are not ours to command, for, until the false ego is negated or unless we employ magic means to transcend its bounds, our individual minds function, as it were, like small puddles isolated from the great ocean."[67]

The masters testify that when they are lost in meditation there emerge from the depths of their psyche certain truths which assume various forms and aspects. There is a general supposition that whenever a man loses himself in such meditation these truths will appear in certain forms. For the adept their number and aspect are fixed by habit and experience. When it comes to visualizing these forces in the form of deities each individual adept will bring up different representations and forms from the depths of his own subconscious. Thus the masters each composed *sadhanas,* or ways and methods of visualizing a deity. The great variety of these *sadhanas* (the *Sadhana Mala* contains 312 of them) results from the different visualizations of masters, each of whom was an individual with his own individual experience and psyche. A disciple starting on the road of such meditations was faced with a bewildering array of such *sadhanas* and deities. Hence the necessity of a *guru,* a master experienced in the practice of *sadhana,* one who could discern the psychic state and needs of the disciple, and who could select from the array of *sadhanas* those which would suit the disciple's personal characteristics, strengths, and weaknesses, his degree of intelligence and his level of attainment. When he becomes a master himself the disciple will develop his own personal *sadhanas* from the experiences welling up from his own subconscious, but he will be put on the road to this by practising the *sadhanas* of his master.

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67. Ibid. p. 84–5.

Though there are differences, the form of the *sadhana* follows a basic pattern:

> They begin with some preliminary rites and meditations—worship, offerings, breathing exercises, generating Bodhicitta (Enlightened Mind) and meditating discursively on: voidness of being and of oneself, the brevity of life and need to attain Enlightenment while the opportunity offers, the harm caused by our ill-considered actions and our debt of gratitude to the Buddha and our Guru. Reviewing our shortcomings we vow to transcend them and to work increasingly for the liberation of ourselves and all beings. Like the visualization which follows, these preliminaries involve the use of *mudras* (sacred gestures), *mantras* (invocations), *bija-mantras* (the seed syllables from which the visualizations spring) and whirling *dharanis* (revolving strings of syllables). The *mudras, mantras* and visualizations correspond to body, speech and mind.[68]

After these preliminaries the deity is evoked. The deity evoked depends on the *sadhana* and the particular personified mind-force being invoked. The evocation process proceeds through four stages:

1. The divine power is given form and shape, i. e., the body of the deity is adorned with faces, hands, etc. or evoked through visualization from one's own consciousness. It is thus an appearance of one's own mind. This is known as the *samaya-sattva* or *samaya-devata* (conventional being or conventional deity). This is the first step to another plane of existence. "When he has evoked the image of the God before him, the initiate lives on another plane, beyond *samsara,* where the laws of *maya* operate. It is clear from this that this transformation is provisional, a temporary adaptation to the spiritual reality symbolized by the deity but it is necessary since the god thus invoked dwells in him. And so between the place of *samsara* and that of the archetypes there must be provisionally a link or meeting point, and this is the function of the *samayasattva,* the momentary transfiguration of the meditator by the essence of the god which is transferred into him."[69]

The evocation of the *samaya-sattva* comprises the first meditation on Agni in the *homa* ritual: "Meditate on the following—in the midst

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68. Ibid., p. 85–6.
69. Tucci, *Mandala,* p. 75.

of the burning fire arises a lotus from the syllable *pam*, above this the *mandala* of Agni arises from the syllable *ram;* on this is the syllable *rum* from which arises the conventional being Agni (*samaya-agnim*) of yellow colour, one-faced, having four hands—the two left holding a staff and a water pot, the two right showing *varada mudra* and holding a rosary. He wears a yellow garment, the sacred thread, has three eyes, his hair piled up in a crown and on the crown is an image of Vajrasattva."[70]

2. The *sadhana* empowers the senses of the conventional deity with the power of body, speech and mind which crystalize as the syllables *om, ah, hum* on the head, throat, and heart. In more complex rituals this may involve the evocation of a host of deities who make up the entire *mandala* of the main deity.

3. This *samaya-sattva* is now a fully prepared receptacle for the divine power, the *jnana-sattva* (knowledge being), who descends from the Dharma realm. This is the real deity whom the worshipper then dissolves into the conventional or symbolic deity by means of the *mantra*: *jah, hum, vam, hoh* and four *mudras* signifying: summoning, absorbing, binding and dissolving the knowledge being. The Vajracaryas personify these four as Vajrankuvsa (*vajra* hook), Vajrapasa (*vajra* noose), Vajrasphotaka (*vajra* burst) and Vajravesa (the act of taking possession of something)--the four *mudras* used to protect the *mandala*. At this moment the worshipper realizes his identity with the the deity—the *jnana-sattva* or divine power is dissolved into the conventional deity or *samaya-sattva* which he has conjured up from the depths of his own consciousness and which is therefore identified with himself. He then worships himself— *ahamkara*. Through this identity he can say, "I am the deity and the deity is in me."[71] This process of *aha-*

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70. *Kalasarcanadi*, p. 8–9.

71. This is actually a practice common to Hindu and Buddhist yoga. ".....it is similar to the theory of the absorption of individual self with the Primordial Matter, or union of the self with a personal God, by the practice of Yoga, to attain thereby the perfect knowledge and the consequential freedom from bondage of the transmigration practiced in India from ancient times.".... Bhattacharya, *Buddhist Esoterism*, p. 100–01.

*makara* ("I-making")and the worship of self consequent upon it is the characteristic note of Vajrayana worship.

In most *sadhanas* this process is visualized in the following way. "The deity enters the adept's body and sits upon a solar-disk supported by a lunar disk above a lotus in his heart; presently the adept shrinks in size until he and the deity are coextensive; then, merging indistinguishably, they are absorbed by the seed-syllable from which the deity originally sprang; this syllable contracts into a single point; the point vanishes and the deity and adept in perfect union remain sunk in the *samadhi* of voidness, sometimes for hours and occasionally for days."[72]

In the *homa* ritual the *jnana-sattva* Agni is visualized in the following way. "Meditate on the *jnana-Agni* from the other world-in the heart of the fire there is a lotus, above this a lunar disk and above this the Lord of the *mandala* [Agni] produced by means of a hand sign and resting on his own *mandala* [i. e., the solar disk]."[73]

In the *kalasa puja* the meditation on the personification of the *vajra*-water which is poured into the *kalasa* exemplifies the union of the *samaya* and *jana-devatas:*

> Hail to the water, the diamond nectar. Think of the water as hot, very hot, the very water of the Ganga. Inmmediately consider it to be changed into the syllable *vam,* and adorned with different jewels, arisen from the syllable *a* and residing inside the white triangle. Then think of your own *devata's* wheel [i. e. the *samaya-devata's* wheel] by means of the transformation of your seed-*mantra,* with the hook of the rays of the seed *mantra* in your heart,bring the *jnana-sattva* before you, look at him, salute his feet and offer him water. Then consider that he has entered into the *samaya-sattva* with great passion, and that the two have become one and are changed into the nectar of *bodhicitta.* Consider that the *samaya-devata* and the *jana-devata* have become one by means of this sign.[74]

4. Finally, the divine power is sealed by the deity's own ritual initiation by the five families of the Buddhas. As one Tibetan text describes it: "Once the knowledge being has been absorbed, there is

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72. Blofeld, p. 85-86
73. *Kalasarcanadi,* p. 12.
74. Ibid., p. 3.

the initiation *abhiseka*...Here a stream of water whose essence is the thought of enlightenment (in most cases from a flask but occasionally from within a skull-bowl) is said to be bestowed, and with that water of knowledge all defilements and propensities thereto are washed away: therefore the initiatic liquid takes its place upon the head, and so 'seals' the deity."[75]

This step can be seen clearly in the *homa* ritual in the bathing of the image of Agni reflected in a mirror and the recitations which accompany it.

In the process of the *sadhana* the evocation of the deity is followed by a series of ritual acts to worship the deity, most of which are still found in the *homa* ritual: salutation to the deity (offering of the *padya* and *argha*), taking refuge in the deity understood as the embodiment of the three Jewels (found in the prayer recited after the giving of *tika*), confession of sins (done just before the *visarjana* of the Guru Mandala), urging the spread of the *dharma* (contained in the final prayer), offering of the worshipper's own body (symbolized by putting on the red cloth and so consigning oneself to the fire), and the dedication of merit (contained in the final prayer). In the Guru Mandala the whole series is even more explicit in the rite which follows the worship of the deities of the Mt. Meru Mandala.

In this way it is clear that rites such as the *kalasa puja*, the *homa puja*, the Guru Mandala, as well as other *mandala pujas* such as that of Amoghapasa Lokesvara to be considered below, are a ritualization of the *sadhana*. The structural lines of the *sadhana* remain, though often obscured by the profusion of ritual detail and removed from the context of meditation and yoga. Furthermore, elements from the *sadhana* and its ritual practice have been excerpted from their context to function as pure ritual acts. Thus the *jah-jum-vam-hoh* ritual is performed whenever a deity has been summoned in order to bind it in place whereas its original purpose was to dissolve the *janana-satvva* into the *samaya-sattva*. In the performance of the *sadhana*, offerings such as the *pancopacara puja* and the *puspadi puja* were made (and often only symbolically) only after the dissolving of the *jnana-sattva* into the *samaya-sattva*

75. Beyer, p. 102.

in the course of one's meditation. In the rituals of the Vajracaryas these are taken literally and excerpted for a whole range of ritual purposes. Thus the *pancopacara puja* is used to worship a deity, to "worship" the curds, the *nagpan,* the *bali,* the light, the implements of the *homa,* etc. Though, admittedly, there are levels of understanding among those who make use of these rituals, and most of the present-day practitioners do not go beyond the level of ritual performed to please or placate a god, the rituals of the Vajracaryas can only be understood if one realizes their original purpose in the acting out in ritual of the *sadhana.*

**Conclusion**

If one is to make a critique of these rituals, it is evident that the Newar Buddhists cannot be censured for mixing up Hinduism with Buddhism. Though the masters who first used the rituals drew on the common Indian heritage of ritual, the rites they evolved were thoroughly Buddhist. An evaluation of the present situation must be made on the basis of the tenets of Vajrayana Buddhism. On this basis the Vajracaryas can indeed be censured for abandoning the prerequisites for making use of such rituals, i. e., the prior scholarship and the mastery of yogic techniques and meditation. By the abandonment of these they have come full cycle to a use of ritual for its own sake, something which the Buddhist masters—Hinayana, Mahayana, and Vajrayana-have always inveighed against.

# PART TWO

## The Current Cult of

## Avalokitesvara—Matsyendranath:

## Jana Baha Dya:—Seto Matsyendranath

"To Amoghapasa Lokesvara, the mirror
of the worlds, whose mind is bent
on great mercy, the one who destroys
all diseases, poverty, suffering
and unbearable troubles, I offer
this sacrifice...Take, eat,
grant peace, prosperity and
protection. Om A Hum Phat Svaha."

Prayer from the rite of
the Astami Vrata of Amoghapasa
Lokesvara.

## CHAPTER THREE

# Jana Baha:

## The Temple Complex of Seto Matsyendranath in Kathmandu

Of the four well-known temples of Avalokitesvara--Matsyendranath the most important is undoubtedly that of Rato Matsyendranath in Patan-Bungamati. The second most important is that of White (Seto) Matsyendranath of Kathmandu. I treat this one first for it is there that one can see the cult with its full round of ritual performed with the greatest detail and exactness. Furthermore, the priests of this *baha* have a better understanding of the ritual and its meaning than those of Bungamati, Chobhar, or Nala. Hence the emphasis in this section will be on a description of the present cult and the ritual surrounding that cult, though the historical data pertinent to Seto Matsyendranath will also be treated here.

Located in Kel Tole about half way between Asan Tole and Indra Chowk, the temple of Seto Matsyendranath is one of the most popular temples within the precincts of the old city of Kathmandu. Though the temple is commonly referred to as Macchendra Bahal by non-Newars, it it known to the local people as Jana Baha, and they call the deity Jana Baha-dya: ("the God of Jana Baha").[1] The temple is situated in an enclosed courtyard which one enters through a doorway facing on to the open area of Kel Tole. In front of the doorway entering the compound is a pillar surmounted by an image of Amitabha and one of

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1. There are several variations of this name such as Janma Baha and Jamal Baha. The name derives from the legend concerning the finding of the image in a field in Jamal which will be recounted below. Newars who live in the area and those who frequent the temple are often not even aware of the name Macchendra Bahal and invariably refer to the deity as Jana Baha Dya: Janma Dya:, Lokesvara or Karunamaya. Ancient records also refer to the temple as Jamalaghanti.

Aksobhya back to back. Set into the pavement near the pillar is a lotus *mandala*.

The facade of the present entryway bears an inscription telling of repairs made in the year 1974 B. S. (1918–19).[2] In that year there was a fire which destroyed the old entryway and most of the buildings on the south side of the inner compound. Unfortunately the "new" facade was built in an incongruous white plaster style, known locally as "Rana Style," which clashes with the entire surroundings. The old Newar facade, which can be seen in Percy Brown's *Picturesque Nepal*, had a beautifully carved triple window over the doorway and an exquisite wooden *torana*.[3] At present there is a brass repousse *torana* over the entryway put up in the year 1049 N. S. (1929). This has a central figure of Aksobhya flanked by two four-armed *bodhisattva* figures. The one on the right has two hands in *namaskara mudra*; the remaining right hand holds an *aksamala* and the left a *pustaka*. The figure on the left has two hands in the *dharmacakra mudra* with the remaining right hand holding an *aksamala* and the left a lotus. Passing through the doorway one comes into a long vestibule which leads into the inner courtyard. On the right side of the vestibule is a resting platform where devotees come to sing *bhajans* each morning and evening.[4]

Coming out of the vestibule into the courtyard one has a full view of the temple, a free-standing temple with two shimmering golden roofs and profuse decoration all round. It is surely one of the most elaborately decorated temples in the Valley.

The temple itself sits on a low plinth about three feet high, surrounded on three sides by an iron frame which holds a series of sixty-three prayer wheels. The prayer wheels are not dated but are certainly of rather recent origin as they do not exist in Landon's photo

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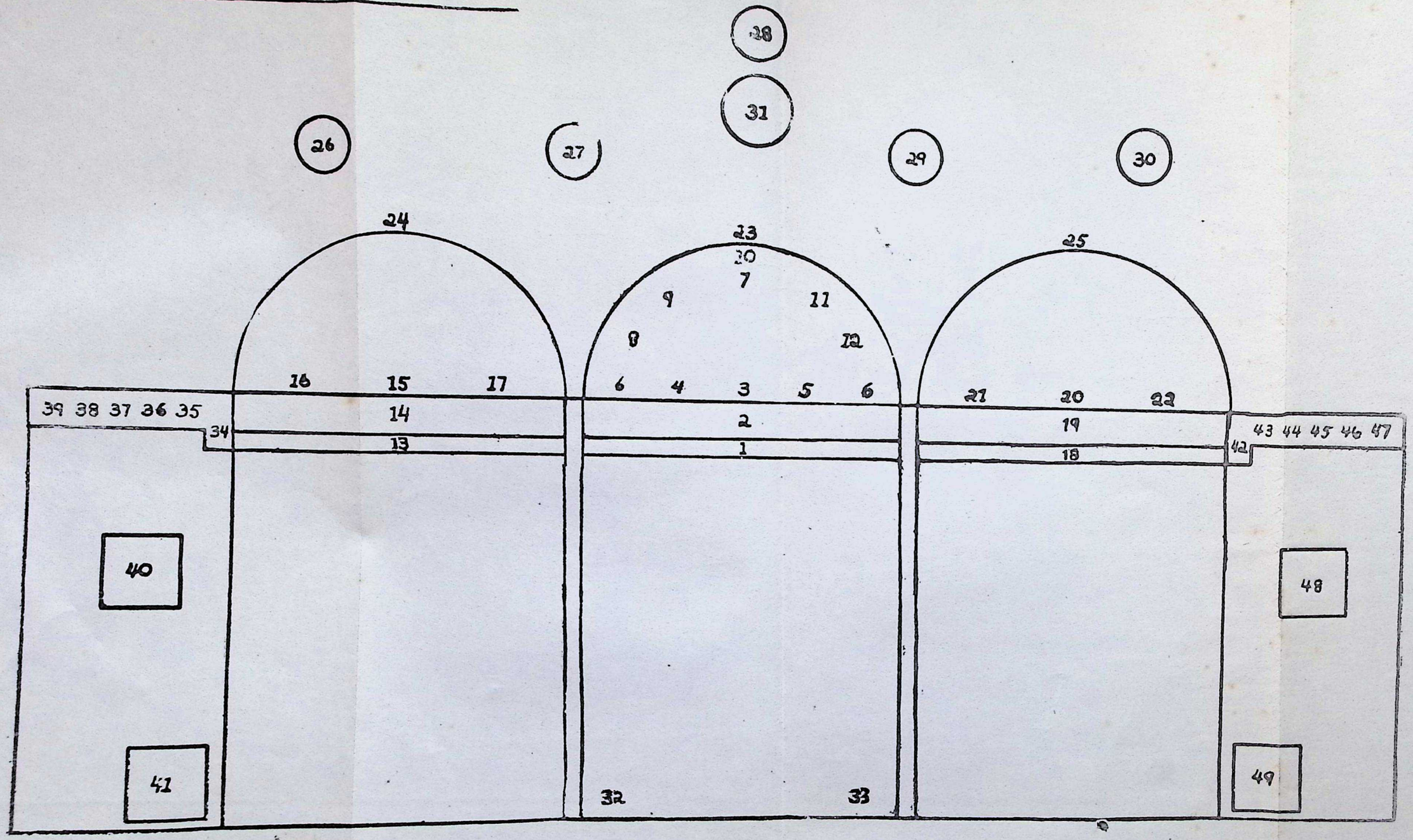
2. सम्वत् १९७४ सालमा आग लागि विग्रंदा जिर्णोद्वार भै वनेको ।
3. Percy Brown, *Picturesque Nepal* (New Delhi, n. d.), p. 118.
4. The devotees who come to sing these *bhajans* are in no way connected with Jana Baha. They simply use this as a convenient place to gather. The *bhajans* which the group sings are a variety of Buddhist and Hindu hymns.

JANA BANA TEMPLE FACADE



taken in 1924.[5] Below the prayer wheels are three tiers of oil lamps, 321 in all. The plinth forms a veranda about three feet wide round the temple. This veranda and the facing of the plinth were covered with Godavari marble as a part of the government's general renovation of temples within the Valley in the year 2016 B. S.[6] At the four corners of the temple are four mythical lion-like figures: SE, a white lion, SW, a blue, horned lion, NW, a pink, bird-headed lion, and NE, a yellow lion. The two steps leading up to the main, or eastern, doorway of the temple are flanked by two large, bronze lions with flaming tongues. On either side of these two steps are three marble steps leading up to the same level, each flanked on the outside by a single stone lion.

The main entrance to the temple is a triple doorway surmounted by an elaborate triple *torana* which was probably put up in A. D. 1785. The *torana* itself is not dated, but the door post immediately below it bears the date 905 N. S. (1785). The elaborate leaf work above the *toranas* and the figures set into it were put up within the past forty years. The three panels on this *torana* are done in brass repousse with the main figures cast separately and set in relief. For the placement of the figures in this *torana* and the entire facade of the temple confer the numbers on the accompanying diagram.

On the door post above the central door is a small figure of Vajrapani (1) and above that a golden figure of Amitabha, the Dhyani Buddha[7] of Avalokitesvara. The central panel of the *torana* itself has a

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5. Perceval London, *Nepal,* 2 vols. (London, 1928), 1: 211
6. Somnath Sharma Sigdyal, ed., *Sudhar Karya Vivaran* (Kathmandu, 2017 B. S.), p. 62–3.
7. The term "*dhyani buddha*" ("meditation buddhas") has been used consistently in writings abut Newar Buddhism to refer to the five transcendent Buddhas, Aksobhya, Amitabha, Vairocana, Amoghasiddhi and Ratnasambhava. This term has been objected to by some authors because, they claim, it is not verified in any primary sources. Many modern writers prefer the term "transcendent buddhas" in English. The term most commonly used for these five in the primary texts is *tathagata,* the term used in the Guhyasamaja Tantra which is usually credited with the formulation of the doctrine of the five Buddhas. The term Dhyani Buddhas seems to have been first popularized by Hodgson in his writings on Newar

figure of Sahasrabhuja Lokesvara (3), also called the "Merciful Lord," standing in the *samabhanga* pose and wearing the *bodhisattva* ornaments. The figure has eleven heads and eight main arms. The heads are in three tiers of three, with a tenth head above these and a head of Amitabha on top. The nine heads are crowned with the five-leafed *bodhisattva* crown and are all smiling. The tenth head wears the five-skull crown and has an angry expression. The head at the top is that of the Dhyani Buddha Amitabha, without a crown, and with the *usnisa*. Two of the eight hands are in *namaskara mudra*. Of the remaining right hands, from bottom to top, the first is in *varada mudra*, the others hold a *cakra* and an *aksamala;* the three left hands hold a *kalasa, dhanusasara,* and a *padma*. Behind the main figure are several tiers of hands making up the "thousand hands" (*sahasara bhuja*) of this form of Lokesvara. To the right and left of the main figure are two seated male figures. The one on the right (4) sits on a lotus in *padmasana,* has one face with the *bodhisattva* crown and *usnisa*, and two hands, the right in *varada mudra,* and the left in *abhaya mudra*. Each hand also holds the stem of a lotus. The figure on the left (5), also one-faced and with the *bodhisattva* crown and *usnisa* sits on a lotus in *lalitasana* with the right hand in *varada mudra* and the left in *abhaya mudra,* each holding the stem of a lotus. These three figures of the panel are surrounded by another semi-circle with the sea monsters (*makaras*) (6) at the bottom and the *garuda* (7) above grasping the *nagas*.[8] In between are cloud

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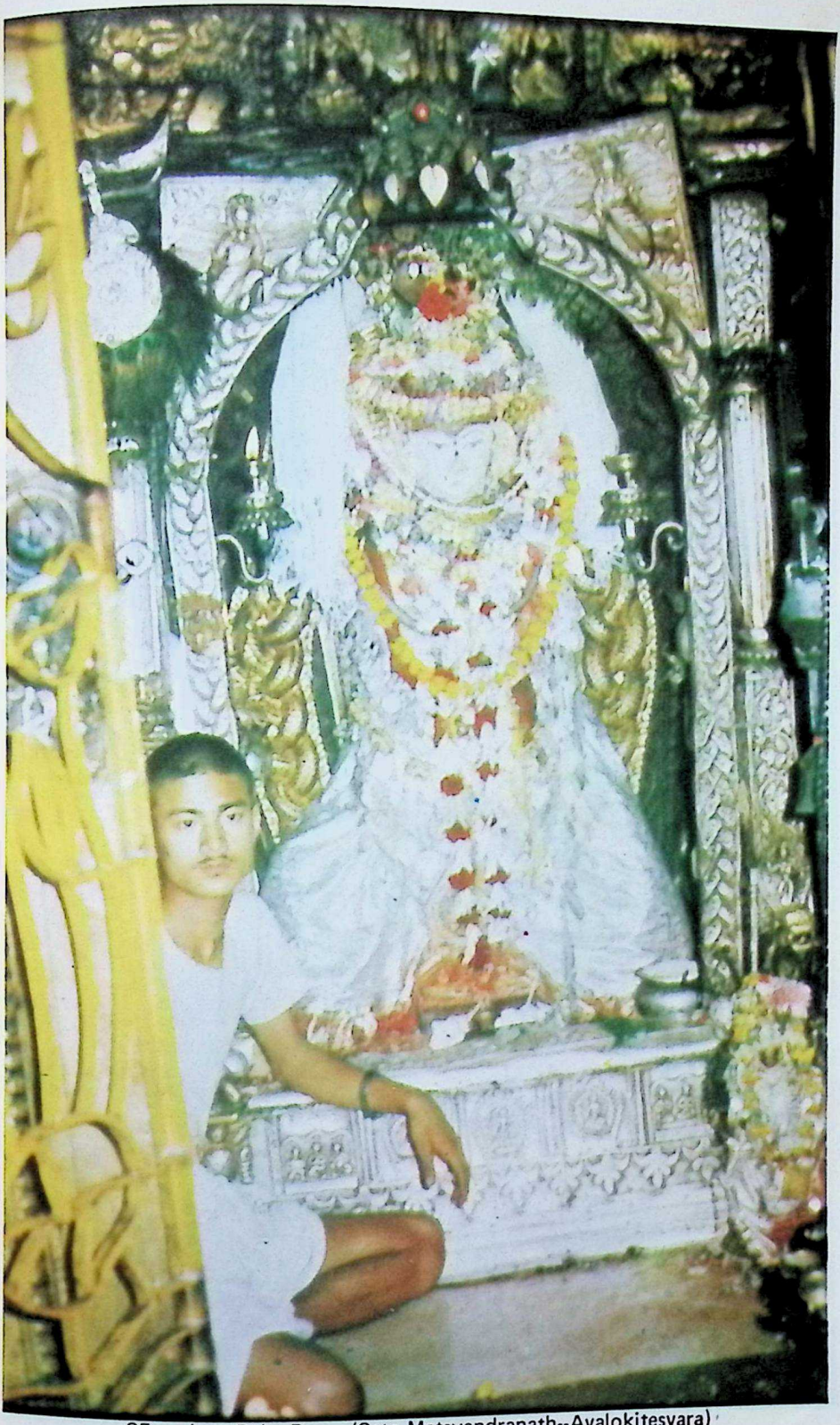
Buddhism and is used consistently by B. Bhattacharyya in his writings on Vajrayana Buddhism based on Newar Buddhist texts. There is no doubt that the term is found in secondary Newari literature and that it is still current among the Newar Buddhists. For this reason I have kept the term in this work. Other terms found in the primary sources are Panca Buddha, Jina, and Kulesa.

8. Though this arrangement of the outer circle of the *torana* is common to Hindu and Buddhist shrines, the following Buddhist explanation of the symbolism is common: the *makaras* represent water which is evaporated into clouds by the action of the sun. The *nagas* represent the water vapour in the clouds. The *garuda,* who represents the sky, consumes the *nagas*. The whole represents the absorption of all creation into *sunyata* ("void") which is commonly symbolized by the sky. Some of the *toranas* have a figure of Akasa Bhairava con-



25. Jana Baha Dya: (Seto Matsyendranath--Avalokitesvara) with the *deo pala* to the left

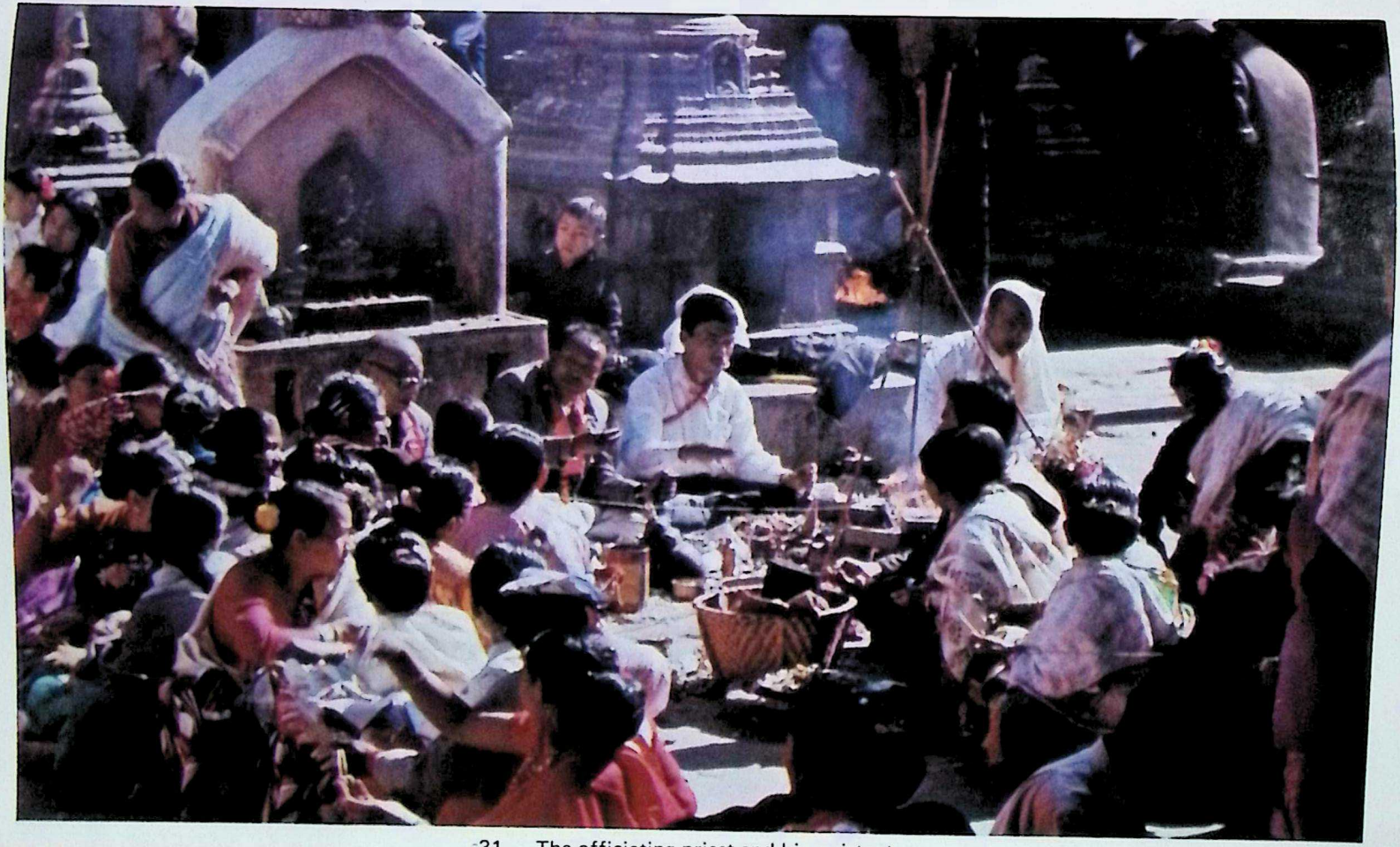
26. Elaborate triple *torana* at Jana Baha

27. Central panel of the *torana* depicting Sahasrabhuja Lokesvara

28. Left panel depicting Amoghapasa *Lokesvara*

29 Devotees seated for the ceremonies of Astami Vrata, Jana Baha

30. Detail of astami vrata setting showing Mt. Meru Mandala, *mandalas* of Buddha, Dharma, Sangha and Amoghapasa Lokesvara



31. The officiating priest and his assistant

32. "Showing the light" to the participants at the end of the rituals

patterns into which are set four figures of the Dhyani Buddhas with the fifth above the *garuda*. From the lower right around the Buddhas are Ratnasambhava (8), Vairocana (9), Amitabha (10), Amoghasiddhi (11), and Aksobhya (12).

A similar pattern is repeated above the door to the right.[9] On the door post above the door is a small figure of Padmapani Lokesvara (13), and above that a larger four-handed *bodhisattva* seated in *padmasana*. The figure has two hands in *dhyana mudra* and the remaining two hold a *patra* and a *pustaka*. The main figure in the *torana* was an eight-armed figure of Amoghapasa Lokesvara (15), standing in the *trivbhanga* pose, one-headed, wearing the *bodhisattva* ornaments and crown with the *usnisa* and an image of Amitabha set into the crown.[10] The four right hands from top to bottom showed: *abhaya mudra, varada mudra, pasa, aksamala;* the four left hands held *kamandalu, padma, tridandi* , and *pustaka*. On either side of where the main figure stood are two Taras sitting in *padmasana* on a lotus and wearing the five pointed *bodhisavttva* crown. The figure on the right (16) has four hands, the two right show *varada mudra* and *abhaya mudra* and the left holds a *caitya* and a *padma*. The outer circle is the same as that of the main panel but without the figures of the Dhyani Buddhas.

Over the left door is a small figure of Padhmapani Lokesvara. (18) and above that a four-armed *bodhisattva* (19) seated in *padmasana*. Two hands are in *namaskara mudra*, the other left holds an *aksamala* and the right a *camara*. The main figure of this *torana* is a six-armed form of Avalokitesvara (20) standing in the *samabhanga* pose and wearing

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suming the snakes, and informants tell me that this is the proper Buddhist symbolism, the *garuda* being found only in later *toranas* and due to the increasing influence of Hinduism on Buddhist iconography. However, both the *garuda* and the Akasa Bhairava are used in early and late *toranas*, and the Akasa Bhairava is sometimes used on strictly Hindu shrines, for example, the *torana* over the image of Ganesa at Surya Vinakaya.

9. Throughout this study when describing a temple or *mandala*, "to the right" or "to the left" always means to the right or left of the deity, not to the right or left of an observer looking at the temple.

10. This image was stolen from the temple during the winter of 1974–5.

the *bodhisattva* crown and ornaments.[11] The three right hands show *vitarka mudra, utpala, khadga;* the left hands hold *kamandalu, padma, pustaka.* He is flanked by two four-armed female figures seated in *padmasana* and wearing the *bodhisattva* crown. The figure on the right (21) holds a *padma* and *khadga* in her right hands and the left hands show *vitarka mudra* and hold the *pasa.* The figure on the left (22) holds a *khadaga* and a *vajra* in her right hands and her left hands hold a *pasa* and show the *vitarka mudra.*

Over and above the three panels is an elaborate leaf design cast in bronze and gilded. Into this design are set a number of other figures. Directly above the central torana (23) is an eight-armed, seated figure holding in his right hands *khadga, gada, ankusa* and *vajra* and in his left had *pustaka, karttrika, tridandi* (?) and *ghanta.* Over the right *torana* is a two-armed buddha figure seated in *padmasana* holding a *vajra* in his right hand and with his left hand resting on his foot (24). Over the left *torana* is a figure of Vairocana (25). Around the outer edge of the leaf pattern are set the five Dhyani Buddhas, from lower right: Vairocana (26), Amoghasiddhi (27), Amitabha (28), Ratnasambhava (29), and Aksobhya (30). In the centre below the figure of Amitabha is an eight-armed figure of Amoghapasa Lokesvara (31) with the right hands showing *abhaya mudra, varada mudra, cakra,* and *aksamala* and the left hands holding *kamandalu, sankha, pasa,* and *pustaka.*

At the ground level on either side of the central doorway stand two gilded figures in monk's garb representing the two disciples of the historical Buddha, Sariputra (32) and Maudgalyana (33). To the side of each of the outer doors is a double triangle flag in gilded bronze similar to the national flag of Nepal, but instead of the sun and

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11. Informants have identified this image also as a form of Amoghapasa Lokesvara. However, I hesitate to accept this. Though there are several iconographic forms of Amoghapasa Lokesvara, usually with six or eight arms, and the various forms have a variety of hand poses and symbols, one hand always holds the *pasa.* This would seem to be the one definite criterion for identifiying an image as Amoghapasa. The *pasa* is missing here. See the following chapter for a more detailed treatment of Amoghapasa Lokesvara.

moon, each of the triangles has an elaborate monogram.

Immediately to the right of the south doorway is a copper repousse, two-armed figure (34) seated in *lalitasana* with no crown but its hair piled up in the *jata mukuta*. The right hand shows *abhaya mudra* and the left rests on the seat. Next to this are five golden figures done in repousse brass and set in a line, all seated and wearing the *bodhisattva* crown. The first four are seated in *lalitasana* and are two-armed. The first (35) shows *abhaya mudra* with the right and *varada mudra* with the left hand; the second (36) holds a *pustaka* in the right hand and a *pasa* in the left; the third (37) shows the *abhaya mudra* and holds the stem of a lotus surmounted by a sword in the right hand and shows the *varada mudra* with the left hand; the fourth (38) shows *abhaya mudra* with the right hand and holds a *ghanta* in the left. The fifth figure (39) sits in *padmasana* and is four-armed with the two principal hands showing the *namaskara mudra*, the other right holding an *aksamala* and the left a *damaru*. Below this, set into the middle of the wall, is a brass repousse, two-armed figure (40) seated in *lalitasana* on a bull and wearing the *bodhisattva* crown. His right hand holds a *danda* surmounted by a human head and his left shows the *vitarka mudra*. Below this, set right against the door post, is a copper repousse figure of a Bhairava (41) with three faces, each wearing a five-pointed crown and the *jata-mukuta*. The figure, which is surrounded by a halo of flames, has six hands, the left hands holding *ghanta, dhvaja* and *pasa*, and the right hands holding *ankusa* and *cakra*. The third symbol is indistinct.

On the opposite side of the facade, near the left door, the same pattern is repeated. Next to the post is a copper repousse figure seated as above with the right hand resting on the knee and left resting on the seat (42). Behind the right shoulder of the figure stands a trident with a snake coiled round it. Behind his left shoulder is a sword on a lotus. Next to this are the five brass repousse figures. The first four are two-armed and sit in *lalitasana*. The first of these (43) holds a *camara* and a *padma;* the second (44) shows *abhaya mudra* and holds the stem of a lotus surmounted by a sword with the right hand; the left shows *varada mudra;* the third (45) holds a large *vajra* with both hands in front of his chest; the fourth (46) shows the *abhaya mudra* with the

right and the *varada mudra* with the left hand which also holds the stem of a lotus surmounted by a flame. The fifth figure (47) is a four-armed figure sitting in *padmasana*. The two main hands show *namaskara mudra*, the other right holds what appears to be a lotus and the left holds a a *pasa*. Below this strip and set into the middle of the wall is a brass repousse, two-armed figure (48)seated in *lalitasana* on an elephant. His right hand holds a *vajra* in front of his chest and the left shows *varada mudra*. Below this against the door post is a copper repousse figure of a Bhairava, as on the right side. The right hands hold *dhavaja, parasu, khadga* and the left hold *chakra, gada,* and *pasa* (49). The whole figure is surrounded by a halo of flames.

The walls of the ground floor of the other three sides of the temple are covered with white tile, and decorative tiles form a border above the white wall. Wooden, carved windows and doors are on all three sides of these walls, and each of the doors is flanked by a *ranjana* script monogram.

The *torana* over the south door consists of only two main figures, the central figure and one to its left. The right figure has been stolen. The main figure is an eight-armed form of Avalokitesvara standing in *samabhanga* pose and wearing the *bodhisattva* ornaments and crown with the *usnisa*. The first pair of hands are in *dharma cakra mudra*, the second pair in *dhyana mudra*, the two remaining right hands show *varada* and *abhaya mudra* and the two remaining left hands hold a *pasa* and *pustaka*. Because of the *pasa* the figure can safely be identified as Amoghapasa Lokesvara. To the left of the main figure is a two-armed figure of Tara seated in *lalitasana*, the right hand showing *varada mudra* and the left *vitarka mudra*. The semi-circle above the main figures shows the *makaras*, the *nagas*, and in place of the *garuda* the Akasa Bhairava devouring the *nagas*. On the door post below the *torana* is a golden figure of Amitabha. The two doors themselves are adorned with six brass repousse Bhairava figures. An inscription on the door posts, which commemorates the setting up of the decorated doors is dated 975 N. S. (1855).

The *torana* over the west door, which contains no main figures at present, contained a six-armed figure of Avalokitesvara standing in

*samabamga* pose and wearing the *bodhisattva* crown with the *usnisa* and the *bodhisattva* ornaments.[12] The outer circle of the *torana* is exactly the same as that over the south door. All of the figures of the *torana* over the north door have been missing for some time.

The floor joists of the first floor protrude through the wall of the temple on all four sides just avove the tile facing, each of the joists ending in a carved face, many of them gilded, of the *yamaduta,* the messengers of Yama, the god of the underworld.[13] On three sides of the temple immediately above the *yamaduta* are a series of 108 pictures depicting 108 forms of Avalokitesvara. The present set of glass-framed pictures painted on paper was put up in the year 1086 N. S. (1966) and replace an earlier set painted on wood with mineral colours.[14]

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12. This central figure has been stolen some time within the past two years; the two seated figures disappeared some time ago. The description of the central figure is made from a photograph taken about three years ago.

13. Following is the explanation I have been given for placing the *yamaduta* around the temple The Temple is a representation of the *mandala* of the deity in relief. Among the outer circles of the *mandala* is that of the four *smasanas,* the cremation *ghats.* The *yamaduta* represent these *smasanas.* According to this same theory, the roof struts should portray all of the other deities represented in the *mandala* of the deity. However this is not the case at Jaha Baha; all of the struts are forms of Avaloktesvara.

14. The original set of paintings were done on wood in mineral colours, and, according to informants, far superior in workmanship and authenticity, but had become so badly damaged by layers of pigeon dirt that they had to be replaced. They are at present stored inside the temple at Jana Baha where no one has access to them. The original set was described by Bhattacharyya with iconographic details. See Benoyatosh Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Inconography* (Calcutta, 1968), p. 394–431. According to Hemaraj Sakya the new set was painted by Siddhi Muni Sakyabhiksu of Paravata Mahavihara in Kathmandu. Hemaraj Sakya, *Nepal Samskritiya Mulukha* (Lalitpur, 1089 N. S.), p. 54. To protect the new set they were all framed in glass. There are many discrepancies between the present set of pictures and the iconographic descriptions given by Bhattacharyya. One informant, Amoghavajra Vajracarya, who examined the old pictures when they were taken down, says that not all of them conformed to Bhattacharyya's description. He does not know how accurately the new set repro-

The two roofs of the temple are of gilded copper with *bodhisattva* faces at the edges of each of the ribs and the corners bent back in large curves about twelve inches high with a bird perched at the top of each. The gilded roofs are of rather recent origin. The upper roof was put up in the year 1003 N. S. (1883) by a family of Tuladhars. The eastern section of the lower roof was put up by a family of Kasains in the year 1038 N. S. (1917), and the three other sections were put up in the year 1040 N. S. (1920) by a family of Tuladhars.[15] The original tile roof on the lower section can be seen in Sylvain Levi's photograph taken in 1898.[16].

From each of the roofs hangs a series of gilded copper repousse banners, called *halampo* in Newari, which give this temple its distinctive appearance. Though such banners are often found at the corners of temples, this is the only temple to have them right round the roof. On the lower roof there are ten across the front, each of them with a figure of one of the eighty-four *siddhas*.[17] The south section has three *siddhas*, the western section two *siddhas* with Vairocana in the centre, and the northern section has three *siddhas*. In addition to this there is a banner at each of the four corners showing the *catur maharajas*, the guardians of the four directions. On the top roof there are four *halampos* across the front, and four each on the other sides. Some of these are *buddha* figures and the rest appear to be four-armed *bodhisattva* figures, though because of the distance and the dirt it is impossible to make a definite identification. I could get no data as to the exact

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duces the original set. According to him the new pictures were commissioned and paid for by Daya Bir Singh. Not all of the pictures were done by Siddhi Muni. The work was begun by one Ananda Muni Sakya. He was unable to complete more than fifty and the work was finished by Siddhi Muni. From the style of painting it can be estimated that the original pictures were 150 to 200 years old.

15. Sigdyal, p. 62.

16. Sylvain Levi, *Le Nepal*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1905), 2:223.

17. The eighty-four *siddhas* or *mahasiddhas* are the supposed authors of many of the tantric works on magic and yoga. Many of them are venerated by Buddhists and Hindus alike.

date of the erection of the *halampos*, but they appear in Levi's picture so they are at least ninety years old.[18]

The struts supporting the roof are all carved figures of different multi-armed forms of Avalokitesvara. Below each of the figures of Avalokitesvara is a group of usually two or three ordinary human figures Each of these Avalokitesvaras represents an incarnation of the deity, the god of compassion and mercy (Karunamaya), who comes to aid the suffering of this world. The figures below represent the people he came to help in each of his incarnations.[19] The figures are all named except one. Below is the list of these figures proceeding clockwise around the temple from the North East corner.[20]

East side of the temple, lower roof struts:

1. Padmanatha Lokesvara
2. Jnanadhatu Lokesvara
3. Nrityanatha Lokesvara
4. Kritanjali Lokesvara
5. Sankanatha Lokesvara
6. (Unnamed)

South side:

1. Usnisa Lokesvara

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18. Levi, 2:223.
19. There should be for each of these temples a text kept in the temple or by the head priest which gives the mythological and historical background of the sanctuary and the iconographic details of all of the temple fixtures. This is known as the *sthalapurana*. Several of the priests of the temple have told me that there must be, or have been, such a text for the temple of Jana Baha; but no one has admitted seeing it. Such a text is the only means of definitely identifying decorations such as these struts and finding out the myth behind these various forms of Lokesvara. Many of these forms of Lokesvara are not found in the known texts and some that are found do not correspond in iconographic details to the known *sadhanas*.
20. These names are found written at the top of each strut. The list presented is made up from my own reading of these names (which are not always clear) corrected according to a list made some years ago by Amoghavajra Vajracarya which he very kindly let me use.

2. Sri Lokesvara
3. Jnanasri Lokesvara
4. Sakyabuddha Lokesvara
5. Vajranatha Lokesvara
6. Visvanatha Lokesvara

West side.

1. Dharmadahatu Lokesvara
2. Simhanatha Lokesvara
3. Mahavajrasattva Lokesvara
4. Dharmacakra Lokesvara
5. Harihara Lokesvara
6. Amitabha Lokesvara

North side:

1. Ratnottama Lokesvara
2. Vidyapati Lokesvara
3. Kamalabhatta Lokesvara
4. Acitta Lokesvara
5. Yamadanda Lokesvara
6. Krisnavarna Lokesvara

Upper roof struts, East side:

1. Mahavajranatha Lokesvara
2. Mahapadmapani Lokesvara
3. Mahavajradhrika Lokesvara
4. Mahavajradhatu Lokesvara

South side:

1. Maharatnakula Lokesvara
2. Saharsrasurya Lokesvara
3. Sankhanatha Lokesvara
4. Ratnakirti Lokesvara

West Side:

1. Asinila Lokesvara
2. Manjudatta Lokesvara

3. Candrabima Lokesvara
4. Mahasuryabima Lokesvara

North side:

1. Abhayadatta Lokesvara
2. Abhayankari Lokesvara
3. Manjubhuta Lokesvara
4. Visvabhupa Lokesvara

The top roof is crowned by two small and one large pinnacle (*gajur* in Newari), with a triple umbrella above this. Immediately in front of the main *gajur* is a large *darpan* or metal mirror from which are hung eight metal banners (*patakas*), three of which extend just over the upper roof while the other five extend below the lower roof.[21] On the lower roof is a *darpan* with the *visvavajra* (two *vajras* set at right angles to form a cross). This is flanked by two *kalasas* each with a lotus in it.[22]

The courtyard of Jana Baha does not have the architectural unity that is common to the older *bahas*. Whether or not it ever did have is impossible to say, but one cannot argue from the present state of the courtyard to the absence of architectural unity in the past. There are many *bahas* in Kathmandu that have been extensively rebuilt within the past hundred years or so and all that remains in many cases is the *kwapa dya:* shrine of the old *baha*. At Jana Baha even this shrine has been rebuilt as the old one was destroyed in the fire of 1917. The present shrine stands just to the right of the entryway into the temple

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21. A *pataka* or *dhvaja* is a long metal banner composed of a series of connected plates (usually brass, gilded copper or silver) of equal width terminating in a large medallion with an image set into the centre.

22. These *darpanas* have nothing to do with the glass mirrors which are often seen around Nepali temples. The latter seem to have been put up rather recently as a decoration or to enable people to centre their *tika* properly after worshipping in the temple. The *darpana* is used as a symbol and an object of meditation on the illusory nature of all *dharmas*. See Alex Wayman, *The Buddhist Tantras* (London, 1973), p. 69 and John Blofeld, *The Way of Power* (London, 1970), p. 239.

compound. Over this shrine is a copper repousse *torana* with a figure of the Dhyani Buddha Aksohya in the centre flanked by two four-armed *bodhisattva* figures sitting in *padmasana*. The figure on the right has two hands in *namaskara mudra* with the other right holding an *aksamala* and the left a *pustaka*. The figure on the left has two hands in *namaskara mudra* with the other right holding a *mala* and the left a lotus bud. Inside is a large brass figure of Aksobhya, the *kwapa-dya:* of Jana Baha. The *kwapa-dya:* should be the principal non-tantric deity of the *baha* before whose shrine all the principal rites proper to the *sangha* are performed. However, at Jana Baha the place of the *kwapa-dya:* has been completely usurped by Avalokitesvara before whose shrine all the rites and feasts of the *sangha* are held. The shrine of the *kwapa-dya:* is opened once each day for a brief *puja* by the priest currently on duty as he makes his daily round of all the shrines and images within the courtyard. Beyond this the *kwapa-dya:* is completely ignored. The present brass image of Aksobhya is rather a recent one put up after the fire of 1917. The previous image, which was stone, was removed after the fire. The rest of the buildings around the courtyard are all dwellings of different sizes and styles, many of which have shops on the ground floor. Informants say that originally all of these buildings were occupied by the members of the *sangha* of Jana Baha, but partly because of the fire and partly because their families grew, the *sangha* members have sold off their property to others, mostly Udas.

Over the doorway where the passageway from the street enters the courtyard is a fine carved *torana* of Sahasrabhuja Lokesvara, one of two donated in the time of the joint rule of Pratap Malla and his father Laksminarasimha Malla. On the top floor of the building above this passageway is the *agam* of the *baha*. The *agam* deity of Jana Baha is Herukacakrasamvara and his consort Vajravarahi.

In the south-east corner of the courtyard is the bathing platform, a marble covered platform with a wrought iron railing round it and three pedestals in the centre. This is where the annual bathing ceremony takes place. In the north-east corner of the courtyard is a well from which the priest on duty draws water required for the daily rites. Water for these rites, and for his own ablutions, must be drawn from

this well; and originally the water from this well was reserved exclusively for these ritual purposes.

The courtyard in front of and around the temple is filled with an array of votive *caityas*, pillars, images and inscriptions. Following is a list of these shrines, dated in so far as this is possible. The numbers refer to the accompanying diagram. It will be seen that many of the votive *caityas* and pillars are of rather recent origin, a fact borne out by Levi's photograph, taken in 1898, in which much of the area in front of the temple is clear.[23] This attests to the great popularity of the shrine within this century.

1. Pillar with a brass image of Prajnaparamita on top. The figure is four-armed with the two main hands in *namaskara mudra* and the remaining right holding an *aksamala* and the left a *pustaka*. Dated 1045 N. S. (1935).
2. Votive *caitya*—an inscription at the base bears the date 1011 N. S. (1891).
3. Votive *caitya*—undated. This is an unusual octagonal *caitya* with a figure of a *bodhisattva* on each of the eight sides.
4. Votive *caitya*—undated.
5. An eight-armed, stone image of Avalokitesvara, undated but appears to be very old. The four right hands hold *trisula, pustaka, padma,* and *kamandalu;* the left hands hold *aksamala, dhanusa* (?), *cakra,* and the last one shows *abhaya mudra.*
6. A seated Buddha figure holding a begging bowl, dated 999 N. S. (1897) at the base, but is older in appearance.
7. Votive *caitya*—undated.
8. Pillar surmounted by a four-armed figure of Prajnaparamita with the two main hands in *namaskara mudra,* the remaining right holding an *aksamala* and the left a *pustaka;* dated 1045 N. S. (1925).
9. Dharmadhatu Mandala.
10. Recess for *homa* fire.
11. Votive *caitya* put up by a resident of Kel Tole, date illegible.
12. Votive *caitya*—begun in 1039 N. S. (1919) and finished in 1040 N. S.

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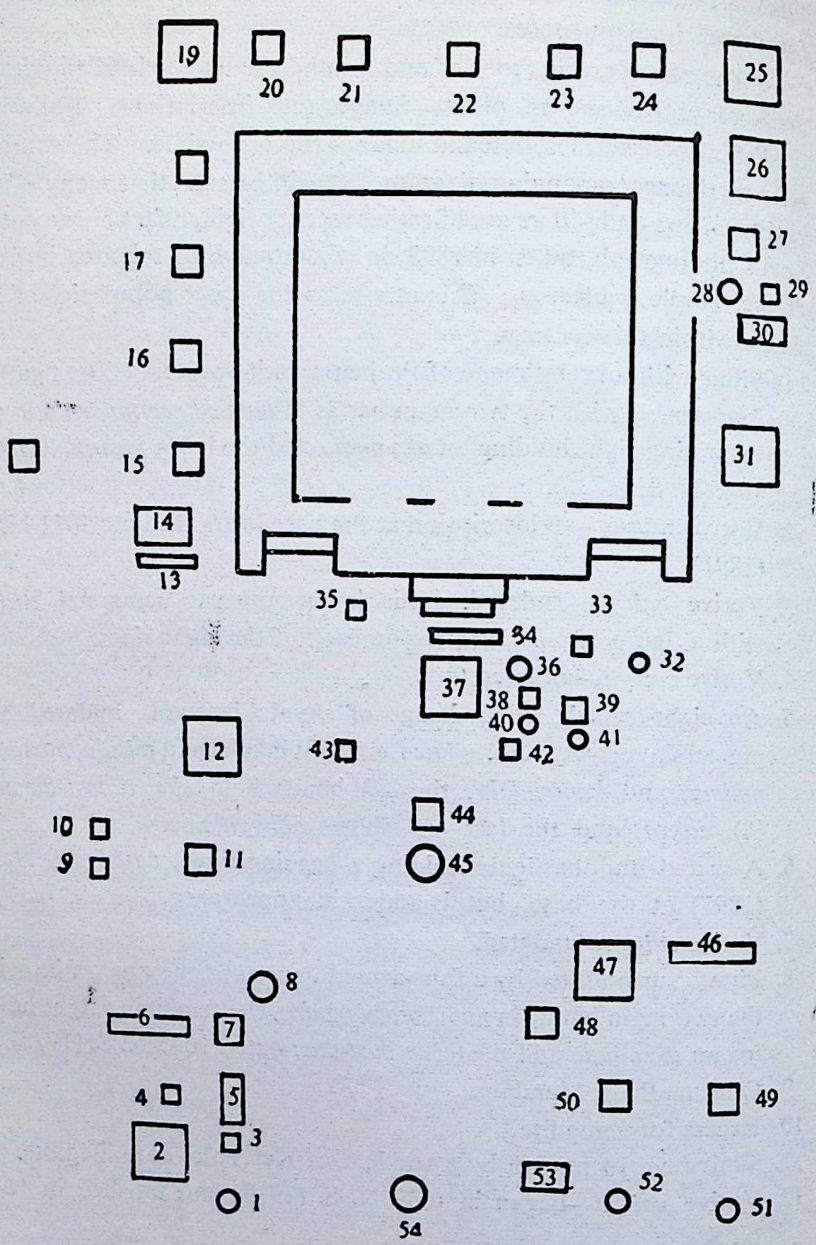
23. Levi, 2: 223.




Jana Baha Compound

13. Small stone plaque with the footprints of the Buddha in the centre flanked by Ganesa and Mahakala—undated.
14. Large votive *caitya*—dated 950 N. S. (1830).
15. Votive *caitya*—dated 1051 N. S. (1931).
16. Votive *caitya*—undated but old in appearance.
17. Votive *caitya*—undated but of very recent origin.
18. Votive *caitya*—dated 1063 N. S. (1943).
19. Votive *caitya*—undated but informants say not more than twenty-five years old.
20. Votive *caitya*—dated 1090 N. S. (1970).
21. Votive *caitya*—dated 1070 N. S. (1950).
22. Votive *caitya*—dated 1066 N. S. (1946).
23. Votive *caitya*—dated 1070 N. S. (1950).
24. Votive *caitya*—dated 1070 N. S. (1950).
25. Votive *caitya*—dated 1032 N. S. (1912).
26. Votive *caitya*—dated 1066 N. S. (1946).
27. Votive *caitya*—undated.
28. Votive *caitya*—actually the remains of a small *caitya* set on a cemented pillar—undated.
29. Votive *caitya*—undated but old in appearance.
30. Stone image of Padmapani Lokesvara–undated but old in appearance.
31. Votive *caitya*—dated 964 N. S. (1844).
32. An elongated votive *caitya* with four standing Buddha figures on the four sides—undated but old in appearance.
33. Votive *caitya*—undated but old in appearance and according to informants, the oldest *caitya* in the compound, except for no. 37.
34. *Basinga*—a rectangular recess about six inches by two feet and six inches deep with a stone figure of a *naga* at the bottom. The left-over bathing water from the deity's morning ablutions is thrown here, and boys being initiated into the *sangha* stand here during their ordination as *bhiksus*.
35. The *ksetrapala*—a square recess about one foot on a side and eight inches deep where the sacred refuse is thrown, i. e., flowers that have been offered in the temple, food offered to the deity,

anything left over from a *homa* sacrifice, etc.

36. Small stone image of Manjusri—undated.
37. The Kanaka Caitya flanked by two small bronze lions—the ancient *caitya,* about four and a half feet high, from which the *baha* derives its Sanskrit name.
38. Small votive *caitya*—undated but done in the style of the small Licchavi *caityas.*
39. Votive *caitya*—undated.
40. Stone image of the Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha—undated.
41. Image of a tantric male and female deity.

42 & 43. Identical brass images of Tara on pedestals facing away from the temple—dated 1031 N. S. (1911).

44. Main recess for *homa* fire.
45. Main Dharmadhatu Mandala.
46. Image of Namasangiti—dated 1092 N. S. (1972).
47. Votive *caitya*—old in appearance but repaired with cement—illegible inscription at the base.
48. Pillar surmounted by a brass image of Simhanada Lokesvara—erected in 1971 N. S. (1851) by Samantabhadra Vajracarya.
49. Votive *caitya*—dated 807 N. S. (1688).
50. Votive *caitya*—dated 893 N. S. (1773).
51. An image of the goddess Tara on a pillar—erected in 1998 B. S. (1941) by Kausala Dhobini, daughter of Kulman and Mankumari.
52. Pillar surmounted by a lion holding a flag staff—dated 1058 N. S. (1938).
53. Votive *catitya*—undated.
54. Brass statue of a Greek maiden standing on a triple lion head and surmounted by oil lamps. This is surely the most curious figure in the whole complex. It is undated but certainly put up in this century as a votive offering. Informants at Jana Baha insist that it is not a Greek (or "Angreji") Maiden but an *apsara.*

The ground floor of the temple at Jana Baha contains the sanctum where the image of Avalokitesvara is kept. Immediately inside the main door is a sort of corridor behind which there is another doorway

leading into the sanctum, which is a room entirely closed off from the rest of the ground floor. Over the doorway into the sanctum is another wooden *torana* donated in the time of Laksminarasimha and Pratap Malla, and a second *torana* showing an eight-handed form of Manjusri. The rest of the ground floor is sealed off and can be reached only through the other doors of the temple. This area is used as a storage place for the fixtures of the *ratha* and a large number of discarded ornaments, the old pictures of the 108 forms of Avalokitesvara, various utensils, etc. On the first floor, directly above the image of Avalokitesvara, is a large quartz *caitya* which informants say is very old in appearance but undated. This first floor is also packed with an array of old utensils, manuscripts and a large number of old weapons, mainly bows and arrows. These weapons surely date back to the time of the Malla kings and seem to have been kept there to protect the temple.[24] The second storey, which has a very small floor space, is empty.

At present the interior of the temple is closed to all but the initiated members of the *sangha* and their wives, though informants claim that this is a rather recent development. According to them, originally the image of Avalokitesvara was kept in the centre of the ground floor so that people could come into the temple and circumampulate the image. In former times they were likewise permitted to go up to the first story to circumambulate the quartz *caitya*. No one seems to know when this practice was discontinued, but they agree that the practice did exist. In general such restrictions are not found in Buddhist countries. Buddhist shrines are generally open to all regardless of creed, race, or caste. The introduction of such restrictions at Newar Buddhist shrines would seem to be due to the tendency of the Buddhist

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24. Dhanavajra Vajracarya, *Licchavi Kalka Abhilekh* (Kathmandu, 2030 B. S.), p. 19. Vajracarya gives this as the explanation for keeping the weapons at Jana Baha. Other informants have surmised that the weapons were kept at the temples simply because it was a convenient place to keep weapons that people from a given locality would use to defend their city or tole in the days of the later Malla kings when there were frequent raids by the people of one of the cities on the territories of the other cities.

community to conform more and more to standard Hindu practices, due to the social pressure that has been exerted on them from at least the time of Jayasthiti Malla.[25] The influence of tantric practices may also have led the way to this restriction. Tantric shrines, Hindu and Buddhist alike, are closed to all but the initiated, due to the esoteric nature of the whole cult. This restriction may have been gradually extended to all the shrines whether tantric or not. On the other hand, it certainly does not exist among the Tibetan Buddhists who practice basically the same kind of tantric Buddhism.

The image of Avalokitesvara housed in the temple of Jana Baha is a white, plastered figure about four feet in height of Padmapani Avalokitesvara standing in the *samabhanga* pose on a lotus. His right hand is in *varada mudra* and his left in the pose usually adopted for holding the stem of a lotus. However, there is no lotus at present. The hair is piled up on his head in the *jata mukuta* with a figure of Amitabha painted in the centre. He wears the *bodhisattva* oranments and crown, the sacred thread, a golden *tika* on the forehead, the *sri vatsa* ("endless knot") on his chest and the swastika on his navel. The only grament painted on the image is a blue *dhoti*. To his right and left are two small images of the two Taras, one green and one white. Some claim that under the plaster the image is copper, others that only the feet are copper, the rest being entirely of clay or plaster. If the image, or the feet, are dated the inscription is entirely covered now. Little can be inferred from the style of painting as this may well have been changed over the years.

Ordinarily all one can see of the image is the face. Only at the time of the annual bathing and repainting can one even see the present form of the image. During the rest of the year the image is covered with a crown, a great array of other ornaments and a number of gar-

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25. One cannot ascribe to the theory that caste and similar customs were introduced for the first time into the Valley by Jayasthiti Malla, but it is clear that he, or possibly Yaksa Malla, systematized caste regulations in the Valley, and that from that time onward there was continual pressure exerted on the Buddhist community to conform to these and other outward practices of standard Hinduism.

ments, the outer one of which always has the six pointed star and covers the whole image like an apron. The garments are renewed each year at the time of the bathing, and there seems to be no fixed number or style. Whatever is offered by devotees is put on the image. The ornaments are permanent fixtures and registered at the government Guthi Office.

Several foreign writers, beginning with Oldfield down to Gopal Singh Nepali, have identified the image at Jana Baha as that of Samantabhadra, not Avalokitesvara.[26] It is clearly an error, and it is curious that it should have been repeated so often unless all of them have merely copied it from Oldfield. The original error probably arose because of the colour of the image. According to the systematization of the five Dhyani Buddhas and their families, Avalokitevsvara, belonging to the family of Amitabha, should be red, and Samantabhadra, belonging, to the family of Vairiocana, should be white. However, this colour scheme is not always followed. There are many forms of Avalokitesvara which are white according to the *sadhanas*, and one which is blue. Speaking of this image Snellgrove says, "One may also note in this respect that Avalokitesvara is white, because he came to be invoked as supreme lord. But his family colour is properly red, for like the other form of Lokesvara, he belongs to the family of Amitabha. Such change in colour represents a weakening of the symbolism which was inherent in the notion of the five families."[27] Samantabhadra, whose proper colour is white, is most frequently shown as blue or yellow.[28] In any case, thfre can be no doubt about the deity at Jana Baha. The Buddha on his crown is Amitabha,not Vairocana. All of the decoration around the temple including the elaborate *toranas*, the roof-struts, and the 108 pictures of Lokesvara, leave no doubt. Though

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26. Henry Ambrose Oldfield, *Sketches From Nepal*, 2 vols. (New Delhi, 1974), 2: 175, 267, 323; Levi, 2: 59; Gopal Singh Nepali, *The Newars* (Bombay, 1965), p. 375.
27. David L. Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himalaya* (Oxford, 1957), p. 115.
28. See R. S. Gupta, *Iconography of the Hindus, Buddhists and Jains* (Bombay, 1972), p. 123.

people associated with a temple will often admit that a given deity is recognized as some other deity by some people, no one connected with Jana Baha has admitted to me that the deity is ever considered to be Samantabhadra. However, it is true that the term *samantabhadra* ("wholly auspicious") as an epithet could be applied to any deity.

## Chapter Four

# The History of Jana Baha and its Cult of Avalokitesvara

### Legendary Accounts of Jana Baha

There are a number of differing legends which give accounts of the beginning of the cult of Seto Matsyendranath—Avalokitesvara and his annual *ratha jatra*. Two of these legends are recounted by Mary Anderson.

> Legend relates that in ancient times White Macchendra was stolen from Kathmandu by an invading king of Magala to the west,[1] who neglected the idol, eventually discarding it in the Gandaki River. Thereafter the King developed a strange malady, suffering abnormally from cold and from painful body swelling. He had the statue hastily retrieved and, as instructed in a dream, returned to Kathmandu, where it was thrown in a pit, eventually becoming buried under rubbish and earth. Years later, when a Newari potter, digging for clay at Jamal near Rani Pokhari, unearthed the image, the valley people rejoiced. Their king installed Lord Macchendra in a fine temple and on the advice of learned pundits inaugurated both a bathing festival and annual chariot procession in his honour.[2]

A second version of the legend connects the deity with a King of Tibet.

> A similar folk-tale says that long ago a Newar of the soiltiller caste—among whom Macchendra is still exceedingly popular—unearthed the white Macchendra idol while cultivating his field, carried it home and kept it in his rice-storage bins. As time went by the farmer was astounded to find, though he used the rice, his supply never decreased. The king, advised of this miracle, decreed that since the idol was discovered in common soil, all must

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1. Magala does not correspond to any known country to the southwest of the Valley. Perhaps this should be Magadha, which, however, would be south, not southwest of the Valley.
2. Mary Anderson, *The Festivals o f Nepal* (London, 1971), p. 217–18.

benefit. Thereafter White Macchendra was enshrined near the public granaries, which remained ever filled. News of this good fortune travelled north. The king of Tibet had White Macchendra stolen and carried to his own country where the unknowing Tibetans worshipped him with improper rituals—even animal sacrifices. As a result an epidemic swept the country, whereby people suffered terrible body-swellings. The King returned the image to Kathmandu forthwith and dropped it in a well at Jamal. In time, a man drawing water found the idol and dreamed that it should be enshrined at its present site called variously Macchendra Bahal, Ja Bahal or Jamaleswar in remembrance of the place of its discovery. He was further instructed that animal sacrifices are displeasing to Lord Macchendra, as they are to this day.[3]

An old Vajracarya who lives at Jana Baha told me the following legend. In ancient times there was a famine in Kathmandu which lasted for twelve years. The people prayed to Karunamaya and the god came down to Nepal. He was captured, however, by a certain Lakhe and kept in his village by the force of a *mantra*. Neither the people of that village nor the Lakhe himself knew the proper kind of *puja* to perform for Karunamaya. Hence they performed whatever sort of worship they knew including blood sacrifices. As a result of this the god became angry and afflicted the country with a series of plagues and pestilences. Finally a *jhankri* divined that some great god was displeased. The plagues persisted and the people of the village, surmising that it might be this new god who was infflicting this suffering on them, took his image out of the village and threw it into a pond. Following this the people were afflicted with a different series of plagues, all diseases associated with water.

The pond where the image was thrown was in a jungle far outside of the village and far from any habitation. This was Jamal, which at that time was a dense forest, the main city of the Valley being Panauti. Finally, many years later after the city of Kathmandu had been founded and villages had begun to spring up around the city, a Jyapu was clearing part of the forest at Jamal for cultivation. As he was digging his new

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3. Ibid. Perhaps this legend is a confusion of the legend of the theft of the image from Cobhar by Tibetans. See Chapter Eleven.

field, he unearthed the image of Karunamaya and took it to his home. Later he had a dream in which the god appeared to him and told him to find a suitable holy place to have the image properly enshrined. In response to the Jyapu's question about where such a suitable place would be found, the god replied that Jana Baha would be suitable. About this same time the King of the Valley, one Brahma Datta, who had his capital at Panauti, also had a vision of the god in a dream.[4] Karunamaya told him about the statue and asked him to find the place called Kanaka Caitya Mahavihara and have the image enshrined there. The King conducted a search and identified the place when he saw five kinds of light coming out of the ground near the Kanaka Caitya in Jana Baha.[5] He then had the image enshrined in the *baha* and inaugurated the annual *ratha jatra*.

A much more elaborate legend is recounted in a booklet published some years ago in Newari called *Janabahadya: ya Bakhan*.[6] The story has evidently been taken from a *vamsavali*, but no source is indicated by the writer nor does he give any indication of the antiquity of his story.

The story is presented in the usual setting of a Mahayana Sutra: Sakya Muni Buddha recounts the story at the request of one of his disciples. The story was first recounted by Sakyasimha Bhagavan in the Bodhimandapa Mahavihara, later Upagupta Bhiksu told the story to Asoka, king of Pataliputra. Finally it was told again by Sakyasimha Bhagavan on the Gosringa Hill (Swayambhunath) with Maitri Bodhisattva acting as interlocutor.

Maitri Bodhisattva addresses the following questions to the Buddha: "How did Avalokitesvara, also called Janmabahadya:, who resides in the holy city of Kantipur, arise; and why does he stand facing the east ? Who built this *vihara* and who set up Sri Karunamaya there."[7]

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4. This seems to be pure fantasy. There is no historical king of the Valley named Brahma Datta, and at no time was the whole Valley ever ruled from Panauti.
5. According to my informant the old residents of Jana Baha have seen this five-fold light emanating from the base of the *caitya* at twilight.
6. Kamalanada Vajracarya, *Janabahaydya:ya Bakhan* (Kathmandu, 2021 B. S.), p. 17.
7. Ibid., p. 1.

The Buddha responds that before the city of Kantipur existed there was a place called Jama Desa. The king of that city was Yaksa Malla, his wife was Queen Bhuvanesvari and his son the prince Ratna Malla. At this time, through the efforts of the whole family of the king, Sri Karunamaya Janabahadya: came down from the Sukhavati Bhuvana to help the people of Kantipur. He came to the palace of the king and when the question arose of where to build a *vihara* to have him enshrined, it was decided to build one at the Kalamocan Tirtha[8] on the land between the Bagmati and the Kalmati (sic) Rivers at a place called *hwangu*. An image facing east was erected, the *dasa karma* were performed, *pujaris* appointed, the king fixed revenues for the temple, and the *ratha jatra* was inaugurated.

The place at Kalmocan Tirtha where the Bagmati and the Kalamati join was called *hwangu* (i. e., "the confluence"), this became corrupted to *hwanga,* then to *honga,* and finally to *onga,* the current name.[9] The people who came to Kalmocan Tirtha to bathe and visited Karunamaya were freed from disease. Furthermore, by the favour of Sri Karunamaya Avalokitesvara, whoever happened to die at this Kalmocan Tirtha was born again in Amaravatipur to live with the gods.[10]

When the gods in Amaravatipur came to realize that all the people of Nepal were coming to live in their heaven, they came down to the sacred land of Nepal, bathed at the Kalmocan Tirtha and went to visit Avalokitesvara and worship him. Since this place had been hallowed by the presence of Avalokitesvara, Indra and all the gods wanted to stay there. So they made a holy place and called it Indra Cowk. Bhairavanath also came from the sky and took up residence in Hwangu,

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8. Kalmocan Tirtha is on the Bagmati River near the main bridge leading to Patan and is far from the old city of Kathmandu and Jana Baha. The reference is a bit mysterious because it is the Visnumati that the residents of Kathmandu used for religious purposes.

9. This is a bit of folk etymology to explain the current Newari name of the area, Onga Tole.

10. Sukhavati is the Buddhist heaven of Amitabha with which Avalokitesvara is rightly associated. Amaravati (the abode of the immortals) is a Hindu term for the abode of Indra and the gods.

and this is how the Akasa Bhairava happened to come to that place.[11]

The lord further explained that if those who are born in Nepal observe the *gunla dharma*,[12] if they show devotion to Sri Jyotirupa Buddha Bhagavan (i.e. Swayambhunath), if they play the five traditional instruments at religious festivals, if they revere the five glorious *tathagatas* (i. e., the five Dhyani Buddhas), if they perform the proper worship of Sri Jyotirupa Svayambhu Bhagavan—if they do all of this they will get the four fruits, i. e., *dharma, artha, kama, moksa,* [13] and be freed from all their sins. When they die they will be free from the fear of Yamaraja and go to reside in the Sukhavati Bhuvana.

In response to the Bodhisattva's question of how Karunamaya happened to come to this hallowed place the lord told the following story. The god of the underworld, Yamaraja called together all of his spirits (*bhuta*) and gave them the following instruction: "All men must die and when they die those who have lived sinful lives must be bound with a noose and brought to one of our ten hells to be tortured for their sins. Those who have lived virtuous lives need not be brought." The spirits were then sent to various countries of the world to bring the wicked to Yamaraja. Those who came to Nepal found that as soon as the people stopped breathing they disappeared and went off to live in Sukhavati Bhuvana, by the favour of their god. Despondent because they could not perform their appointed task, they went back to Yamaraja and explained the stituation in Nepal to him. Yamaraja went into a deep trance and in his state of ecstasy learned that this was indeed so, because the people worshipped Svayambhu Jyotirupa Bhagavana, performed *pancopacara puja* to him, and sang his *stotras*.

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11. This, which has little to do with the story as such, is an attempt to explain the origin of the name Indra Cowk and of the temple of Akasa Bhairava which is located there.
12. *Gunla Dharma*–the month of religious observances and fasts observed by the Newar Buddhists.
13. This seems to be completely out of place here. These four, referred to as the *caturvarga*, are Hindu terms, and to my knowledge are not used at all in Buddhist Philosophy. They do not occur in the *Dharma Sangraha*.

Yamaraja's chief minister, one Chitra Gupta, then suggested that the whole court of Yamaraja should go to Nepal and worship Sri Svayambhu Jyotirupa. So they set off for Nepal in procession and made their way to Swayambhunath to worship the lord.

The people of Yamala Desa came to know that Yamaraja and his court were at Swayambhunath and went off to inform the King, Yaksa Malla. They told the king that since such a great god had come to their country he should be invited to visit the king's *darbar* so that the people could ask a boon of him. "Let him grant us that we always remain young; let us never grow old, let us never be afflicted by diseases, let us ever be healthy, let us have a long life."

The king agreed and sent his courtiers off to summon Yamaraja while he made preparations to perform a suitable *puja* in his honour. Yamaraja agreed to the proposal, and when he arrived at the palace he was seated on the king's throne where the king and all the people worshipped him. While Yamaraja was sitting on the throne, the king summoned Vajrapani who bound Yamaraja in place with a *mantra*. The king then presented the people's request. Yamaraja replied that this was not in his power to give, that the troubles and diseases which the people suffered were a result of their *karma* which could not be erased. Then the king threatened him telling him that if he did not grant the requested boon they would not let him go. When Yamaraja realized that this was so and that he was powerless to move, he replied, "This is very difficult. Nobody can grant this request, except perhaps my guru Sri Karunamaya who lives in the Sukhavati Bhuvana." The king then commanded him to summon his guru so that the people could place their request before him. Finally Yamaraja lowered his head, began to think of Sri Aryavalokitesvara Karunamaya and begged him to come to his aid.

Karunamaya then came down and appeared in the personal pond of the king of Jama Desa, Yaksa Malla. He appeared out of the water with Amitabha on his head, one hand in *abhaya mudra* and the other holding a lotus. He granted *darsana* to all present. Yamaraja explained to the King that this was his guru and the King presented the people's request. Karunamaya replied, 'Oh, King, the water which comes

from this pond above which I appeared goes to a place called Kalmocan. Whoever bathes at that holy place will not have to face death. The place where the Bagmati and the Kalmati join is known as *hwangu*, you must make a *vihara* for me there and set up a statue of me facing east." When all arrangements were completed Yamaraja addressed his guru, Oh Lord, Karunamaya, you have completed what I asked for. My work is finished. It has been decided to set up a place for you at Kalmocan. I would like to have a shrine set up there in my honour also." So Karunamaya decided to set up a memorial of Yamaraja there also. The memoral would be a *linga* and because of this *linga* the place would be known as Jamalesvara.[14]

After Yamaraja had left, Yaksa Malla crowned his son Ratna Malla and then with his subjects went to the place called Kalmocan accompanied by Sri Karunamaya. There at the place called *hwangu* Yaksa Malla established a city, built a *darbar* at a place called *waka desa* (*wotu tole*) and at the edge of the river built a *vihara* for Karunamaya. When the *vihara* was inaugurated Karunamaya said, "Whoever comes to this *vihara* and does *puja* to me will be free from disease and have a full life. The sick who come to read a *dharani* and perform *ayusadhana* will be cured. In the next life they will come to reside with me in the Sukhavati Bhuvana. The lame, the maimed, those who are confined to home should also have an opportunity to have *darsan* of me, so that they can also receive this protection. Hence you should also establish a *ratha jatra*. As soon as they have had *darsan* of me they will also receive protection. Each year the *jatra* should start from the place where I appeared." When the King returned to his palace he began to make all the arrangements for the *ratha jatra*.

The story goes on to relate that after the *nirvana* of Yaksa Malla, his son Ratna Malla united Jama Desa and Waka Desa into one country and called it Yen (the Newari name for Kathmandu). It was such a lovely country that he gave it the official title of Kantipur. There he carried on the yearly *ratha jatra* according to the wish of his father Yaksa Malla. By the favour of Aryavalokitesvara all the people had

14. Yamalesvara is the full name of the area known as Jamal, so named from two Siva *linga* which were housed in a temple which used to stand in front of the Sanskrit Hostel.

a full life, by this grace they were free from disease, they remained forever young, healthy and prosperous.

The story then concludes with an account of the setting up of the shrine of goddess Bhadrakali to ward off the attack of the king of Patan, Sidhinarasimha Malla.

In addition to these legends, Punya Ratna Vajracarya recounts another legend according to which one King Haridatta Varma is credited with setting up the deity and inaugurating the annual *ratha jatra*.[15] Haridatta Varma is listed in the *Gopalaraja Vamsavali*[16] and in all of the modern chronicles as a King of the Suryavamsi Dynasty which preceded the Licchavi Kings.[17] In the *Gopalaraja Vamsavali* he is credited with founding several temples to Visnu, and in all of the modern chronicles he is credited with setting up the four Narayana temples in the Valley. None of the chronicles mention any connection with Avalokitesvara, Jana Baha or Jamal, nor have I heard this legend from any other source.

*Mecidekhi Mahakali*, the recently published gazetteer of Nepal, recounts another tradition according to which the *vihara* was set up, and the deity named Sveta Matsyendranath, by one Samanta Bhadra. I have not seen this tradition anywhere else.[18]

Very little of historical value is contained in these legendary accounts which are full of historical contradictions and inaccuracies. Clearly, the long story is an attempt to give an account of the founding

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15. Punyaratna Vajracarya, "Shri Sveta Machindra Jatra," *Svatantra Visva*, 11 (July 1971) : 26.
16. Dilli Raman Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 4 vols. (Calcutta, 1966), 4: 116.
17. "Rajbhogmala," *Ancient Nepal*, 8 (April 1969): 5; Bal Chandra Sharma, "Kathmandu Upatyakako Ek Rajvamsavali," *Ancient Nepal*, 4 (July 1968): 9; "Nepal Desko Itihas Sangraha," *Ancient Nepal*, 14 (Oct. 1970): 13; Nayanath Paudyal, ed., *Bhasa Vamsavali*, Part 1 (Kathmandu, 2020), p. 55; Daniel Wright, *History of Nepal* (Kathmandu, 1972), p. 114; Bikramajita Hasrat, *History of Nepal* (Hosiarpur, 1970), p. 36.
18. *Mechidekhi Mahakali*, 4 vols. (Kathmandu, 2031 B. S.) 4: 734. This may result from confusion with the image of Simhanda Lokesvara erected by Samantabhadra Vajracarya.

of Kathmandu and some of its main toles and shrines in one connected narrative with little regard for historical accuracy. The one thing common in all of the accounts is the connection of the image with Jamal, and in many of them the story of finding the image in a field or well at Jamal. This is still the current tradition among the people of Kathmandu and is attested to also by the modern chronicles. The last account which related the founding of the present temple with Yaksa Malla (1428–1480) also accords with what is found in the modern chronicles. Though Yaksa Malla never had his *darbar* in Kantipur or Jamal but in Bhaktapur; and the city of Kantipur was surely founded many centuries before his time, his son Ratna Malla (1484–1520) was the first king of the separate kingdom of Kantipur.

**Chronicle Accounts**

Turning to the chronicle accounts of Nepal history, we find that the one "ancient" chronicle, the *Gopalaraja Vamsavali,* makes no mention of the cult of Seto Matsyendranath nor of Jana Baha or Kanaka Caitya Mahavihara. This is not surprising, if indeed the present cult can be traced only to the time of Yaksa Malla, as the chronicle comes to an end in the middle of the reign of Jayasthiti Malla.

The so-called modern chronicles, all written in the last century, associate the original setting up of Seto Matsyendranath with two kings, Sankaradeva and Gunakamadeva. Three of the chronicles credit the Licchavi king Sankaradeva with the founding of the city of Purnavati and the country (*desa*) of Indracowk.[19] Taking the advice of the Buddhist Acaryas he set up in the city of Purnavati an image of White Lokesvara (Svetarupa Lokesvara) in imitation of the festival (*yatra*) of Patan. All three of the chronicles place this event in the year Saka Samvat 527 (607). In this year we have the joint reign of Sivadeva and Amsuvarma. There is a Licchavi king called Sankaradeva, but he predated Amsuvarma by 150 to 200 years. It is clearly impossible that the founding of the White Lokesvara in imitation of the Lokesvara of

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19. Devi Prasad Lansal, ed, *Bhasa Vamsavali, Part* 2 (Kathmandu, 2023 B. S.), p. 18–19: "Nepal Desko Itihas," *Ancient Nepal,* 16: 2; "Rajbhogmala," *Ancient Nepal,* 8: 3.

Patan could be associated either with Sankaradeva or with the year 607 as there is a constant tradition in all of the chronicles that the festival of the Bungamati Lokesvara was started by King Narendradeva. Which of the three Narendradevas is, of course, open to question, but all three of them ruled later than 607. There is another Sankaradeva among the Thakuri kings and he ruled circa 1065–83. It is at least reasonable that the Avalokitesvara of Kathmandu be associated with him. Indraratna Vajracarya claims that the Sankaradeva in question is the Licchavi king and that he initiated the *ratha jatra* about 1366 B. S., i. e., 1310.[20] 1310 brings us to the early Malla Kings and the reign of Ananta Malla.

The other king associated with White Lokesvara in the chronicles is Gunakamadeva. The *Basa Vamsavali,* which credits Sankaradeva with setting up the temple, says that Gunakamadeva began the *ratha jatra.*[21] The chronicle edited by Bal Candra Sharma makes no mention of the setting up of the temple but credits Gunakamadeva with the inauguration of the *jatra* after he founded the city of Kantipur at the confluence of the Visnumati and Bagmati Rivers.[22] Wright's chronicle says,"Then in imitation of the Lokesvara jatra of Patan he Gunakamadeva made an image of Khasarpana Lokesvara, and caused his jatra to be celebrated every year."[23] The chronicle of Padmagiri says, "Rajah Gunakamadeva constituted the *rathayatra* of the white-faced or Svetamukha Candra or Yamalesvara."[24]

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20. Indraratna Vajracarya, "Seto Machendranathko Yatra," *Gorkhapatra* (9 Caitra 2028), p. 3.
21. *Bhasa Bamsavali,* Part 2, p. 18–22.
22. "Rajbhogmala," *Ancient Nepal,* 9: 3.
23. Wright, p. 154. Kasarpana Lokesvara is a white form of Avalokitesvara; See R. S. Gupta, *Iconography of the Hindus, Buddhists and Jains* (Bombay, 1972), p. 129. Interestingly enough, in speaking of this reference in Wright's chronicle, Levi says that Khasarpana is red. Levi, 1: 254. This may explain his mis-identification of the image at Jana Baha as Samantabhadra. He does not identify this Khasarpana with the present image at Jana Baha, but when speaking of the present image he identifies it as Samantabhadra, perhaps to account for the colour.
24. Hasrat, p. 45.

All four of these accounts agree on attributing the inauguration of the *ratha jatra* to Gunakamadeva; two of them attribute the setting up of the image and the founding of the temple to him also. There are two Gunakamadevas among the so-called Thakuri kings, the first ruling circa 942–1004 and the second circa 1184–1196. The chronicles agree on associating the first Gunakamadeva with Seto Matsyendranath. His reign is attested to by two colophons, one dated 104 N. S. (984)[25] and the other dated 110 N. S. (990).[26] However, the *Rajbhogmala* gives the date Kaligat 3825 (724) for Gunakamadeva's founding of the city of Kantipur, which would predate the whole of the "Thakuri" period. The year 724 falls within the late Licchavi period during the reign of Jayadeva II.[27]

Little credence can be given to these accounts of Sankaradeva and Gunakamadeva. It may well be an attempt on the part of the chronicle writers to give a great antiquity to the cult similar to that of Rato Matsyendranath of Bungamati. Furthermore, these same chronicles claim that the cult lapsed and credit Yaksa Malla with

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25. D. R. Regmi, 1: 110.

25. Ramji Tiwari,, et als., *Abhilekha Sangraha,* 12 vols. (Kathmandu, n. d.), 9: 14.

27. That Gunakamadeva can be credited with the founding of the city of Kathmandu is doubtful, though Petech says that the date 723–4 may well be correct. Luciano Petech, *Mediaeval History of Nepal* (Rome, 1958), p. 173. However, it is also true that there were settlements in this area in Licchavi times, even if it was not one city. The central area where the present Jana Baha stands was known as Koligram and the area to the south, where Hanuman Dhoka stands, was known as Daksin Koligram. In the Thakuri period these two came to be known by the Newari names of Yangal and Yambu respectively. The name Kasthamandapa occurs as early as 263 N. S. (1143) and the name Kantipur is found as early as 631 N. S. (1511). The area now known as Jamal was inhabited and called Jamayambi in Licchavi times. For a more extensive treatment of the names of the city and their evolution See, Gautamvajra Vajracarya, "Yangala Yambu," *Contributions to Nepalese Studies* 1 (June 1974) p. 90–98; Gautamvajra Vajracarya, *Hanumandhoka Rajdarbar* (Kathmandu, 2033 B. S.), p. 5–16 and 48–50; and Dhanavajra Vajracarya, "Licchavikalik Basti," *Purnima* 18: 93–94.

reviving the cult when the image was unearthed at Jamal. It would be natural for the writers of the chronicles to try to give some account of the original founding of the cult and festival of the image found at Jamal.

According to Wright's chronicle, "in this reign [Yaksa Malla's] some potters, while digging for clay, found an image of Lokesvara which had been made by Gunakamadeva but which had been buried under the ruins of the temple that fell down in the time of the Thakuri Raja. The King had the image repainted and put it into a new temple which he built for it in Kathmandu. The image henceforth was named Yamalesvara, and the place where it was dug up was called Yamala."[28] In speaking of the reign of Pratap Malla the same chronicle says, "He introduced the annual *ratha jatra* of Sena (or Sanu) Macchindra, who was dug up by potters and placed in a temple by Raja Yaksa Malla."[29] The other chronicles say nothing about Yaksa Malla setting up the image but state that Pratap Malla once again started up the *ratha jatra* which had been discontinued (*lop bhaeko*) in the time of the Thakuri kings.[30] One chronicle says it had been stopped by the Thakuri kings.[31] This at least accords with the legends which associate the image and its cult with Yaksa Malla and Jamal, and with the tradition that the image was found in a field at Jamal. This is the reason given for starting the *ratha jatra* at that place each year, and such constant traditions have a good chance of being based on a historical fact, though little historical accuracy can be attributed to the legendary elaboration of the event.

Jamal is the area around the Sanskrit Hostel (Tindhara Pathsala) directly south of the present royal palace. This was once a separate village which was destroyed and most of the area incorporated into the compound of Seto Darbar by Bir Shamsher. The place derived its name from the two Siva Linga which used to stand in a temple immediately in front of the hostel. When the present road was put in, the temple was moved about a hundred yards down the little lane which runs east

28. Wright, p. 189.
29. Ibid., p. 213.
30. *Bhasa Vamsavali,* Part 2, p. 87; "Rajbhogmala," *Ancient Nepal,* 10: 16; "Rajvamsavali," *Ancient Nepal,* 6: 2.
31. Hasrat, p. 74.

from the hostel. Jamal extended from this area all the way down to the area of Rani Pokhari, and nearly all of this was included in the compound of Seto Darbar. The south wall, the gate of which still remains, ran along the little lane going east and across the present road between the statue of King Mahendra and the hostel. According to oral tradition the image was discovered in the ground just about where the statue of King Mahendra stands and originally the *ratha jatra* began from that spot each year. At the same spot the priests of Jana Baha also performed the annual *divali puja* of Seto Matsyendranath, i. e., the *puja* of his family deity. After the area was enclosed in Seto Dargar the *ratha jatra* began from just outside the wall, as it still does, but the priests of Jana Baha were permitted to enter the compound once a year to perform the *divali puja* at the traditional place.

At present there is no evidence in Jamal of the old *baha* which is supposed to have housed the image. In speaking of Jana Baha Snellgrove says, "The present jana baha, Kathmandu, is a complete reconstruction. The original one, which was a proper monastery, lies just north of the Ranipokhari. It is an interesting site with sculpture remains from the Licchavi period. The present one was built just as an imposing shrine for the god."[32] Clark in his article on the Rani Pokhari says that the image was originally kept in a *vihara* in Jamal, a village destroyed by Vir Shamsher. He then says that the *vihara* was refurbished by Chandra Shamsher.[33] The *vihara,* known as Jamal Baha or Dharma Cakra Mahavihara, which both of these writers are speaking of still stands directly north of the Rani Pokhari inside of a closed compound which houses the old "Professors Quarters" of Tri Chandra College. All that remains is the *baha* shrine surrounded by a low wall enclosing an area about the size of a *baha.* Inside the wall are the sculpture remains which Snellgrove notes. It is true that this *baha* would have fallen within the area of Jamal, but informants at Jana Baha say that this is not a proper *baha* and it is not the *vihara* where the image

32. David Snellgrove, "Shrines and Temples of Nepal," *Ars Asiatique,* 8 (1961): 106, note 2.
33. T. W. Clark, "The Rani Pokhari Inscription, Kathmandu," *The Journal of the School of Oriental and African Studes* 20 (1957): 176.

is supposed to have been enshrined. This *vihara* stood in the centre of Jamala near the Sanskrit hostel and was completely destroyed or at least in an unusable, dilapidated condition by the time of Yaksa Malla when the image was taken to Kel Tole. Therefore the sculptural remains found at the Jamal Baha do not help us to date the cult of Seto Matyendranath.

The one thing we can gather from the legends and the chronicle accounts, as well as the oral tradition of people associated with the cult today, is a constant, and probably accurate, tradition that the image at Jana Baha was brought from outside, probably from Jamal and enshrined in Kanaka Caitya Mahavihara about the time of the king Yaksa Malla. This is further attested to by the current name Jana Baha (or Jamal Baha), and the names applied to the deity, i. e., Jana Baha Dya: and Jamalesvara.

**Historical Remains**

When we turn our attention to the verifiable historical data in and around the shrine at Jana Baha we have three questions to answer: (1) When was Kanaka Caitya Mahavihara founded and did its foundation predate the setting up of the image ? (2) When was the image enshrined in the present temple ? (3) When was the *ratha jatra* inaugurated or revived ?

It is entirely possible that the image itself has some inscription on it or some indication of its age, but with the tradition of replastering and repainting it each year, it is impossible to tell what might be under the plaster. Though some informants have told me that the image is copper, others who have served as priests in the temple insist that only the feet are copper: the rest is made entirely of plaster or clay (*mato*). We find no examples of such images being made in the late Malla period. A Licchavi inscription at Sankhamul, Sika Baha in Patan dated *samvat* 495 describes repairs made to such clay or earthen (*mrinamaya*) images that had fallen into disrepair with the passage of time.[34] The Jayabhagisvari image at Deo Patan referred to by Dhanavajra Vajracarya is also a clay image with feet of copper. This image

34. D. Vajracarya, "Sankhamul Sikabahiko Abhilekh," *Purnima* 17: 76–7.

carried an undated inscription, but the script is that of the time of Amsuvarma.[35] This is very little evidence on which to base any solid hypothesis, but it might indicate that such images were made in the Licchavi and perhaps in the early Malla period. Hence any image made in this style, like the Avalokitesvara of Jana Baha can be referred back to the Licchavi or, at the latest to the early Malla period.

As noted in the previous chapter, the present Jana Baha does not have the architectural unity that is characteristic of a *baha*, i. e., an enclosed courtyard surrounded by one continuous building, usually of two stories, with the shrine of the *baha* directly opposite the main entrance to the courtyard. The temple is surrounded by a series of contiguous but separate buildings all of rather recent origin. This is partly due to the fire of 1917 which destroyed the entryway and all of the buildings on the north side of the courtyard. After the fire all of these buildings were rebuilt separately by those who owned them. The rest of the buildings in the courtyard seem to be about the same age, some of them of even more recent origin. This, however, is common especially in Kathmandu where land is at such a premium. At many of the important *bahas* of Kathmandu like Dhwaka Baha all that remains of the old architectural structure is the shrine of the Kwapa dya: and the *agam* above it with the various *caityas, mandalas* and

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35. D. Vajracarya, *Licchavikalka Abhilekh* (Kathmandu, 2030), p. 583. There are two colophon notes, one of which predates this period, which have been taken by some to refer to Jana Baha. The first is a colophon on a copy of the *Namasangiti* dated 256 N. S. (1136). The manuscript was written by one Sakyabhiksu Ratnagupta of Jumala (*Sri Jumalake Sakyabhiksu Ratnaguptena likhitam*). D. R. Regmi, 1: 167. If Jumalake does refer to Jamal, and if the tradition of the image being brought from Jamal in the time of Yaksa Malla is correct, this must be taken to refer to Jamal proper and not Jana Baha. The second colophon on a copy of the *Pancaraksa* dated 631 N. S. (1511) is even clearer: "*Sri Kantipuri mahanagaravare Sri Sri Jamalambe sannidhane ehaivashanah Sri Dharmacakra Mahaviharavasthitah bhiksu Sri Abhayarajakasya..*" D. R. Regmi, 1: 461. Written by "Bhiksu Sri Abhayarajaka of Sri Dharmacakra Mahavihara at Sri Sri Jamalamba in Kantipur." This surely refers to the still extant Jamal Baha (Dharmacakra Mahavihara).

images that were set up in front of it. The rest of the *baha* has given way to larger and more modern, secular structures. Hence the architecture of Jana Baha does not help us to determine the age of the foundation. The lack of architectural unity does not prove that Jana Baha was never a "proper monastery," or that it is a recent foundation set up just to house the image of Seto Matsyendranath.

The chronicles state that the image of Avalokitesvara was brought to the Kanaka Caitya Mahavihara from Jamal. The tradition still current at Jana Baha confirms this and states that the *baha* existed prior to this, but there is little at Jana Baha to confirm this. According to informants at Jana Baha before the image was brought there, the entrance to the *baha* compound was from the west which would put the shrine of the *kwapa dya:* and the *agam* shrine of the *sangha* directly opposite the entrance as usual. This entryway from the west still exists though little used because one has to pass through the pottery works to the south and then through a tunnel-like passageway to get into the compound. According to the tradition, when the image was brought to the *baha* and a temple constructed for it, it was decided that the deity should face east and that a new entrance should be made into the compound from the east. The strongest argument in favour of this tradition, however, is the existence of the shrine of Aksobhya who is still recognized as the *kwapa dya:* of the *baha*. If the image of Avaloktesvara had been at the temple from the beginning, or if the *baha* had been set up in order to house this image, Avalokitesvara should have been the *kwapa dya:* of the *baha* as he is at all his other shrines.

There are no dated monuments or inscriptions within the Jana Baha compound which enable us to date the complex earlier than the late Malla period except possibly the Kanaka Caitya from which the *baha* gets its name. However, like the image, this *caitya* is given a lime whitewash from time to time, so that it is now completely covered and shapeless except for the very tip. The size of the *caitya* and what can be seen of the tip would seem to indicate that it is similar to the small Licchavi *caityas* that are found in the Valley, but this is about all that can be said. The earliest definite date found at Jana Baha is on a painting of Herukacakrasamvara and his consort found in the *agam*

and dated 521 N. S. (1401), which falls within the joint reign of the three sons of Jayasthiti Malla.[36] This gives some indication of the existence of the *baha* and *sangha* prior to the time of Yaksa Malla.

All of the other verifiable historical evidence dates from the time of Yaksa Malla onward, and most of it gives evidence of the presence of Avalokitesvara and the connection with Jamal. There is a manuscript copy of the *Pancaraksa* in the government library dated 590 N. S. (1470) and copied by one Manikaraja Candra Vajracarya of Sri Jamalaganthi in Koligram.[37] This falls within the reign of Yaksa Malla. Koligram refers to the area of Kathmandu around Kel Tole, and *guthi* records of the *sangha* of Jana Baha do use the name "Jamalaganthi" for the *baha*. This would indicate that by the time of Yaksa Malla the connection with Jamal had been established.

The *guthi* of the *sangha* at Jana Baha has a number of old records which refer mostly to the internal running of the *guthi*—donations to the *sangha* or temple, loans taken by members of the *sangha*, etc. I was able to see one of these old records which contains the following dated references. In Baisakh 639 N. S. (1519) a loan was given to a member of the *sangha*. This was during the reign of Ratna Malla, son of Yaksa Malla. An entry of the year 679 N. S. (1559) speaks of vessels made for the *sangha* by a Kamsakar. This falls within the reign of Narendra (Amar) Malla. In the year 700 N. S. (1580) repairs were made to the rest house below the *agam*.[38] These records give evidence of the existence and functioning of the *sangha* at this time. They make no mention of Avalokitesvara.

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36. For this information I am indebted to one of the members of the *sangha* who has a right to enter the *agam* and made a note of the date. I do not know if there is any further information on the picture. If there is any mention of Kanaka Caitya Mahavihara or the *agam* it would give greater assurance of the *baha* and *agam* being in existence at that time. Otherwise, one could argue that the painting may have been brought to the *agam* at a later date.
37. Sankarman Rajvamsi, "Yaksa Mallako Samayaka Niscit Sambat ra Tithimithiharu," *Purnima*, 9: 15.
38. I do not know if there are any records belonging to the *baha* which are older than this one. I was able to see this one only by a fortunate coincidence.

There is a sort of bracelet which the image of Avalokitesvara wears that was donated during the reign of Laksminarasimha (1619–c. 1641).[39] This is the oldest dateable evidence in the compound which definitely refers to the presence of Avalokitesvara. There are two old wooden *toranas,* one now inside the temple and the other hanging over the door to the entryway, which were donated during the time of Kings Laksminarasimha and Pratap Malla, i. e., about 1641.[40] The earliest inscriptions in the courtyard date to the time of Pratap Malla. One on the step below a *caitya* on the east side of the temple commemorates the donation of a bell in the year 779 N. S. (1659). The bell is dedicated to Cintamani Lokesvara at the temple of Jamalesvara in Kanakacaitya Mahavihara in the city of Kantipur and donated by one Candra Simha Bharo from Kel Tole."[41] Another inscription on the north side of the temple dated 784 N. S. (1664) commemorates a donation by a Tuladhar from Asan Tole at the temple of Jabberesvara (i. e., Jamalesvara).[42] On the eastern side of the temple is another inscription at the base of a *caitya* saying that the *caitya* was put up as a memorial *caitya* by one Dharmaraj Kamsakar Bharo at the temple of Jamalesvara in the Kanakacaitya Mahavihara in the year 796 N. S. (1676) during the reign of Nripendra Malla.[43] At the base of another *caitya* on the north side of the temple is another inscription dated 800 N. S. (1680) and put up by a Kamsakar at the temple of Sri Jamalesvara.[44] This is also in the reign of Nripendra Malla. Another *caitya* was erected to the north of the temple of Sri Tin Yamalesvar in the year 830 N.S. (1710) during the reign of Bhaskara Malla. Other inscriptions on images and *caityas*

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39. For this information I am indebted to Dhanavajra Vajracarya.
40. For this information I am indebted to Manavajra and Dhanavajra Vajracarya. Pratap Malla began to rule before the death of his father and there are a number of inscriptions which bear the names of both kings.
41. Sankarman Rajvamsi, ed., *Kantipur Silalekh Suci* (Kathmandu, 2027 B,S.), p. 88.
42. Ibid., p. 92.
43. Ibid., p. 115–16.
44. Ibid., p. 120

in the courtyard are all of a much later date as can be seen from the diagram of the compound.[45]

There is no reliable historical evidence concerning the inauguration or revival of the *ratha jatra* of the Avalokitesvara of Jana Baha, but there is enough to show that it was not started by Pratap Malla as claimed by the chronicles. A *thyasaphu* reference of the year 747 N. S. (1627) in the time of Laksminarasimha states that in that year the *ratha* of Jamala-deva fell over at Jya Baha as it was being pulled to Lagan.[46] Another reference of the year 750 N. S. (1630) states that in that year Laksminarasimha lengthened the *ratha jatra* of Jamala by adding a stop at Swakambu (in the Hanuman Dohoka area).[47] It seems from this evidence that before this time the *jatra* had only two stages: from Jamal to Asan Tole, and from Asan Tole to Lagan Tole. Hence the latest king who can possibly be credited with the inauguration of the *jatra* is Laksminarasimha (1619–41), the father of Pratap Malla. It is logical to assume that the festival was started in imitation of the Patan festival after the split of the Malla kingdom, so that the people of Kathmandu would have their own festival. Up to the time of Laksminarasimha's reign Patan was at least nominally a part of the kingdom of Kathmandu. When Sivasimha died Laksmanarisimha became king of Kathmandu, and Siddhinarasimha became king of the independent kingdom of Patan. Immediately after Sivasimha's death the people of Patan and Bhaktapur surrounded the city of Kathmandu and blockaded it.[48] Some months later Laksminarasimha and Siddhinarasimha made a pact of friendship, but the rivalry continued and grew even more intense during the reign of Pratap Malla, the son of Laksminarasimha. Because of the bickering between the two kingdoms, it was not always easy or safe for the inhabitants of Kathmandu to go to Patan to take part in the festival there.

The fixtures of the *ratha* are no help in dating the festival. The

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45. See diagram of the temple complex on p. 140.
46. Gautamvajra Vajracarya, *Hanumandhoka*, p. 39.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid., p. 20.

panels, *toranas*, and other fixtures all seem to be about the same age and style. The *gajur* which is put on the very top of the *ratha* is dated 924 N. S. (1804); the panels depicting the Guardians of the Directions are dated 985 N. S. (1865).[49] I have been told that the room on the north side of the temple where these fixtures are stored contains a number of older fixtures which these newer ones replaced, but it is impossible for anyone not a membr of the *guthi* which has charge of these treasures to get into the room, and members of the *guthi* are immediately suspicious if any of their number who try to root around among these things. The result is that even members of the *guthi* who are interested in making an inventory and trying to date these things in an effort to document the history of the *baha* have been unable to do so.

**Conclusions**

We have the tradition of an ancient foundation of Kanaka Caitya Mahavihara, prior to the bringing of the image of Avalokitesvara, confirmed by the existence of a separate *kwapa dya:* shrine and the old entryway to the *baha*. The earliest hint we have of the presence of Avalokitesvara and the connection with Jamal dates to the reference to Jamalaganthi in the time of Yaksa Malla. The earliest definite evidence at Jana Baha of the cult of Avalokitesvara dates to the year 1641 (the ornament donated in the time of Laskminarasimha). From that time onward we have a continuous record of the cult, and all of the earliest inscriptions give Avalokitesvara the name Jamalesvara (the Lord of Jamal). This confirms the tradition of the image being brought from Jamal. There seems to be no other possible reason for the name Jamalesvara. We know that the annual *ratha jatra* was already an established custom in 1627. From that time to the present the custom has been maintained.

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49. Only one of the side panels containing the ten Guardians of the Directions is dated; most of them are inscribed with the names of various members of a family of Manandhars who donated them. Another small figure which is placed on the *ratha* is dated 1994 B. S. (1937), and inscribed with the names of another family of Manandhars. A few of the other ornaments are also dated within this century.

It is possible then to formulate the following hypothesis. The image of Avalokitesvara—Seto Matsyendranath was brought to Jana Baha from Jamal, either from a ruined monastery or actually dug up by someone, and enshrined in the already existing *baha* known as Kanaka Caitya Mahavihara. This was probably done in the time of Yaksa Malla (1428–80). Thereafter the shrine of Avalokitesvara became the centre of the religious life of the *sangha* and a popular deity of the general populace of Kathmandu. Since the image was brought from Jamal it became known by the popular name of the "Lord of Jamal" (Jamalesvara). The *baha* became known as Jamal Baha and finally as Jana Baha. The annual *ratha jatra* was started some time after this and probably after the division of the Malla kingdom, to provide the people of Kathmandu with their own *ratha jatra* of Avalokitesvara.

About the cult of Avalokitesvara at Jamal—whether there was a *ratha jatra* there, etc.—we have no verifiable historical evidence. Presumably there was a *baha* there which housed the image, and we can assume that Avalokitesvara formed the centre of the cult there as the guardian deity of the *sangha*. It is quite likely that the contradictory accounts of the founding of the original *baha* are merely attempts to give some sort of a story to explain the image brought from Jamal to Jana Baha. We have no historical evidence from Jamal.

## CHAPTER FIVE

# The Sangha of Jana Baha and the Daily Worship of Avalokitesvara

The *sangha* of Jana Baha is a "mixed" *sangha* of Sakyas and Vajracaryas. There are eighteen "families" in the *sangha* as it functions today, comprising between 145 and 150 initiated members. Six of the "families" are Vajracarya and twelve are Sakyas, though only about one third of the initiated members of the *sangha* are Sakyas. Both the term "family" and the number eighteen are something of a fiction. There is a tradition that there were orginally four families (*kawal* in Newari, Sanskrit *kula*) attached to the *sangha*. Two of these were Sakya and two Vajracarya. This is confirmed by the fact that the families are still divided into four groups, two Sakya and two Vajracarya, each group having a common family diety (*digu dya:*). As time went on the numbers increased and these four joint families split, eventually bringing the number to eighteen. Over the years some families have died out or moved away, and their rights and duties have been assumed by other families related to them. So one household may now be counted as two or three "families". On the other hand, the number eighteen has become fixed so that, though some families have increased and split into two or more joint households, these several households are still counted as one "family". It is the Sakyas who have decreased while the Vajracaryas have increased. Thus one Vajracarya household split into two households about two generations ago. One of these sub-households, now on the point of splitting again because of the large numbers, has twenty-five initiated male members. Yet the two joint households are still counted as one "family". One small Sakya household has assumed the rights and duties of two of the eighteen "families" that died out. So this household exercises the rights of three "families". At the present time there are only four Sakya households; all the rest are Vajracarya. This explains why there are so many more initiated Vajracarya member of the *sangha* than Sakyas, despite the fact that

the Vajracarya "families" constitute only one third of the total number of "families".

Originally all the member families of the *sangha* lived within the compound of Jana Baha, but now the majority do not. This is partly due to the press of numbers. As certain families grew there simply was not room for them in the quarters they had within the *baha*. Many others simply moved out when their quarters were destroyed by the fire of 1917.

The governing body of the *sangha* consists of one representative of each of the eighteen "families" presided over by the *thakali*. When a meeting is called the family can send any initiated male member to represent them. Though this is often the senior-most member of the "family", it need not be. In the case of a household which has assumed the rights of defunct "families", they send one representative for each "family". The *thakali* is always the eldest initiated member of the *sangha*. In addition to this governing body, there is a committee composed of the *thakali*, the *noko thakali* ("second eldest"), and the *swaya thakali* ("third eldest"). These three offices are held strictly on the basis of seniority, irrespective of what family one belongs to, or whether one is a Sakya or Vajracarya. Thus, it is theoretically possible for all three to be from the same "family". The present *thakali* is a Sakya, both the *noko* and the *swaya* are Vajracaryas. Ordinary and routine business is handled by the committee of three. If the business is of greater moment, or the three cannot agree on a course of action, it is their duty to summon the full governing body. It is the function of the governing body or the committee of three to make arrangements for the annual and occasional observances of the *baha*, e. g., the bathing ceremony of Avalokitesvara, the *ratha jatra*, *guthi* feasts. In addition to this they are summoned to arrange for extraordinary expenses (such as the repainting of the building containing the entryway and the *agam* which was done in 1975), to settle disputes that may arise among the members of the *sangha*, to settle questions of caste law violations and consequent expulsion from the *sangha*. They may also be summoned for purely ceremonial functions. Thus some years ago when the *thakali* died, his family summoned the governing body for a *puja* and feast in

memory of the deceased.

From the *guthi* fund the committee of three receive a small remuneration for their services, and the same fund provides a small stipend for the priests who serve in the temple. For extraordinary expenses donors must be sought. Thus when the governing body decided it was necessary to repaint the *agam* building in 1975, they had to search for a donor. An Udaya merchant who was willing to finance the project came forward and the governing body let a contract to do the painting. The *sangha* gets nothing from *guthis* nor from the government for maintenance and repair of the *baha* and temple.

At business meetings, ordinarily the *thakali* does not speak. He listens to the opinions of the other members of the governing body and then gives his decision, which for most routine and non-controversial business, is readily accepted by the entire body. In case some members of the governing body do not accept his decision, or in case of a dispute involving caste or other regulations, if the litigants do not accept the *thakali's* judgment, the matter is put to a vote by the governing body, one vote for each of the eighteen "families". Their descision is final. It seems that much of their time is taken up with settling disputes which arise among members of the *sangha,* or passing on cases involving alleged violation of caste regulations or *baha* customs.

The individual families of the *sangha* each have their own family priest from outside of the *baha* who performs religious ceremonies and life cycle rites for them in their homes.[1] In the same way Avalokitesvara has his family priest, who is a Vajracarya from Saval Baha. According to tradition the present incumbent, whom I will henceforth call the "Priest of Lokesvara", is a direct descendant of the family priest of the Jyapu who found the image. His *upadhyaya* (or assistant) is a Vajracarya from Dhawaka Baha. The members of the *sangha* are all *jajmans* of the "Priest of Lokesvara" when there is question of common religious functions of the *sangha* and worship in the temple of Lokes-

1. This is a common practice among Buddhists and and Hindus, Newars and non-Newars alike. A family of Brahmans, for example, will have their family priest from outside the family who performs such rites for them.

vara. The three eldest members of the *sangha* preside at all the principal functions of the year connected with Avalokitesvara such as his annual bathing and the reconsecration of the image, but they serve as *jajmans* of the "Priest of Lokesvara" who actually performs the rituals. In like manner, the members of the *sangha,* when serving in the temple, act in the name of the "Priest of Lokesvara". The grain, however, which comes from the *guthi* fund for the performance of these annual or daily ceremonies belongs to the members of the *sangha*. If the "Priest of Lokesvara" comes, they, his *jajmans,* must offer him his stipend (*daksina*).

Worship in the *agam* of the *baha,* on the other hand, is worship of the proper deity of the *sangha* and is performed entirely by the members of the *sangha* in their own name. The *thakali* officiates at all of these *agam* ceremonies and performs the rituals himself. However, there are a few of these rites which can be performed only by a Vajracarya, so if the *thakali* happens to be a Sakya, the *puja* is performed by the eldest Vajracarya of the *sangha,* even though the *thakali* has taken the *acarya diksa.*

Relations among the members of the *sangha* are structured by several *guthis*. The members of the *sangha* constitute a *guthi* whose function it is to look after the *baha* and serve in the temple as priests. There is a *guthi* fund, registered with the government Guthi Samsthan, the income from which is used to pay the priest currently on duty in the temple. All of the permanent ornaments of the deity are registered with the government *guthi* office, though the ornaments themselves may have been donated by private individuals or families. It is the duty of the priest serving in the temple to safeguard these treasures. The *sangha* as a *guthi* has an annual meeting which includes a *puja* and a feast (*bhoj*). This latter takes place at the end of the annual *ratha jatra*. In general it is the practice for whatever funds a *guthi* has left over after the performance of its official functions, to be used for a *bhoj* for the *guthi* members.

In addition to this official government registered *guthi,* there are several private *guthis* pertaining to the life of the *sangha*. There are *guthis* for the various functions that have to be performed throughout the year by the *sangha*. For example, there is a *guthi* composed of some

members of the *sangha* whose responsibility it is to store the fixtures of the *ratha*. At the time of the annual *ratha jatra*, it is their duty to get these out of storage and see that they are in shape to be put on the *ratha*. At the conclusion of the *ratha jatra*, they must see that these things are removed from the *ratha* in Lagan Tole, returned to Jana Baha and stored away safely for next year. When their job is finished they have a *bhoj*. There is another *guthi* whose responsibility it is to see to the lighting and care of a large oil lamp known as the *mahadip*. This lamp is lit during the annual bathing ceremony and on a few other important occasions.

In addition to several *guthis* such as these which involve responsibilities for a few members of the *sangha*, there are two important *guthis* which involve the *sangha* as a whole. The first of these is the *disi puja guthi*. Twice a year on the tenth day of the dark half of the month of Magh and again on the tenth day of the dark half of the month of Asadh, there is a *puja* marking the end of the sun's journey north or south. Though the solstice is calculated on the basis of the solar calendar, this observance is held on the tenth day of the lunar fortnight and hence differs from the true solstice. On this day an ordinary *pancopacara puja* is peformed to Lokesvara, but the main *puja* of the *sangha* takes place in the *agam* and is offered to Vajradevi since it occurs on the tenth day of the lunar fortnight which is especially dedicated to her. At the conclusion of the *puja* there is a *bhoj* for the members of the *sangha* with special foods which are considered to be healthful at that time of the year and the changing season.

The second of these *guthis* is the *bicagu guthi* or funeral *guthi*. It is the function of this *guthi* to make arrangements for the funeral rites of members of the *sangha*. Once a year, in the month of Paus, there is a special gathering of the members of this *guthi*, i. e., all the members of the *sangha*. On this day a special *puja* is performed to bless the cloth kept in readiness to be used as a covering for the corpses of those who die. This *puja*, as it has to do with the dead, is not perfomed at the temple of Avalokitesvara but outside the *baha* compound at a small temple dedicated to Lukumura Ajima considered to be one of the *asta matrikas*. These *asta matrikas* are the guardian deities of the cremation

*ghats*. At this annual gathering a feast is held and the *guthi* members appoint an officer to administer the affairs of the *guthi* for the coming year. His primary functions are connected with funerals for members of the *sangha*. As soon as news is received of the death of a member of the *sangha*, the official goes with the cloth to the house of the deceased and covers the body. After this no one touches the body. Other members of the *guthi* are summoned and they make all the necessary arrangements for the funeral. The body is then carried off to the *ghats* by a group of Jyapus.[2] The immediate family has nothing to do with these arrangements. The funds of this *guthi* are used to meet expenses connected with funerals. Members of the *guthi* may also take loans from the *guthi*. It is the duty of the annual official to handle this business and keep the records of such loans. At the end of the year, if the funeral expenses for the year have exceeded the amount of money the *guthi* has in hand for this purpose the deficit is made up by a levy on each of the eighteen "families".

Though the temple of Avalokitesvara and the deity himself are in a very real sense the property of the *sangha*, and the *baha* forms the centre of their religious and social life, it is a very popular temple among the general population of Kathmandu. The trading community (the Udaya), especially those living around Kel Tole and Asan Tole, the Manandhars, and the Kasains are the principal contributors to the upkeep of the temple and have been for centuries as is evident from the inscriptions on the *caityas* and on the fixtures of the temple and the *ratha*. The Jyapus, especially those who are ancestrally linked to Jamal, have a ritual part to play in some of the festivals; and groups of them come to play instruments and chant *bhajans*. Beyond this the temple is frequented daily by a wide variety of people who live in the area or must pass by on their way to work or to the bazaar. They are Hindus and Buddhists of all castes, Newars and non-Newars, Tibetans and Indians,

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2. There are two types of funeral *guthis* both found at the various *bahas* in the Valley. The first is called Siegu and the second Bicagu. The only difference is that the members of a Siegu carry the bodies to the *ghat* and burn them themselves. In the case of a Bicagu, this is done by a group called *gwont*, a sub-caste of Jyapus.

including many of the local Marwaris. The deity's annual *ratha jatra,* which will be described below, is a festival for the whole of the population of the old city of Kathmandu and for many people living in the surrounding area, though it has never assumed the importance of the *ratha jatra* and *bhoto jatra* of Red Matsyendranath of Patan.

**The Daily Worship of Avalokitesvara**

The daily round of worship of Avalokitesvara, called the *nitya puja,* is performed by the *deo pala,* i. e., the member of the *sangha* who is currently on duty as priest at the temple. The members of the *sangha* serve by turns as *deo palas* for a period of one lunar month, from the first day of the dark half of the month through the following full moon day. Allotment of the "turns of service" is determined by an incredibly complicated calculation based on the original four *kawals* and their sub-divisions, so that the Sakyas still serve for six months and the Vajracaryas for six months. Hence the existing Sakya households have several turns a year, and some of the Vajracarya households have a turn only once every thirty-six months. When a given "family's" turn comes round any initiated member of the family may perform this service, though in practice there seems to be one member of each family who makes this his speciality, and when the "family's" turn comes round he always performs the service. The duties of the *deo pala* are to perform the *nitya puja,* to present private offerings and prayers of individuals who come to the temple, and to guard the temple and its treasures.

Two days before he takes up his duties the new *deo pala* is expected to spend the day resting and in recollection. In the evening he must worship Avalokitesvara by lighting a lamp in his honour and then retire early after taking a sleeping draught (*somaya khana*). The next day is a day of ritual preparation. He must bathe, shave his head (completely as at the time of his initiation), cut his nails and change into the white *dhoti* which he will wear throughout the month. The regulations require that he eat only one full meal during the day and this must be taken before noon, must be cooked by himself and must be *niramisa. Niramisa* means literally "meatless," but the use of spices, onions,

garlic, etc. is also forbidden. These dietary restrictions must be observed throughout the time that he serves as *deo pala*. In addition to these he must be careful not to touch any other person who has not been similarly ritually purified and to avoid the touch of all impure objects such as anything made of leather, a dog, or a pig.

On the day he assumes the office, the *deo pala* rises early, bathes and then proceeds to the temple at about ten o'clock where the office will be handed over to him after the *puja* of the "third" hour. For the formal handing over of the office, the *thakali* of the *sangha* accompanied by the second and third eldest must be present as witnesses. In addition to them an official from the government *guthi* office must also be present to make an inventory of all the ornaments of the deity which are registered. These include all the ornaments which the deity wears and the utensils used to perform the *puja*. It does not include the temple decorations such as the *toranas*. The official goes through the entire list of these and they must be shown to him one by one by the retiring *deo pala*. The new man then testifies before these witnesses that everything is present and accounted for. Then their charge is handed over to him. This checking of the inventory takes about four hours.

The duties of the *deo pala* centre round the *prahara puja*, the "*puja* of the hours," or *nitya puja*. In ancient times the day was divided into eight equal parts known as hours or watches (*prahara*), and these hours determine the times for the principal *pujas* of the day. They are referred to as the "*puja* of the First Hour", the "*puja* of the Third Hour", etc., though most of them also have a Newari name which more accurately describes what takes place.

Following is the order of these *pujas:*

1. *Prathama-prahara*—the *puja* of the first hour, called in Newari Khincayakegu, the "opening of the door". The *deo pala* spends the night sleeping in the temple in the vestibule between the main door and the inner sanctum. Early in the morinig he rises, opens the door and sweeps out the inner part of the temple, removing any of the flowers, grain, etc. that were offered the previous day. What he collects he throws into the *ksetra pala*. He then proceeds to the north-east corner of the compound to the well for his ritual bath. At the conclusion of

his bath he draws some more water from the well in a small vessel and takes this into the temple.

He begins the morning worship with the recitation of a hymn known as the Managalarcana, a verse which is found at the beginning of the principal Mahayana *sutras*.[3] This hymn is to be recited at the beginning of each of the hours, though informants tell me that some of the *deo palas* recite it only in the morning. At the end of the hymn he takes the water he brought from the well for the *dha-manda* (*dhara-mandala*) *thiyegu*—the "making of the water *mandala*". He sprinkles the water in front of the deity in the form of a *mandala* reciting the verse for this given in the *guru mandala* rite. This is followed by the *pujabhandasanakalpa* ("declaration of intention," performed before the vessel containing the offerings to be made to the deity in the *puja* which follows). For this the *deo pala* first lights incense, then a lamp, and then recites the prayer of "declaration of intention."[4] This is followed immediately by the *pancopacara puja* with the long recitations. Next comes the main ritual of this morning hour, the bathing of the image with the *Pancamrita*. Since the image is plastered and painted and then covered with ornaments and garments it would be damaged by this daily bathing, so a brass mirror (*darpana*) is held in front of the image and the liquid is poured over the reflection of the deity in the mirror, while the *deo pala* recites the "*Yatahi jatamatrena* etc." from the *guru mandala* rite. Next the *deo pala* sprinkles a bit of the remaining *pancamrita* round the sanctum, distributes some to the devotees who have come for this purpose, and throws the last bit into the recess in front of the Kanaka Caitya. There is always a fair crowd of devotees at the daily bathing despite the early hour. The exact time of the morning rites is determined by the time of the bathing which is supposed to take place exactly at sunrise. Hence there is considerable variation from summer to winter, and in the summer the *deo pala* has to rise about four A. M. to complete his own bath and the other preliminaries before sunrise. After the bathing he recites the *stotra* proper to this hour,

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3. See Appendix for text of hymn.
4. See Appendix for text of hymn.

the Dasabala Stotra, ringing one of the two large temple bells and waving a yak tail fan as he recites it.[5] This is followed by the confession rite in which he asks forgiveness for any mistakes, shortcomings, etc. in the performance of his duty.

This concludes the rites of the first hour and the *deo pala* then receives the offerings of the devotees who have come to the temple, offers them to the deity with a prayer and gives *prasada* to them. He will remain at the service of the devotees throughout the day; but the greatest number of people come in the morning and the evening.

2. *Dvitiyaprahara*—the *Puja* of the second hour, called in Newari Majan Puja (the "middle *puja*"). This takes place about ten in the morning. The *deo pala* goes first to the well where he washes his face and hands, and then brings some water in a vessel as in the morning. When he arrives back at the temple, he places the water vessel inside, lights some incense and taking this and a large hand bell, he makes one circumambulation of the temple ringing the bell. This circumambulation is done before each of the hours except the early morning hour and the final *puja* at night Incense is always used as an *avahana*, a summoning of the deity, and in this case he makes the circumambulation to summon all the deities whose images are placed in the compound to participate in the *puja* to Avalokitesavara. When he returns to the temple he lights incense and a lamp, and performs the *pujabhanda-sankalpa* as in the morning. This is followed by a *pancopacara puja* to the Kanaka Caitya immediately in front of the temple. For this the long form of the *pancopacara puja* is used followed by the long *sankalpa*. Immediately after this he performs the *cakra puja*, i. e., he makes the round (*cakra*) of all the shrines, votive *caityas*, and images housed within the compound performing the short form of the *pancopacara puja* to each. Included in this is a *puja* at the shrine of the *kwapa dya*:—also a short *pancopacara puja*, but including a recitation of the *stotra* called Dana Balena.[6] At the conclusion of the *cakra puja* the *deo pala* performs the *pancopacara puja* to Avalokitesvara as in the morning followed by the

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5. See Appendix for text of hymn.
6. See Appendix for text of hymn.

*stotra* proper to this hour, the Rupastava Stotram.[7]

3. The midday *puja* is called in Newari Baniya Puja("Noon Puja") and performed between noon and one P. M. After the usual washing at the well, the summoning of the deities and the preliminary rites, the *deo pala* again performs the long *pancopcara puja* followed by the proper *stotra,* the Om Namah Lokanathaya.[8] At the end of this *puja* the *deo pala* closes the temple and repairs to a small room in the courtyard behind the well to prepare his meal. This room is set aside exclusively for this purpose. No one else is ever permitted into the room, and it is here that the *deo pala* must cook his own *niramisa* rice and vegetables. When the meal is ready he brings a portion of it into the temple and offers some of both the rice and vegetables to the deity. When he offers the rice to the deity there is no *puja* to be performed nor set formula to be recited, though most do offer some sort of private prayer of offering including a prayer for forgiveness for any omissions or mistakes committed in the cooking and offering of the rice. After offering the rice to Avalokitesvara he then goes outside and scatters a bit of the rice around the other shrines in the courtyard and concludes by throwing whatever remains in the *ksetra pala.* The *deo pala* then returns to his private room behind the well to eat his own meal. At the conclusion of this he usually closes up the temple and takes a rest. Few people come in the early afternoon; and especially in the summer time, he has a long day.

4. *Tritiya prahara*—the third hour. At the third hour, about four in the afternoon, the *deo pala* performs the *pancopacara puja* with the usual introductory and concluding rites followed by the *stotra* proper to this hour, the Aryavalokitesvara Vandanastava Stotram.[9] At the end of this he cleans the temple again as he did in the morning and throws the refuse in the *ksetra pala.*

5. The *Panca Prahara*—the fifth hour. Also called Sandhya Puja ("Evening Puja") or Arati Puja ("Puja of the lamp"). At sunset there is another *pancopacara puja* as before, followed by the Karunastava

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7. See Appendix for text of hymn.
8. See Appendix for text of hymn.
9. See Appendix for text of hymn.

Stotra.[10] This is followed by the *arati puja*, the lighting of the lamps and offering of the light to the deity. For this lighting of the lamps a large group of people come, and there used to be a *guthi* of 150 to 200 members that each brought a silver lamp which he would light and leave burning in the temple. The next morning each would collect his lamp, take it home to clean and trim and bring it back in the evening. However, the officials of the *baha* became concerned when some of these lamps were lost and said they they could not hold themselves responsible for them. So most of the people donated their lamps to the temple, they were melted down and one large lamp was made which is still lit each evening by the *deo pala*. A few of the people, however, have kept to the old custom and can be seen bringing their lamps each evening. This change took place only about ten years ago.

6. *Dya; thyanegu*—putting the deity to bed. About ten at night, or earlier in the winter, the *deo pala* performs the final ritual of the day. At this time there is no *pancopacara puja*, nor are the usual preliminary rites performed. There is merely the recitation of the Om Namobuddhaya Stotra to the accompaniment of the ringing of both of the large bells inside the main door of the temple.[11] The one on the right is rung during the recitation of each of the *stotras* during the day. During this last recitation both are rung, the only time the one on the left is ever rung.

This concludes the daily round of rites or *nitya puja* at the temple; and the *deo pala* closes the temple and retires for the night.

The *stotras* which are recited each day as part of the prescribed ritual are always recited by the *deo pala* himself and in Sanskrit. There is no custom of outsiders coming to assist at this recitation. There is a group that gathers each morning and evening to sing *bhajans* in the vestibule between the street entrance and the inner countryard, but this is a purely private affair, the group using this vestibule as a convenient gathering place. They have no connection with the temple or the *baha* itself. In fact, most of this group seem to be Hindus rather than Buddhists and they sing mostly Hindu *bhajans*.

This then comprises the official duties of the *deo pala*. In addition

10. See Appendix for text of hymn.
11. See Appendix for text of hymn.

to the prescribed *pujas* of the hours, he is at the service of any devotees who may come during the day. Some simply come to offer flowers, grain and a few paise; some request the recitation of a *dharani* for a sick relative or some other special intention. The *deo pala* receives as his pay a small stipend from the *guthi* fund; and in addition to this he gets to keep any money or grain offered by the devotees and any money offered to him as *daksina* (stipend) for his services. This, however, is not as lucrative as it once was. Members of the *sangha* tell me that in former days, when rice was cheaper and more plentitful, people used to offer generous handfulls when they came to the temple. At that time their families were also smaller. As a result, from a month's service in the temple the *deo pala* used to get enough rice to feed his family for the next year and a half. In the present economic situation he receives little more than a token payment for his services which at best does not exceed a month's supply of rice for his family. In addition to these duties he must look after all of the ornaments of the deity and render an account of these at the end of the month. If anything is missing, an investigation is conducted and he must replace it with an ornament of equal value. He is not responsible, however, for the fixtures on the outside of the temple. Several ornaments from outside of the temple, mainly figures from one or other of the elaborate *toranas* have been stolen over the past five years, and no trace of the thief has ever been found.

The rules of diet and other regulations are strictly observed by the *deo palas* of Jana Baha when they are on duty. They must live the entire month at the temple, not returning home to sleep or even for a visit. They must not touch any other person, even members of their immediate family or other members of the *sangha*, during the month. If they should happen to touch another person, or anything such as leather or a dog, they must undergo the initial purificatory rites again before they can enter the temple or perform *puja*. If for some reason, such as illness, they should have to give up their duties during the month, another member of their "family" may take their place, but this man must undergo the two days of preparatory rites before he takes up the service. In general, substitutes of this kind are avoided.

## Chapter Six

# The Monthly Observances at Jana Baha

There are certain days during each month when there are special devotions or rituals performed at the temple of Avalokitesvara at Jana Baha. Some of these are directly connected with the worship of Avalokitesvara and some are merely observances that are common to all such temples. On these days there are no special *pujas* performed by the members of the *sangha* as such or by the *deo pala* on duty. However, to mark the festive day a silver cover is put on the Kanaka Caitya and special ornaments are put on the image of Avalokitesvara.

### The Astami Vrata of Amoghapasa Lokesvara

The lunar month is divided into two fortnights, the dark half of the month (*krisna-paksa*) and the bright half (*sukla-paksa*). The eighth day of each lunar fortnight is marked by special observances known as the *astami vrata,* "the religious observance of the eighth day". The term *vrata* is often, but inaccurately, translated as "fast". It is true that the *vrata* usually involves a fast of some sort, but it is a much more general term signifying a "religious observance", or "devotions", or in some contexts, a vow. Though both the *krisna-astami* and the *sukla-astami* are observed, it is primarily the *sukla-astami* that is dedicated to Amoghapasa Lokesvara. In giving an explanation for the observance of *astami* some informants told me that it was on the *astami* that the historical Gautama Buddha was conceived; but certainly in the popular mind it is a festival of Amoghapasa Lokesvara, not of the Buddha.

Amoghapasa Lokesvara is a multi-armed form of Avalokitesvara that is currently very popular among Buddhist Newars and seems to have been so since the late middle ages. The basic conception of the god can be seen from the name itself: "the name means literally the Lokesvara 'with the unerring or unfailing noose.' This is further explained in

Japanese literature as the Lokesvara who leads the sentient beings to enlightenment with the help of the infallible noose...In Nepal, besides being considered as a lord of the three worlds, he is particularly invoked to ward off evil and for release from prison and great distress. His role as deliverer from prison is likely a naive interpretation of his cosmic role as an emancipator of beings from the prison of *samsara*."[1] In addition to this he is especially invoked by the childless to obtain a child.

Amoghapasa has been popular in all countries where Mahayana Buddhism spread, though there is little or no evidence of this from of Avalokitesvara in Inida.[2] The form must have evolved at a fairly early state in the development of Mahayana Buddhism, as it is found in Japan by the beginning of the eighth century.[3] The greatest number of images of Amoghapasa have been found in Java and date between A. D. 1000 and 1300. The significance and popularity of Amoghapasa can be seen from the fact that the king Visnuvardhana who died in A. D. 1268 was considered to be an incarnation of Amoghapasa Lokesvara. The famous Candi Jago image of Amoghapasa is the internment statue of the king.[4] A number of images of Amoghapasa have also been found

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1. Pratapaditya Pal, "The Iconography of Amoghapasa Lokesvara," *Oriental Art*, n. s. 13 (Spring, 1967): 26. One cannot deduce much about the importance of various late Buddhist deities from the lack of evidence in India. Almost all evidence of late Buddhism disappeared in India. As Professor Snellgrove pointed out to me in a private communication, there is very little evidence for the important tantric deity Hevajra. Yet the evidence from Tibetan translations of Sanskrit texts and Sanskrit texts found in Nepal is abundant. These show the paramount importance of Hevajra in India; something that would not be suspected from evidence found in India.
2. Ibid., p. 27. Though most authors seem to agree that images of Amoghapasa have not been found in India, Pal notes three images, two six-armed and one twelve-armed figure in the Indian Museum in Calcutta that have been labelled simply "Lokanatha" and can at least probably be identified as Amoghapasa. All three of them have the *pasa* and the *tridandi*. There are probably other images in other collections in India that should be identified as Amoghapasa.
3. Ibid., p. 26.
4. Ibid., 12 (Winter, 1966): 238.

in Malaya; and both the Javanese and Malayan images are ultimately derived from Pala art. Images of Amoghapasa are found also in China, and it was from China that Amoghapasa was introduced into Japan. In Japan Amoghapasa is called Fuku Kensaku Kannon, which "literally means the Kannon (Bodhisattva) with the 'non-empty (i. e., unerring), net or lasso."[5] This is one of the six recognized forms of Kannon (Avalokitesvara) worshipped in Japan. It is in Japan that the earliest known image of Amoghapasa is found. The eight-armed figure in the Hookkedo, the oldest building on the Todaiju, probably belongs to the Templiya epoch of Nara art (A. D. 545–712).[6] In Tibet Amoghapasa is known as Don Zags and a great diversity of his images is known.[7]

In Nepal, although Avalokitesvara has been known since Licchavi times, his Amoghapasa form does not seem to have become popular until the middle ages. The earliest reference to Amoghapasa is a copy of the *Aryamoghapasasutra* in the Kaisar Library dated 2 May 1361 (481 N. S.).[8] Pal notes three *paubas* (or banners) representing the *mandala* of Amoghapasa, one in the Ramakrisna Mission Institute of Culture at Caltutta and dated 550 N. S. (1430), one in the Leiden Museum dated 556 N. S. (1436),[9] and one in a private collection in the U. S. which, though undated, is clearly from the same period.[10] Private collections in Nepal contain numerous copies of the Astami Vrata, Uposadha Vrata Vidhi, and the Amoghapasa Puja Vidhi, most of them copied within the last three hundred years. All of these rituals are still very popular among the Newar Buddhists throughout the Valley. Worship of the *mandala* of Amoghapasa is included in the initiation rites of the Sakyas and Vajracaryas and also in the Acarya Diksa.[11] Infor-

5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., p. 239.
8. Luciano Petech, *Mediaeval Nepal* (Rome, 1958), p. 125.
9. Pal, *Oriental Art,* 13: 21.
10. Pratapaditya Pal, *Nepal—Where the Gods are Young* (Los Angeles, 1975), p. 37 and 75.
11. John K. Locke, "Newar Buddhist Initiation Rites," *Contributions*

mants further say that the Avalokitesvara contained in the Buddha *mandala* desribed below is also considered to be Amoghapasa Lokesvara.

Throughout the lands of Mahayana Buddhism there are numerous forms of Amoghapasa. In Japan there are a number of four and ten-armed figures, and one two-armed figure that may be Amoghapasa. An eighteen-armed Amoghapasa has been found in China, and Gordon notes one twenty-two armed figure from China.[12] The standard form, though, has six or eight arms; and it is the eight-armed form that figures in the *astami vrata* and the *uposadha vrata vidhi*. Nearly all of the figures are one-faced, but a three-faced form is reported from China, and there is one four-faced figure of Amoghapasa among the 108 forms of Avalokitesvara at Jana Baha.[13] The text of the *astami vrata* describes him thus: "I am Amoghapasa—of the colour of the autumn moon, adorned with eight hands, standing, with large eyes and a heart tender with compassion, with unbound hair style, peaceful, wearing the sacred thread, having the form of an ascetic and accompanied by Tara and Bhrikuti, with the gesture of giving and holding a lotus...Hail to Amoghapasa Lokesvara. I bow my head to the lord who is pure, as pure white as the jasmine flower or as frost, standing on a lotus, whose right hands show the *varada mudra*, the *abhaya mudra*, and hold a noose (*pasa*) and an *aksamala*; whose left hands hold a water pot, a lotus, a staff and a book."[14]

Another ritual text known as the Amoghapasa Puja Vidhi, descri-

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*to Nepalese Studies*, 3 (June, 1975): 10.

12. Pal, Oriental Art, 13: 238–9.
13. Pal, Ibid, p. 239; Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography* (Calcutta, 1968), p. 419.
14. Astami Vrata Vidhi, Undated manuscript, about 150 years old in private collection in Kathmandu. Folio 8b–9a. शरदेन्दु वर्णाभं अष्टबाहु विभूषितं समुस्थितं विशालाक्षं करुणानां स्निग्धमानंस जाटामकुटंधरं शान्तं यज्ञोपवितं तापसं ताराभृकुटिसमायुक्तं वरद पंकजधारितं श्री अमोघपाशोहं । 11b–12a ॐ नमो अमोघपाशलोकेश्वराय । शुद्धं कुन्दतुषारभासशदृशं पद्मोवरसंस्थितं सर्वज्ञविधानंभयकरं श्री पाशजापोतमं वामे हि कमण्डलु च कमलं दण्डोत्तमं पुस्तकं वंदेहं परमेश्वरन्तुशिरसा लोकानुकंपा भय ।

bes him thus: Amoghapasa "is the mystery in the centre of the *visva*-lotus; all his limbs are white; he has one face, wears the saffron dress (*panchascivaresa*); he has eight hands, the right showing the *abhaya* and *varada mudras* and holding the *pasa* and the *aksamala*, the left holding a trident, a book, a white lotus and a water pot. He has twisted locks and has an image of Amitabha on the crown of his head. To the right of the lord is Tara of green colour with two hands, the right showing the *varada mudra*, and the left holding a blue lotus; she wears all the proper ornaments, On his left is Bhrikuti of yellow colour having four hands; on the right her first hand shows the *varada mudra* and the second is saluting the lord; on the left the first hand holds a *parijata* (coral tree) flower, the second a rosary. In front of the lord is Amoghankusa of red colour holding *ankusa* and *pasa*."[15] Pal quotes the following description from another text of the same rite: "Amoghapasa-avalokitesvara stands in *samapada* on the disk of the moon. He is white in colour and dressed as a *tapasvi* wearing a tiger's skin and a dark *sanghati*. He is one-faced and eight-handed. With his right hands he displays the *abhaya* and *varada mudras*, the *pasa* and the *aksamala*. In his left hands he holds the manuscript, *tridandi*, the lotus and the *kamandalu*. Above him is Amitabha, red in colour and displaying the *dyana mudra*."[16] The number of hands is always eight in these ritual texts and the hand poses or objects held in the hands are the same, though not always in the same order. The other forms of Amoghapasa show a variety of objects held in the hands

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15. *Amoghapasa Puja Vidhi*, undated manuscript in private collection in Kathmandu, folio 18a–b. ऊं आलि कालि स्वभाव सूर्य चन्द्र सुसंपुटे शुक्ल हींरकारेण मत्पन्नपद्मतद्धिजाविष्टितं पंचज्ञानक्रमेण भगवतं अमोघपाशलाकेश्वरं विश्वाब्जोपरि समयस्थितं सर्वागशुक्लं एकमुखं नपंचश्चिरवेशधरं अष्टभुजं दक्षिणे अभयवरदापाशाक्षमालाधरं वामेत्रिदंडपुस्तकपद्मकमंडलधरं जटामकुटिनं अमिताभा कृते शेखरं भावयेत् । भगवत: सव्ये तारास्यामवर्ण द्विभुजा दक्षिणे वरद वामेनीलोत्पलधरा सर्वालंकारभूषिता वामे भृकुटि पीतवर्णचतुर्भुजा दक्षिणे प्रथमभूजेन वरदद्वितीयं भगवन्तं नमस्कार कृतं वामेप्रथमभूजेन पालिजातपुष्पधरं द्वितीयेन अक्षमालाधरं । भगवन्तं पुरत: अमोघांकुश रक्तवर्ण अंकुशवाशधरं ।

16. Pal, *Oriental Art*, 12: 234.

though the two distinctive attributes are the *pasa* and the *tridandin*. Differences can also be noted in the hair styles and the garments worn by Amoghapasa.

It is on the eighth day of the bright half of the month that Amoghapasa is worshipped at Jana Baha. Devotions on this day may be performed individually or in groups; but the group form is by far the more popular. If an individual wants to observe the *vrata* alone he comes to the temple, after having bathed and put on clean clothes, to spend the day in fasting and meditating on Amoghapasa Lokesvara. The fast consists in taking only one meal during the day of ordinary rice, *dal*, and milk. No meat, spices, onions, etc. should be taken. The meal itself is eaten only after the devotions. For this individual form of the *vrata* the only ritual act to be performed is the offering of the *argha* to Avalokitesvara at the beginning of the meditation. The devotee gives to the *deo pala* on duty a conch shell with the *panccmrita* and he offers it to the deity, mentioning the name of the offerer and the intention for which he is making the offering. There seem to be few people who observe the *astami* in this way.

**The Rite of the Astami Vrata Vidhi.**

The group *puja* is a much more elaborate ritual centering around the *puja* of the *mandalas* of the Buddha, Dharma, Sangha and of Amoghapasa Lokesvara, under the direction of a priest. The same fast as above is observed by those who observe this group ritual. They usually gather at the temple around or just before noon with their own priest. The groups consist almost exclusively of women, mostly middle-aged, and vary in size from half a dozen to a hundred worshippers. There are two local groups at Jana Baha of about twenty or thirty each who observe this *vrata* on every *sukla-astami*, and other larger groups which come only on certain months. Many of these groups do observe the *vrata* each month but move from temple to temple within the Valley. Many people observe every *astami vrata* for a definite period of time-

17. Ibid.

six months, a year, two years, etc., and usually with some specific intention in mind. Others observe a series in honour of the four principal Lokesvaras, or the twelve Lokesvaras of the twelve months of the year; and some observe a series of 108 in honour of the 108 forms of Lokesvara exhibited at Jana Baha.

When the group arrives, the priest immediately sets about preparing a place for the ritual, which is usually just in front of the temple. If there are a large number of groups they will be spread round the courtyard and overflow into the buildings surrounding the courtyard. The first and second floor of the *agam* building are commnonly used by local groups. The priest begins the preliminary rites by performing an *argha* to the sun followed by the *guru mandala* rite and then the *kalasa puja* followed, at least on some occasions, by the *homa*. Amoghapasa Lokesvara is summoned into the *kalasa*, and a *bali* of cooked rice is offered to him. Next the priest or his assistant performs a *cakra puja*, i. e., a *pancopacara puja* to each of the deities resident in the compound.

At the conclusion of these preliminary rites the priest's assistant has all of those who are to participate in the *vrata* sit in a semi-circle ranging out on either side of the priest. He then presents them with the *pancamrita* which they will need for the rites, and has them perform the *guru mandala* rite as a purification. Since they are to be accepted as disciples (*sisya*) of the priest performing the rites and are themselves to take part in a Vajrayana ritual, they must perform this *puja* to Vajrasattva first. When they have completed the guru *mandala* they are ritually accepted by the priest as his disciples (*sisyadivasana*). Next the ritual of "showing the light" to each of the participants is performed to dispel the darkness of ignorance, and the priest goes along the line to touch each one with the *vajra* (to confer power), and the lock and key (for protection). With the completion of this they are prepared to begin the *astami vrata* rite proper.

The rite consists of the *puja* of the Buddha *mandala*, the Dharma *mandala*, the Sangha *mandala*, and finally, that of Amoghapasa Lokesvara. According to the rubrics each of the participants should trace the outline of these four *mandalas* on the ground with sand; but most of

these people cannot to do this with any accuracy and it would take a lot of time. Two alternatives are used. Sometimes the participants are given cards with the *mandalas* printed on them. More frequently at Jana Baha, they come with a large square of red cloth which they place in front of them. The assistant moves along the line with a wooden matrix into which the form of the *mandalas* has been carved. He fills this with sand and overturns it onto the red cloth of each. This method is much closer to the rubric of making the *mandala* of sand.

A. The Buddha Mandala

The rite for the *puja* of each of the three *mandalas* is exactly the same and can be divided conveniently into nine parts. The first *puja* is that of the Buddha *mandala,* the buddhas in question being the five Dhyani Buddhas or Tathagatas and their consorts except for that of Vairocana, who is Prajana and never portryaed in the *mandala.*

1. *Adhisthana* (setting up or consecration) of the *mandala.* This is done by meditating on the *mandala,* placing a flower on it and reciting the following *mantra:* "This *mandala* is the first [step on the way of] the peace *dharma;* it purifies the religious pursuit of knowledge; it is above all other auspicious words."[18]

2. *Arga*--offering of the *pancamrita* to the *mandala,* with the following *mantra:*"I offer this to the feet of the respected Buddha and his company."[19]

3. *Ja hum vam ho*—the attraction of the deities into the *mandala* and fixing them in place by showing the four gestures described above in Chapter Two. This is followed by a *mantra* recited as the participants circle the *mandala* once with a flower and then drop it in the centre of the *mandala:* "Om, I offer this to the buddha *mandala* to drive away all hindrances."[20] In general throughout these rites, the placing of flowers, offering of the *argha* and the *pancopacara puja* are done by the

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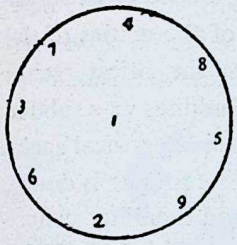
18. *Astami Vrata Vidhi,* folio 2b. शान्त धर्माग्रसंभूतं ज्ञानचर्याविशोधकं । समन्तभद्र वाचाग्रं भाषा मण्लमुत्तमम् ।
19. Ibid. श्रीमत् श्रीबुद्ध सगण भट्टारकाय पाद्यं आचमनं प्रतिष्ट स्वाहा ।
20. Ibid. ऊं बुद्धमण्डले सर्वविघ्नानुत्सरये हुं ।

The Mandalas of the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha

2. Dharma Mandala 1. Buddha Mandala 3. Sangha Mandala

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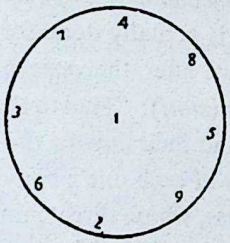


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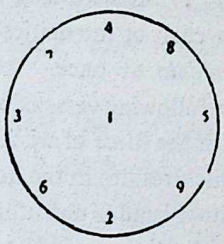


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| Dharma Mandala | Buddha Mandala | Sangha Mandala |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Prajnaparamita | 1. Vairocana | 1. Aryavalokitesvara |
| 2. Gandavyuha | 2. Aksobhya | 2. Maitrivijaya |
| 3. Dasabhumi | 3. Ratnasambhava | 3. Gaganaganja |
| 4. Samadhiraja | 4. Amitabha | 4. Samantabhadra |
| 5. Lankavatara | 5. Amoghasiddhi | 5. Vajrapani |
| 6. Saddharmapundarika | 6. Mamaki | 6. Manjughosa |
| 7. Tathagataguhya | 7. Locani | 7. Sarvanivaranavis-kambhi |
| 8. Lalitavistara | 8. Pandura | 8. Ksitigarbha |
| 9. Suvarnaprabhasa | 9. Tara | 9. Khagarbha |

participants in unison at the command of the priest's assistant. The one exception is the hand postures (*mudras*) which are done by the presiding priest alone. The recitations are all done by the priest or his assistant.

4. Salutation to each of the deities of the *mandala*. Proceeding in the order indicated by the numbers on the diagram, the participants place a flower on each point of the Buddha *mandala* as the priest calls out the name of the deity to be worshipped.

5. *Pancopacara Puja*. Next the participants offer a *pancopacara puja* to the deities of the *mandala*. Strictly, this should be done singly for each of the deities but is actually done for all of the deities of the *mandala* at once. As they offer the *pancopacara* the priest recites the following verse of praise (*stuti*): "Hail to those Buddhas who subdue with the force of wisdom and their *mantra* the fearful allegorical snake which resides in the hollow of each one's body, whose tongue is desire, whose head is untruthfulness, whose threatening hood is enmity whose poison is anger, whose teeth are indecision, whose eyes are lust, whose mouth is illusion."[21]

6. Offering of the *mandala* to the Buddha. The participants then offer the *mandala* to the Buddha while the priest recites the following hymn (*gatha*): "I offer this flower-decked *mandala* to the lord Buddha, the jewel, the *arhat*, the perfect enlightened one, the one who has mastered all statges of knowledge, the well-born one, the one who knows this world, the one for whom no one has an answer, the one who pacifies man as the rider does his horse, the one who governs gods and men."[22]

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21. Ibid., folio 3a. तृष्णा जिह्वमसद्धिकल्प शिरशं प्रद्वेष चंचलफण कामक्रोध विषं वितर्क दशणं रागंप्रचन्देक्षणं मोहास्यं स्वशरीर कोटर शतं चितोरगं दारुणं पज्ञामन्त्रवलेन यः समितवान बुद्धाय तस्मेनमः । Many of these recitations are beautiful prayers and exquisite summaries of Buddhist teaching, but they are recited entirely in Sanskrit which none of the women participants could possibly understand.

22. Ibid., folio 3b. इत्यापि (?) शोभगवान अर्हत्तः सम्यक्संबुद्ध विद्या चरण संपन्न सुगतो लोकविदनुत्तर पुरुष दम्यसारति शास्ना देवनांचमनुष्यनाँच बुद्धोभगबान तस्मे बुद्धरत्नाय इदंपुष्पमण्डलं निर्यातयामि ।

7. *Bali*. This is followed by the offering of another *bali*, this time to Buddha, as the priest recites the following *stuti:* "Hail to Buddha whose heart shines with mercy, the supreme being who considers all equally, who destroys the *dukha* of all living beings for the benefit of those in the three worlds. Receive (eat) this offering, which is bound with a heavenly fragrance, to establish all living beings in the incomparable, perfect enlightenment."[23]

8. Explanation of the *mandala*. This concludes the ritual part of the worship of the *mandala* and at this point the rubrics specify that the priest give an explanation of the meaning of the *mandala*. No text is given for this sermon, and at the rites which I have witnessed no actual explanation was given.

9. Taking of refuge. After the explanation the participants "take refuge" in the Buddha. The text for this is given and read in both Sanskrit and Newari, though the Newari is so archaic that it is about as unintelligible to the participants as the Sanskrit. The reason for giving the Newari version is that the participants should recite it phrase by phrase after the priest. However, at the rites I have seen it was merely recited by the assistant or the presiding priest. "From this day forward and as long as the *mandala* of enlightenment remains I, of such and such a name, who have been shown and have received [this *mandala*] take refuge in Buddha, the great compassionate one, who knows all things, sees all, destroys all enemies, the great man, the one who cannot be destroyed, the principal body (?) (*Anuttarakayam*), the one whose feet are above all men."[24]

B. The Dharma Mandala

The deities of this *mandala* are all personifications of the *nava grantha*, the five Mahayana texts which are considered by the Vajracar-

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23. Ibid. ऊं नमो वुद्धायकरुणाभासिता हृदयाय परात्मा समुचित्तायें त्रैलोकें मुत्तैये सर्वसत्वानां दुःख हर करणी इदं वलिदिव्यगंधरशोपेतां उपभुंजे सर्व सत्वनां च अनुत्तरायं संयक्संवोधो प्रतिष्ठापनाया। ऊं आ सुगतं वज्र पुष्पे होस्वाहा।

24. Ibid. सोहंमेवनामा एवंदेशिता तेयामिदं दिवसमुपादाय यावदावोधिमण्डलं निखण्डनातावत्वुद्धं मगवन्तं महाकरुणिकं सर्वज्ञ सर्वदर्शिता सर्ववैरिभयापहं। महापुरुषं अभेद्यकायं अनुत्तरकायं सरणं गच्छामि द्विपादानामग्रम्।

yas of Nepal as their canonical texts. The rite for this is exactly the same as that of the Buddha *mandala*. I give here only the recitations which are proper to the Dharma *mandala*.

1. *Adhisthana*. "Oh, the great *mandala*, the *dharma* which is above all peace *dharmas*, which purifies conduct through knowledge, which is greater than all other auspicious words."[25]

2. *Argha*. "I offer this to the feet of the revered Dharma Mandala."[26]

3. *Ja hum vam ho*. "May all hindrances to this *dharma-mandala* be banished."[27]

5. *Pancopacara stuti*. "Hail to this *dharma* which is the eyes of those oppressed by the troubles of birth, etc., which continually attracts beings mired in the mud of the three worlds and in the pool of old age, which cares for this defenceless world and saves beings from the *klesh*–like troubles, which is good even for the great buddhas."[28]

6. *Offering of the mandala*. The *gatha* given for this in the text is so hopelessly corrupt that a translation is impossible.[29]

7. *Bali stuti*. "To Prajnaparamita, who is like a jewel very yellow, white and blue, who has a lotus blossom in her hand, I offer this *bali* with the five nectars. Eat, smell and give an increase of wisdom and enlightenment.[30]

9. *Taking refuge*. "From this day forward and as long as the Bodhi

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25. Ibid. folio 4a. शान्त धर्माग्रसंभूतं ज्ञानचर्याविशोधकं संमन्तभद्रवाचाग्रं भाषं-मण्डलमुत्तमम् ।

26. Ibid., folio 4b. श्रीमत श्री श्री धर्ममण्डल भट्टारकाय पाद्याचमनार्थं प्रतिक्ष स्वाहा।

27. Ibid. ततो धर्ममण्डले सर्वविघ्नानुत्सरय हुं ।

28. Ibid., folio 5a. योजादिकदु खतक्त महातां चक्षुपरंप्राणिनां यत्रैधातुक पंक्तजरादहरह सत्व समाकर्षति । अत्राणंच जगत्समूहरति यः संक्लेश दु खा-र्णवान्संबुद्धायपुटेश्च्य तोय महतेंधर्मायतस्मेनमः।

29. Ibid. धमसागर प्रवेदिता शान्तोपायिकं पार निर्मोनिकं तस्मै धर्मरत्नायै : इदं पुष्पमण्डलं निर्यातयामि ।

30. Ibid. folio 5b पज्ञपारमिताय पिते महास्वेते महानील रत्नपंकजेपुष्पहस्त इदंवलियं पंचामृतं भुंजजिघ्र पिच २ प्रज्ञावर्द्धणी ज्वल २ मेघावर्द्धणी धिरि २ वुधिवर्द्धणी स्वाहा । Prajnaparamita is considered to be the summation of all of Mahayana doctrine, and hence the principal text and principal deity of the *mandala*.

*mandala* remains, I of such and such a name, who have received and seen this *mandala*, take refuge in the *dharma* which is known as the *prajnaparamita*, which is the best for those who are not dominated by lust. She is the mother of the Buddha and the very form of knowledge."[31]

C. The Sangha Mandala

The Sangha *mandala* contains the names of nine *bodhisattvas*, the principal one being Arayavalokitesvara. Recitations for this rite are as follows.

1. *Adhisthana*. "Oh, the great *mandala*, the *dharma* which is above all peace *dharmas*, which purifies conduct through knowledge, which is greater than all other auspicious words."[32]

2. *Argah*. "Hail to the revered Sangha Mandala; to the feet of the *mandala* I offer this."[33]

3. *Ja hum vam ho*. "May all the hindrances be driven away from this *mandala*.".[34]

5. *Pancopacara stuti*. "Hail to the *sangha* made up of those eight [sic] good individuals who have been launched on the four stages, who disdain a taste for the pleasures of this world, who enjoy the four-fold fruit, who have equal love for all living beings, are ever at peace, and are great yogis. These make up the group instructed by the Lord, and their bodies are practised in wisdom, discipline and meditation."[35]

6. *Gatha* for the offering of the *mandala*. "In this *sangha* are those who have received the fruit of the hearers; this is called *srotapanna*. These are the ones who have received the fruit of not being born again.

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31. Ibid. सोहमेवंनामा एवं देशिता तेयमिदं दिवसमुपादाय यावदाबोधिमण्डलं निण्डनातावत् धर्मं शरण गच्छामि । धमप्रज्ञापारमितामिधं विरागानामग्रम् बुद्ध जननीं ज्ञानरूपं उतादृशं धर्मशरणं गच्छामि ।

32. Ibid., folio 6a. शाँन्त धर्माग्रसंभूतं ज्ञानचर्याविशोधकं समन्तभद्र वागाचग्रं भाषमण्डलमुत्तमम् ।

33. Ibid. श्रीमत् श्री श्रो संघमण्डलभट्टारकाय पाद्याचमणार्घं प्रतिक्ष स्वाहा ।

34. Ibid. ऊं: सघंमण्डले सर्व विघ्नानुत्सरेये हूं ।

35. Ibid. folio 6b–7a. चत्वार प्रतिपन्नगा भवसुखे सुस्वाद विद्वेषिनश्चत्वारश्च फलेस्थिता समरता शान्ता महायोगिन इत्यष्ठो वरपुड्गल भवता यस्मिं गणे व्याकृता प्रज्ञाशीलसमाधि तप्तवपुषे संघायतस्मैनमः ।

These are called *angama* [those who will not come again]. These are the ones who have received the fruit of the *arhata;* they are called *arhats.* This *sangha* made up of such revered people, of *bodhisattvas* who walk on the noble path,should be worshipped,should be revered and should be saluted. Those who have hearts filled with such perfection should be revered by taking *darsana* of them. I offer this flower *mandala* to Aryavalokitesvara, the one who looks down on this world."[36]

7. Taking refuge. "I of such and such a name who have seen this [*mandala*] from this day forward and as long as this *bodhi mandala* remains, take refuge in the *sangha,* the *sangha* of the *bodhisattvas* who walk along the noble path. I take refuge in the *sangha* who is white, two-handed, having a lotus flower in the main hand, with large eyes, who is above the group [of the other *bodhisattvas*] who has compassion for living beings."[37]

D. The Mandala of Amoghapasa Lokesvara

At the conclusion of these three rites the priest is instructed to have the participants recite the hundred-syllabled *mantra* of Vajrasattava. This is followed immediately by the worship of the *mandala* of Amoghapasa Lokesvara, which is more elaborate than the above rites but built up on the same general pattern.

1. The rite begins with a purification of the ground, a ritual that should have been done before the *mandala* was drawn. In this case it has little meaning because they have drawn all the *mandalas* in the beginning or are using a printed card.

2. This is followed by a salutation to the three jewels, the Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha similar to the taking refuge above.

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36. Ibid., folio 7a. सन्ति संघे श्रोतापति फल प्रतिपन्नगा अनागामिन सन्ति संघे अर्हत फल प्रतिपन्नगारर्हत एसभगवान आर्यावर्त्तिका वोधिसत्व संघैराहचनीय समाकरणिय अंजली करनीय अनुत्तरपूर्ण हृत्रैदर्शनीय लोकस्य तस्मै आर्यावलोकिश्लवराय पुष्पमण्डल निर्यातयामि ।

37. Ibid., folio 7b. सोहंमेवनामा एवंदेशिता तेयमिदं दिवसुपादाय यावदावोधिमण्डल निखण्डनातावत्संघशरणं गच्छामि । यदुर्तावैवत्तिक वोधिसत्वसंघ श्वेतवर्ण द्विभूजं कनकमलहस्तं विशालनेत्रं गनाणामग्रं सर्वसत्वानामनुकंपकं एतादृशं संघ शरणं गच्छामि ।

3. Next the participants are asked to meditate on the *catur brahma-vihara* (the four sublime states of consciousness), i. e., *maitri* ("loving kindness"), *karuna* ("compassion"), *mudita* ("joy"), and *upeksa* ("equanimity"). This meditation is an ancient Buddhist tradition traced back to the Pali canon. One should meditate on these four and by doing so radiate these feelings to all living beings in the six directions. These irradiations should have a tangible effect on all beings. In this highly ritualized exercise, though, there is no real meditation; they are merely mentioned. This is true of all the meditations and considerations in this ritual. At the conclusion of this meditation, the participants are asked to repeat the following *dharani* three times: "May all the Buddhas residing in the quarters receive me."[38]

4. Next they hold a jasmine flower and recite the following: "I hail Lokanath born of the letter *hrim*, the lord, the one with a heart tender with compassion, who is called Amoghapasa."[39] They then place the flower in the centre of the *mandala*. The jasmine flower is the favourite flower of Avalokitesvaa and always offered to him if possible.

5. This is followed by the meditation on the two *mantras* extolling the voidness of all reality and the inherent purity of all worldly phenomean.[40]

6. This is followed by the meditation (*dhyana*) on Amoghapasa. "Meditate on the letter *pam* residing in your heart, the 1,000 petalled lotus above the rays of which is the circle of the moon, above that the letter *hrim*, and above that the one who is called Amoghapasa Lokesvara."[41] This is followed by the descripton of Amoghapasa given above.

7. Next the participants are instructed to perform the *nyasa* rite, the touching of the various parts of the body with the recitation

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38. Ibid., folio 8b. ऊं समन्वाहरन्तु मांबुद्धा अशेष दिक्षुसंस्थिता ।

39. Ibid. अमोघपाशलोकेश्वराय ह्रींकारस्वभवं [?] नाथं करुणा स्निग्धमानसं अमोघपाशनामानां लोकनाथं नामम्यहम् ।

40. Ibid. Confer Chapter Two, note 51.

41. Ibid., folio 8b. हृदिस्थ पंकारेण विश्वडलपद्म कर्णिकोपरि चन्द्रमडं तस्योपरि ह्रींकारं तत्परी नामेन श्री अमोघपाशलोकेश्वरं भावयेत् ।

of a *mantra* for each. The text here gives the *mantras* to be recited as one touches the various parts of the body. The rubrics state, however, that this rite is to be performed only by those who have received the five consecrations (*abhiseka*) of the Vajracarya, which means that in practice it is omitted since the *astami vrata* is performed by women, none of whom would be initiated Vajracaryas though they may be Vajracarya by caste.

8. Next Amoghapasa is attracted (*akarsana*) into the *mandala*, and the *argha* is offered to the feet of the deity as the priest says, "The great *mandala*, the [symbol] of no-soulness, which is above all *dharmas*, the residence of all the *tathagatas* who are peaceful by nature."[42]

9. Binding of hindrances. Taking a flower in his hand the devotee binds the hindrances to protect the *mandala* and insure the deity's presence saying, "Om, may all the hindrances be removed from the *mandala* of Amoghapasa Lokesvara."[43]

10. This is followed immediately by the worship of all the deities in the *mandala*. Again the devotee places a flower on each of the points of the *mandala* as the assistant calls out the name of the deity. He begins from the centre of the *mandala* and moves to the outside, circle by circle, in the order indicatd by the numbers on the accompanying diagram. The *mandala* of Amoghapasa in this particular manuscript is one of the most elaborate I have seen; some are much simpler.

11. *Pancopacara puja*. At the-conclusion of this, the participants offer the *pancopacara puja* to the *mandala* as the assistant recites the following *stuti*:"Hail to Amoghapasa Lokesvara, I bow my head to the lord who is pure, as white as the jasmine flower, or as frost, standing on a lotus, whose right hands show the gesture of giving, the gesture of fearlessness, and hold a noose and a rosary; his left hands hold a water pot, a lotus, a staff and a book."[44]

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42. Ibid., folio 10a. सर्वताथागता शान्तं सर्वताथा शान्त सर्वतथागतालयं सर्वभधर्माग्र नैरात्मा देशमण्डलमुत्तमम् ।
43. Ibid. ऊं मग्रोघपाशलोकेश्वर मण्डले सर्वविघ्नत्सराये हूं ।
44. Ibid., folio 11b-12a. ऊं नमो ग्रमोघपाशलोकेश्वराय शुद्धं कुन्दतुषारभासशदृशं पारभास सदृशं पद्मोवरसंस्थितं सर्वज्ञनिधानमभयकरं श्री पाशजापोतमं वामे हि कमण्डलु च कमलं दण्डोत्तमं पुस्तकं वंदेहं परमेश्वरन्तुशिरसा लोकानुकंपा भय ।

12. *Bali*. As the participants offer a *bali* to the *mandala* the assistant priest recites the following: "To Amoghapasa the mirror [symbol of the void] of the three worlds, whose mind is bent on great mercy, the one who destroys all diseases, poverty, suffering and unbearable troubles, I offer this *bali* adorned with milk, etc. Take, eat, grant peace, prosperity and protection. *Om a hum phat svaha.*"[45]

13. Thread ceremony. A ball of thread or string which was placed on the *kalasa* earlier, is now unwound and passed along the row of participants who hold it while the priest or his assistant recounts the story of the *astami vrata*. At the end of the rites the string is cut into small pieces and given to each of the participants. They tie this round their necks as a blessing. Since the *vrata* is in honour of Lokesvara the string is white instead of the usual five coloured string in honour of the five Buddhas. From the prayers used to offer the thread it would seem that it is the remnant of a garment that the disciple would receive upon being initiated into the *mandala* by his *guru*. Symbolically it stands for the deity and for the rule or discipline that the disciple binds himself to upon being initiated into the *mandala* of his particular deity. He is to be bound by the discipline, here the fast of the *astami vrata*, as he is bound by the thread. When the thread is given to the participants, they first touch it to their heads twenty-one times to the accompaniment of a *mantra* and then offer the thread to the *mandala* saying, "I offer this cloth which is equal to the members of the enlightenment, like a strong shield. Hail to the lord Amoghapasa Lokesvara. I offer this *dharma* garment." Then they offer the *pancopacara puja* and a flower to the thread saying, "Hail to the Lord Aryavalokitesvara, the *bodhisattva*, the *mahasattva*, the great compassionate one. In the same way, hail to the one practised in the eternal discipline, the great discipline, the pure being...whose hand is adorned with the lotus, who looks in all directions."[46] Again they offer the *pancopacara puja*, this time to the

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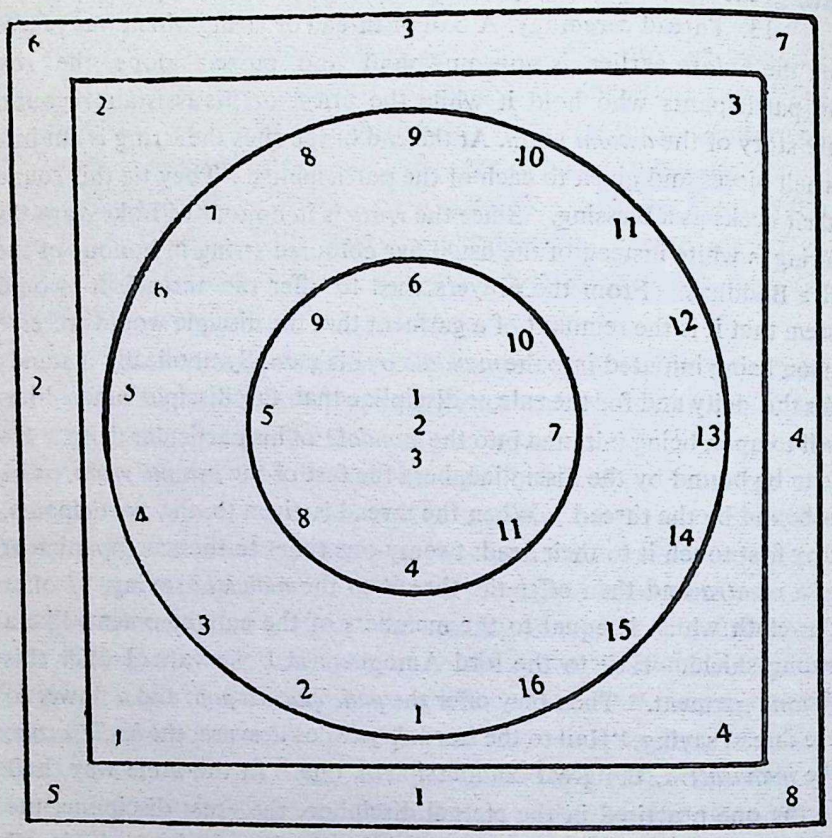
45. Ibid., folio 12a. ऊं अमोघपाशाय त्रैलोक्य दर्पणाय महाकारुणाग्रचित्ताय सकल रोग दारिद्र दुःख दुःसह दुष्टमुपसनाय इदंबलि दुग्धादि सहितं गृहितोपभन्तु शान्ति पुष्टि रक्षां करु ऊं आ हुं फट् स्वाहा ।

46. Ibid., folio 12b. ऊं वोध्यंगदृढकवच वस्त्रवासस्ये स्वाहा । ऊं नमो भगवत्ये अमोघपाशलोकेश्वराय धर्मसुत्रं प्रयक्षामि वज्रधर्म स्वाहा ।

Mandala of Amoghapasa Lokesvara



Inner Circle

1. Amoghapasa Lokesvara
2. Trailokyavijaya
3. Om Mani Pdame Hum
4. Amitabha
5. Amoghankusa
6. Tara
7. Bhrikuti
8. Sudhanakumara
9. Aryavalokitesvara
10. Khasarpa
11. Hayagriva

Second Circle

1. Ajita
2. Aparajita
3. Marasainyapramardani
4. Varada
5. Akalamrityuprasamana
6. Jaya
7. Vijaya
8. Jayavijaya
9. Varada
10. Vasundhara
11. Abhayaprada
12. Dhanendra
13. Pratyeka–Buddha
14. Suvarnaprabhasi
15. Simhanadvivridita
16. Supratitisthita

Third Circle

1. Puspatara
2. Dhupatara
3. Dipatara
4. Gandhatara

Circle of Lokapalas

1. Indra
2. Yama
3. Varuna
4. Kubera
5. Agni
6. Nairitya
7. Vayuvya
8. Isana

flower, and place a pomegrante seed on it. They then pour the *panca-mrita* on both of them saying, "I offer this *argha* to the lord, the revered Sri Amoghapasa before whose feet bow the sun, the moon, Yama, Varuna, Kubera, Brahma, Indra, the *risis*, and the whole troupe of the gods."[47]

14. The offering of the *mandala*. The participants then offer the whole *mandala* to Amoghapasa while the assistant recites the same *gatha* to Avalokitesvara that was recited above for the rite of the Sangha Mandala.

15. Following this the participants are directed to recite the hundred-syllable *mantra* of Vajrasattva.

16. *Astami Vrata Katha*— "the Story of the Astami Vrata." The participants then take up the thread and sit on the right leg with the left leg raised, while the assistant recounts the story of the *astami vrata*. There is one story which recounts the origin of the *vrata* and its purpose, and this is the proper story to be told on this occasion. However, there is a whole library of stories pertaining to Avalokitesvara that are told on these occasions.

17. Concluding rites. This is the end of the day's ritual and the story is followed immediately by the usual concluding rites of a *kalasa puja*. The participants then take their one rice meal of the day.

According to the rubrics the observance should continue until the following day when the participants should observe the same fast and again assemble to perform a shortened form of the *mandala puja* followed by the concluding rites and the *visarjana*. When this is done, the first day's rites conclude without performing the *visarjana*. However, if the *vrata* is one of a series, and nearly all seem to be, the rituals of the second day are performed only on the day after the last *astami vrata* in the series. When the second day's rituals have been completed, the *visarjana* rite is performed, followed by the giving of *tika* to all the participants and a tantric *puja* in the *agam*.

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47. Ibid., folio 13a. भगवान्सोमदित्य यमवरुणकुवेरब्रह्मेन्द्रऋषिदेवगणेभ्य चित्त-चरण कमलाय श्री अमोघपाशलोकेश्वराय भट्टारकाय अर्घं प्रच्छि स्वाहा ।

**The Uposadha Vrata Vidhi.**

An alternate form of devotion to Amoghapasa performed on the *astami* is the *uposadha vrata vidhi,* a shorter but nearly identical rite to that of the *astami vrata vidhi.* There are four differences, though. First the *uposadha vrata vidhi* may be performed on any day, whereas the *astami vrata* must be performed on the eighth day. Secondly, the *uposadha vrata vidhi* is more frequently performed at one's home by a family group or an individual under the direction of the family pirest than at a temple. Thirdly, it is usually performed with some particular intention in mind rather than just out of devotion. It is a favourite rite performed by women who want a child. One Vajracarya told me how his mother performed this rite on each *astami* for two years after several years of marriage wihout children. At the completon of that time her first son was born, and eventually she had five sons in all. Fourthly, the rite itself is much simpler.

Whether performed by an individual or a group it must be performed under the direction of a priest. Those who perform the rite must fast as for the *astami vrata* and the rite itself is performed any time from sunrise to sunset, after which the devotee takes his one meal of the day. After the initial *kalasa puja* by the priest, the devotee performs the *guru mandala* rite, and then first the worship of the *mandala* of Amoghapasa containing a single circle of seven deities: Amoghapasa Lokesvara, Amitabha, Bhrikuti, Tara, Vajrankusa, Hayagriva, Sudhanakumara. This is followed by the worship of the Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha *mandalas.* For each of the *pujas* the rite is simpler, consisting only in the placing of a flower on each of the deities followed by a *pancopacara puja* and the recitation of a *stuti.* One thing that is added to this rite is a confession of sins and a promise to avoid the killing or harming of any living being, the use of weapons, taking of anything not given, incontinence (*abrahmacarya*), lying, the use of musical instruments, frequenting of places of dance and song, use of garlands, cosmetics, ear ornaments, use of high and lofty beds and eating out of the appointed time (i. e., after sunset). All of these are an echo of the *dasa sila* (ten rules of discipline) of the Buddhist *bhiksus,* and given the fact that these people are househlders many of these things are impossible to

observe. The entire passage of confession of sins and promises is given in the text in Sanskrit and Newari, though the Newari is quite archaic.[48]

**Purnima Vrata**

Purnima, or the full moon day, is the day on which the Buddha was born, attained enlightenment and passed into *nirvana*, and as such it is a day of special observance at Jana Baha. However, this observance has no direct connection with Avalokitesvara, and is not nearly as popular as the observance of the *astami vrata*. The silver cover is put on the Kanaka Caitya and a few people do come to observe the *vrata* individually or in groups. If it is a group *puja*, people come with their priest and perform a ritual similar to that of the *astami vrata*, except that the main *mandala* is a Buddha *mandala* and not one of Amoghapasa Lokesvara.

**Sankranti**

At the time of the monthly *sankranti* (when the sun moves from one sign of the zodiac to another), the silver cover is put on the Kanaka Caitya, the special ornaments are put on the deity, and people come to offer worship. The *sankranti* falls on the first day of the Nepali month according to the solar calendar. The *pujas* performed on this day are ordinarily individual offerings, and there is no intrinisc connection between this festival and Lokesvara, other than the fact that the day is observed at his temple as it is at other temples. This is in contrast to the custom in Patan where the *sankranti* observance is clearly in honour of Avaloktesvara, as will be shown below.

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48. Data from an undated manuscript of the *Uposadha Vrata Vidhi* in a private collection in Kathmandu.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

## The Annual Festivals at Jana Baha

### The Great Bathing Ceremony--Mahasnana

Paus *purnima,* the full moon day of the month of Paus, marks the beginning of the liturgical year at Jana Baha. This day is observed by the Vajrayana Buddhists as the birthday of all the *bodhisattvas;* and on this day Avalokitevara is born again in his image, and the image is reconsecrated. This ceremony is preceded by his annual bath or *mahasnana* on the *astami* preceding *purnima.*

The ceremonies begin three days before *astami* when those who are to participate in the rites of the *mahasnana* begin the purification rites, the same rites that the *deo pala* must perform before he takes up his work in the temple. On the night of the third day before *astami* they must light a lamp, recite a series of *mantras* and meditate. After this they offer food to Avalokitesvara. This is all done individualy by the participants at home. Those who perform these rites are the three eldest members of the *sangha,* two other priests of the *sangha* (usually the current *deo pala* and one other young man), and the Priest of Lokesvara, who officiates at the *mahasnana* and performs the reconsecration of the image. There is also an old Jyapu who has a ritual part to play in these ceremonies, the "Jamami" who is supposed to be a direct descendant of the man who found the image. He does not, however, have to undergo the purification rites.

On the following day these five participants must observe the usual fast. Before eating their one meal of plain rice, which they must cook for themselves, they visit the temple to pay their respects to Avalokitesvara and offer a *pancopacara puja* to him. Then they cook their rice, but before they eat it they must drink some of the *pancamrita* that was used in the daily bathing of Avalokitesvara. That night they remain at home but moust avoid all contact with other people, even the members of their immediate family. On the following day they must

shave their heads, cut their nails and put on clean clothes.

On the evening of the seventh day (*saptami*) the five of them go in procession to the Visnumati river to bring water for the bathing, accompanied by a small group of devotees and some instrument players. They take with them nine large water pots, one golden, the rest silver.[1] There in the middle of the night they perform a *kalasa* and *homa puja* in the river bed, after which they fill the nine pots with water and return with them in procession to Jana Baha after midnight. When they return they retire to the *agam* where they perform a secret tantric *puja* which ends only about seven in the morning.

On the morning of *astami* the Priest of Lokesvara comes to the temple and performs a *kalasa puja* inside the temple, at the conclusion of which he removes the spirit of Avalokitesvara from the image and induces it into the golden water pot. After the life has been removed from the image, it is taken from its usual place in the temple, put to one side, and the golden pot is set up in its place.

Towards evening a large crowd begins to gather in the courtyard of the temple, including groups of Jyapus who come to sing *bhajans* and play their drums and cymbals. About five-thirty the Kumari from Hanuman Dhoka is carried into the courtyard on the shoulders of her attendant and seated on the veranda of the temple. She has no ritual part to play in the ceremonies, but her presence is necessary. They will not start without her. Informants explained that in the days of the Malla kings, the king accompanied by the Kumari, whom he recognized as an incarnation of his *ista devata*, Taleju Bhavani, always attended the ceremonies. Later when the king no longer came, the custom of the Kumari coming was kept, and she represents the presence of the king at the ceremony. After the Kumari is seated the two younger members of the *sangha* who went to the river the night before, carry the image from the temple to the bathing platform, preceded by

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1. I have been shown three large stone pots set in cement near a Ganesh shrine just off Indra Cowk, which informants say were the original pots used for the *mahasnana* of Avalokitesvara. After the new ones were donated the old stone pots were set up there as a sort of shrine.

the Thakali, the next two eldest members of the *sangha* and the Priest of Lokesvara. The Jamami carries the ceremonial umbrella over the image during the procession.

After the image has been set on the bathing platform the Priest of Lokesvara pours *pancamrita* from the conch sheell into the six silver water pots to be used for the bathing, and then goes round the bathing platform twice performing a *lasya* (dance ritual) at each of the cardinal points the first time round and at the intermediate points the secnd time round. This is a protection rite performed to the Guardians of the Directions to ward off any evil influences during the performance of the bathing rites. The *lasya* is a symbolic way of performing the *panco-pacara puja* to these deities. Following this a large *bali* is offered to Avalokitesvara and then taken by the Jamami round the platform. As he goes round he breaks up the *bali* and scatters it among the crowd as *prasada*. When these preliminary rites have been finished the image is disrobed. All of the ornaments and garments are removed except for a sort of loin cloth. Then at the auspicious moment the two members of the *sangha* who brought the image from the temple take up their positions on either side of the image as the Priest of Lokesvara recites the *mantra* for bathing. As soon as he finishes the *mantra* they pour the water over the image, as trumpets are blown from the back of the courtyard. This is repeated twice more with the remaining four pots. As soon as the third bathing is finished the Kumari is carried out of the *baha*, and the crowed begins to surge forward to offer flowers and be sprinkled with what water remains. About half an hour later the image is bathed once again, this time with hot water poured from two earthen pots. This concludes the bathing ceremony, and the image is taken inside the temple and set to one side.

The following morning the image is removed from the temple and placed to one side of the courtyard under the eaves of a house. There, over the next six days, the image is repainted. Formerly, it was the custom at Jana Baha to have the painting done by a Citrakar; and for this the man had to be given the Acarya Diksa and had to undergo the usual preparatory rites and observe the fast for the time it took him to repaint the image. Now, however, there are several young members of

the *sangha* who are skilled enough to do the job themselves, and there are no legal restrictions on such painting being done by people who are not Citrakars by caste as there were in the days of the Malla kings. Two of these young men then, after undergoing the usual purificatory rites, do the painting under the direction of an old Citrakar and an old member of the *sangha* who is something of an expert in iconography. The painting could actually be done in a day or two but is spread out over the six days with a certain amount specified to be done each day.

On the day of *purnima*, the birthday of Avalokitesvara, the image is carried back into the temple, placed to one side in the vestibule outside the sanctum, and covered with a single cloth. Women devotees come to the *baha* early in the morning and begin to prepare decorations for the evening rites, mostly exquisitely modelled images of temples, *caityas*, and trees made from rice flour, which are placed near the door of the temple during the consecration ries.

**The Reconsecration of the Image—The Pratistha Vidhi**

Neither Hindus nor Buddhists venerate an image until it has been consecrated, and this consecration is known by the technical term of *pratistha* ("installation") or *pranapratistha* ("imparting of life to the image"). The consecration consists in causing an image to partake of the divine essence it represents. Until this consecration has taken place, the image is an inert bit of metal, stone or plaster. In the case of Avalokitesvara, the life (*prana*, or more commonly *jiva*) has been removed and placed in the golden water pot. When it comes time to re-install the image in the temple, though, it is treated like a new image and must be reconsecrated.

The ritual used is a long and complicated one, the ceremonies at Jana Baha lasting nearly twelve hours. At some places, like Tanga: Baha in Patan (the home of Minnath), the reconsecration is completed in about six hours. There is also a short formula for the consecration that can be one in an hour or so. This shorter form is usually used for the consecration of private or family images. The longer ritual is really a combination of two series of rituals, first the giving of life and

the life cycle rites (*samskaras*) undergone by a Buddhist Newar, and secondly, a series of tantric consecrations similar to those of the Pancabhiseka or the Acaryabhiseka. The ceremony is popularly referred to by Vajracaryas as the *dasa samskara* ("the ten life-cycle rites or sacraments"), and they say that the image is given all of the common sacraments (such as the naming ceremony, the birth ceremony, the rice feeding) as well as those which are peculiar to only boys or girls, thus the *cudakarma* and the *upanayana* for boys and the *yihi* for girls. The reason for this is that the god,and even more a *bodhisattva*,is considered to be neither male nor female, or alternately, considered to be both. The schema of the *dasa karma* rites follows the general outline of the Hindu *samskaras*, but the resemblacnce stops there. The rituals to be performed and all of the recitations (*mantras, dharanis, stutis* and *gathas*) are Vajrayana Buddhist, as will be evident from the summary given below.

The consecration of the image is performed by the Priest of Lokesvara with the Thakali and the Noko acting in the name of the *sangha* as the *jajmans* of the priest. About four in the afternoon members of the *sangha* begin to make the immediate preparations for the ceremonies, setting up the hearth for the sacred fire on the veranda immediately in front of the main door of the temp le. About five-thirty the Priest of Lokesvara takes his place in front of the *kalasa* and the sacred hearth, with the Thakali, the Noko and the Swako sitting on his right. The rites begin with a *puja* to Ganesh when the wife of the Thakali (the Thakali Nakin) brings Ganesh into the compound in a *kalasa* from the nearest Ganesh temple. Next the Priest of Lokesvara performs the guru *mandala* rite followed by the ordinary *kalasa puja*. This is followed by a protection rite, the *puja* of the *dasa kordhas* (the ten fierce deities of the ten directions) who are attracted and then bound with ritual stakes (*kilas*) to prevent their interfering with the rites which follow. Next the priest lights the sacred fire in preparation for cooking the rice that will be offered to the deity later in the ceremonies. At this time he does not perform the *homa* sacrifice. He then rises and goes into the temple to perform the *dasa samskara* before the image of Avalokitevsvara.

1. *Jata Karma*—the birth ceremonies. First the priest meditates on the *mandala* of the deity to be set up and evokes the *samaya-devata,* surrounded by the five *tathagatas* (the Dhyani Buddhas) from the depths of his own consciousness. Then he welcomes the deity present in the *mandala* of his meditation, performs the symbolic bathing of the deity in the mirror, offers the *pancopacara puja* and recites the Buddhist motto. Then taking a handful of flowers he recites the following *gatha:* "O'm, I hail the lord who is graciously recognized by all the *tathagatas. Jo, hum, vam, ho.* Please take up residence, you who are the lord of the handful of flowers; you are the *samaya-sattva.*" Next he offers the flowers and having lit incense he continues: "Oh, lord, so-and-so, I hail you the lord of the spells. Oh, lord, I desire to establish you here today—you who are filled with compassion—in order that you might show compassion to the disciples and that we might be able to offer *puja* to you. Today you must look with favour on this devotee, [i.e., the *jajman*]. Just as all the buddhas live in the Tusita heaven, just as Buddha was placed in the womb of Maya Devi, please come and take up residence in the place which I have prepared. Oh, lord, you are ever the master (*natha*), please accept this offering of flowers, etc. on behalf of so-and-so [the *jaman*] in order to give birth to the Buddha-mind in him. May the buddhas who understand the workings of the world and who are the recipients of flowers, may all the *bodhisattvas,* the *mantra* gods, the guardians of the world, all those who have attained enlightenment, all those beings who live according to the [Buddha's] rule, and all those others who possess the eyes of *vajra* knowledge protect me. I so-and-so, a great yogi, am engaged in setting up this image for the protection of this world. According to your power spread the word, have mercy on me; it is necessary for you to come forward to make successful this god-setting-up ceremony for me your disciple.''[2]

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2. Dasa Kriya Vidhi, undated manuscript in Newari script on Nepali paper, about 150 years old in the private collection of Manavajra Vajracarya, Mahabaudha, Kathmandu. Corrections were made in the readings of this manuscript by comparison with another incomplete manuscript of the same rite dated 752 N. S. (1632).

At the conclusion of this he attracts (*akarsana*) the *jnana devata* (the divine power) and dissolves it into the *samaya devata* by means of the *jo-hum-vam-ho* ritual. This is the same sort of ritualization of the *sadhana* of the deity which is found in the Kalasa and Homa ritual. Next he offers a mixture of ayurvedic medicines called *imu-chaku* in Newari and consisting of a mixture of molasses, ginger and *jwanu*.[3] This is a medicine given to a woman in labour and brought for this purpose from her paternal home, a custom still kept in Newar families. In this case the medicine is offered to the image and then passed out to the people as *prasada*. At this moment the god is considered to have been born again in the image; the priest next recites a *mantra* for the cutting of the navel cord, after which he offers five kinds of incense and the *pancamrita*. Further acts of worship follow this, and then after having recited the hundred-syllabled *mantra* of Vajrasattva, the priest performs the *nyasa* rite touching the various parts of the body of the image with a *mantra* for each: the head, throat, heart, eyes, nostrils, nose, hands, feet and navel. Next the eyes are anointed with a mixture of lamp black in a rite called the *dristi dana* ("the giving of sight"). This is interpreted as giving the image the eyes of wisdom through which he is asked to look in the ten directions to give the light of wisdom to all living beings. Finally, ghee and honey are offered to the deity to eat.

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ऊं सर्वतथागत सुललित विशाल नमितै नमामि भगवंतं । ज हुं बं हो । प्रतिष्ठ कुशुमांजलिनाथ हो समायसत्वं ।...भगवनमुख सद्वज्र विद्याराजं नमोस्तुते कुर्तुमिच्छामि ते नाथ प्रतिष्टा करुणात्मकं शिष्यानामनुकंपार्थं युष्माकं पूजनार्थं च तन्मे भक्तस्य भगवं प्रसाद कर्तुमर्हसि यथाहि सर्वबुद्धाश्च तुषितेषु संप्रतिस्थिता माया देव्ययता कुछोतद्वत्तिष्ठेद्धिहा कृतौ अत्रत्वं सततं नाथोभुत्वा पुष्पादिकाम ज्ञांमगृहाण अमुकस्यार्थय वोधिचित्तप्रवृद्दये समान्वाहरन्तु माम बुद्धा जगत्चक्र क्रियार्थदा फलस्था वोधिसत्वाश्च याचान्य मन्त्र देवता । देवता लोकपालाश्च भूता संवोधिसासिता शासनाविरता सत्वा एकेचिद्वज्रचक्षुष।अमुकोहंमहावज्री प्रतिष्ठाविधि संयुक्तां करिष्यामि जगच्छुद्दे यथा शक्तं प्रचारत अनुकंपामुपादाय सच्छिष्यस्य च तन्मम सर्वस्या प्रतिष्ठायां सानिध्यं कर्तुमहर्थ । सोधारपे अद्यमेसफलंजन्मसफलंजीतिं च मे समयं सर्वबुद्धानां भविताहंनसंशयः अग्रोमेदिवसो हृदय यज्ञमे हृद्यनुत्तरः सनिपातो भवेदग्रं सर्वबुद्धपिमन्त्रणात् ।

3. *Jawana* (Sanskrit *yawani*) is a medicinal herb used in ayurvedic medicine for abdominal complaints.

At the conclusion of this rite the imge, fully covered with a single cloth, is moved to the main doorway of the temple where it can be seen by all the people; and to signify the new birth of the deity the cloth is removed in three stages to the accompaniment of the ritual trumpets in order to give the people a view of the deity. A large group of people gather for these first rites and there is a scramble to get a view of the statue as it is uncovered. When this is finished most of the people leave; only a small group of devotees remain for the rest of the *dasa karma* ceremony.

2. *Nama karana*—the name giving ceremony. Preparatory to this rite, and to each of the rites that follow, the image is first bathed by pouring the *pancamrita* over the mirror as is done each morning. There follows a meditation on the deity residing in the heart of the priest. The seed *mantra* of the deity is considered to be residing in the heart of the priest. Its rays burst forth making the sound of the *mantra* and enter into the very heart of the deity himself. This is followed by the usual welcoming rites and *puja* offerings. Then the image is anointed with perfumed oil and given a *gorocana tika*.[4] Then the priest given the deity its name reciting the following *mantra:* "*Om,* may so-and-so the *tathagata* who arises from the *vajra* be born here."[5] Then touching the heart of the image with his *vajra* the priest recites the *mantra* of the deity to be set up. *Pancopacara puja* follows and this concludes the name giving ceremony.

3. *Phalaprasana*—feeding of fruits. After the usual bathing and welcoming rites the priest offers a red garment "which is like the firm shield of the *bodhyanga*"[6] to the deity. Then after a purification of the vessel holding the fruits, he recites a *mantra* for the purification of the mouth of the deity and then offers to him coconuts and fruits, "for the sake of the happiness of all the sons of the Buddha, a happiness which is

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4. *Gorocana*—a bright yellow orpiment prepared from the bile of cattle; confer Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary,* Oxford, (1966), p. 366.

5. *Dasa* R*riya Vidhi,* folio 6b. ॐ अमुकवज्रोद्भव तथागत भुर्भुवस्व ।

6. Ibid., folio 7a. ॐ वोध्ययंग दृढकवचेवस्त्र स्वाहा ।

the fruits of *samadhi.*"[7] The rite concludes with the *pancopacara puja.*

4. *Annaprasana*—the grain (rice) feeding ceremony. After the bathing and offering of a red garment as above, a *mantra* is recited for the washing of the deity's mouth; he is then offered ornaments and cooked rice, which has been prepared over the fire on the veranda. As he offers the rice the priest says, "I give you this divine grain that you may attain the happiness of *samadhidhyana.*"[8] He offers rice again, this time with each finger of his right hand in succession as he recites a *mantra* for each.[9] Next the deity is offered betel nuts and a flower garland. This is followed by a rite for clearing the throat to the accompaniment of the hundred syllabled *mantra* of Vajrasattva.

5. The *Upanayana*—the initiation ceremony. Though one would expect that here the deity be given a rite similar to the *bare chyuyegu,* and what follows supposes that this has been done, in fact, this rite is simply a meditation on tantric sex yoga followed by the recitation of a *gatha* on the same and the usual offering. The sexual terminology of course refers to yogic practices, the sex act indicating the union of *prajna* and *upaya,* or the union of the female power at the base of the spine with the male power in the *cakra* of the head. The deity is asked to practise this yoga and preach it for the sake of all living beings.

6. The *Cudakarma*—the cutting of the hair. This rite would seem to be out of place here as the *cudakarma* always precedes initiation rites, whether the Hindu *upanyana* or the Buddhist *pravrajya.* After the usual bathing and meditation the priest is told to meditate on the razor

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7. Ibid. ॐ समाधिफले सर्वजिनपुत्र प्रीणने । ॠं नं जं स्वाहा ।

8. Ibid., folio 7b. ॐ दिव्यान्नसमाधि ध्यान प्रीणने स्वाहा

9. The *mantras* are as follows: *Om pranaya svaha*--ring finger. *Om apranaya svaha*—middle finger. *Om udanaya svaha*—index fignger. *Om samanaya svaha*--little finger. *Om vyanaya svaha*—thumb. The *mantras* are related to the vital airs: *prana*—the breath of life; *aprana*—the opposite of *prana,* i. e. the vital airs that go downward and out at the anus; *undana*—the vital air which is in the throat and rises upward; *samana*—the vital air which has its seat in the cavity of the navel and is essential to digestion; *vyana*—the vital air which is diffused throughout the body.

as the razor of the *vajra*. He then recites the *mantra* for the cutting of the hair, "Om, purify all low castes, cut, cut the bonds of ignorance."[10] This is followed by a *mantra* for the piercing of the ears indicating that the piercing of the ears opens them for the hearing of the *dharma*. The image is then bathed again, a swastika is drawn on the crown of the head with saffron powder and he is given a saffron *tika*. He is then presented with a Buddha crown, the "Crown which arises from the five families of the Buddhas and is the *cudamani* of all the Buddhas."[11] The rite concludes with the *pancopacara puja*.

7. *Vratadesa*—imposition of the vow.[12] The idea of this *samskara* is to send the newly initiated one out around the country to preach the *dharma* (in imitation of the Hindu rite of sending the newly initiated *brahmacarya* off to his studies, or of the Buddhist concept of the monk going off to preach the *dharma* and to beg his livelihood after his initiation). After the initial bathing, etc. the *jajman* is asked to join his hands while the priest recites the following *gatha:* "First give birth in our heart to the sign of the seed *mantra* of the deity [being consecrated], then by means of the sign of the deity scatter [the rays of his seed *mantra*] throughout space, and finally by meditation bring the rays back into unity "[13] Then the deity is presented with a loin cloth, the saffron robe of a monk (*civara*), a bag, and a staff.

8 *Vratamoksana*—release from the vow. First the *jaman* is asked to imagine that he (taking the place of the deity to be initiated) is journeying round the county. At some temples at this point the *thakali* goes in procession three times round the temple carrying a small bag on a stick, and a staff. At the conclusion of the third circumambulation he is ritually welcomed back into the temple by his wife and the second

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10. *Dasa Kriya Vidhi,* folio 8b. ॐ सर्वावरण विशोधने सर्वाज्ञान वारान्च्छेदय २ हुं स्वाहा ।

11. Ibid, folio 9a ॐ सर्वबुद्धचूडामणि महामकुटं प्रतिच्छ स्वाहा ।

12. *Vratadesa* means the imposition of a vow, or the directions for observing a vow, usualy that of the *brahmacarin*.

13. Dasa Kriya Vidhi, folio 9a. ततः स्वहृदि देवता स्वहृदिवज चिन्हं निष्पाद्य सर्वाकाशधातुषू देवता चिन्हरूपेण स्फुरणसंहरणं कृत्वा एकी भावभागत्य ।

eldest member of the *sangha*. Whether there is an actual procession or not. the deity is considered to have taken up the life of a wandering Buddhist *bhiksu*, and when he returns he is released from the vows of a *bhiksu*, just as the Sakyas and Vajracaryas are ordained *bhiksus* and then released from their vows three days later.[14] The rite concludes with a *pancopaca a puja*

9 *Panigraha*—the marriage rite; in Newari, *yihi*. *Panigraha* ("the taking of the hand") is a term used to signify the Hindu marriage rite. This rite, though, is an imitation of what is called in Newari the *yihi*, the marriage of the young girl to the bel fruit. In the Hindu version of this rite the girl is considered to be married to the god Narayana, who is represented by the bel fruit.[15] In the Buddhist version of the same rite the girl is considered to be united to a personification of the *bodhicitta* represented by the bel fruit. This is the one *samskara* which is peculiar to a girl.

First the priest performs the preparatory rites, which in the case of an actual marriage would be performed on the day before the wedding. This is followed by the bathing of the image. Then the wife of the *thakali* is sent out again to bring in Ganesh; and after he has been worshipped the *guru mandala* rite and the *kalasa puja* are performed, this time with the *homa* sacrifice. This is followed by another *sadhana* to evoke the deity being set up. "Next attract the letter *a* which rests on the moon *mandala* of your heart. Give birth to this by means of the proper *mudra* of the deity to be set up; cast it out of your heart and make it reside on the lotus-moon seat to the left to the deity. *Om, Vajr asattva ah.*"[16] The image of the deity is then touched on the crown of the head with the *vajra*, worshipped and welcomed. This is followed by the ritual cutting of the hair, cutting of the nails, anointing of the deity with an ointment said to confer the five strengths and with five

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14. John K Locke, "Newar Buddhist Initiation Rites," *Contributions to Nepalese Studies* 2 (June 1975): 13 ff.

15. Gopal Singh Nepali, *The Newars* (Bombay, 1965), p 107

16. *Dasa Kriya Vidhi*, folio 10b. तत; .. स्वहृच्चन्द्रस्थ आकारं विभाव्य प्रतिमादि देवतामुद्रात्मिक रूपेण निष्पाद्यःस्वहृदयाल्दुसुज्य प्रतिमादि देवतायाः वामापार्श्वे पद्मचन्द्रासने निषद्य । ॐ वज्रत्व आ

kinds of perfume. Then the image is sprinkled with water from the *kalasa* and finally given another ritual bathing, while the priest calls down on the deity the blessings of the *vajra*. Next the deity is presented with a red garment and ornaments, a girdle and a flower garland.

After these preparatory rites the priest places a flower on the bel fruit and meditates: "Consider this to be the form of *bodhicitta* in which there is no difference between the void and compassion. Consider that the seed letter resideing in your own heart is flowering in the different *lokadhatus;* then it goes up to be *akanistha* heaven. From there attact it so that it disappears into the bel fruit."[17] Then after performing a *pancopacara puja,* the priest wraps the bel fruit in a leaf and recites the following: "This (i. e., holding the hand in the hand—*panigraha*) is the *mudra* of the *tathagatas.* It makes bright the light of knowledge; it is the act of Buddha. Oh, lord, you are a being who realizes the *mandala* of *prajna* and *upaya,* may you fulfil my wish."[18] Then the bel fruit is placed in front of the deity and sprinkled with *pancamrita* from the conch shell and the "hands" of the bel and the deity are symbolically bound. This is the moment of the *panigraha.* Then the rubrics specifiy that the hands should be unitied, i. e., the bel fruit removed, and *pancopacara puja* offered, followed by an offering of rice grains as the priest prays that the offering of rice may give a growth in *dhyana-samadhi.* This concludes the *panigraha.*

10. *The Pratistha Vidhi*—the actual consecration of the image. The tenth rite is not one of the *samskaras* but the consecration of the image. The first part of this rite is intended to empower the priest to perform the consecration and to intiate the *jajman* for whom the image is being consecrated (in this case the *thakali* representing the whole *sangha*). First the priest offers grain into the *homa* fire and performs a meditation to attain power (*siddhi*). He meditates on the syllable *hum*

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17. Ibid., folio 11A. शन्यता करुणाभिन्नं वोधिचित्तश्वरूपां भार्वायत्वा । ततः स्वहृदयस्थ विजाक्षरं नाना लोकधापुस्फुरित्वा अकनिष्ठाभूवनं गत्वा तस्मादाकृष्य श्रीफले चिन्तयेत् ।

18. Ibid. folio 11b. इयं तथागतामुद्रा ज्ञानालोक प्रभाकरि गृहीत्व पाणिनां पार्णि बुद्धकृत्य प्रकीर्तिता येनसत्वेन संज्ञानं प्रज्ञोपायात्मण्डलं तेनसत्वेममेमाथं कामास्त्वं परिपूरय ।

(the seed *mantra* of the *vajra*) in his own heart. This is the *samaya devata*. The rays of the *mantra* burst forth from his heart and go up to the *Akanista* heaven. There he is instructed to meditate on the *mandala of the deity* (the *jnana devata*) who possesses unlimited *siddhi* (i. e., Vajrasattva). Then he attracts this *jnana devata* to the *mandala* of his own heart, ritually welcomes the deity and performs the *panco-pacara puja*.

Next he has the *jajman* fold his hands and perform the five salutations (*pranamas*) to the deity and recite the following ten verses:

> Om, I worship the *vajra* with the salutation of *kaya-vak-citta* [body-speech-mind] of all the *tathagatas*. Om, I offer myself for the *puja* of all the *tathagatas*. Om, may Vajrasattva and all the *tathagatas* reside in me. Om, I offer myself for the *puja* of all the *tathagatas*. Om, may all the *tathagatas* who are Vairocana reside in me. Om, I offer myself for the consecration of all the *tathagatas*. Om, may all the *tathagatas* consecrate me with the *vajra* jewel. Om, I offer myself for all the *tathagatas*. Om may all the *tathagatas* give me the *vajra dharma*. Om, I offer myself for the *puja* of all the *tathagatas*. Om, perform for me the *vajra* work of all the *tathagatas*.[19]

Then the *jajman* makes the following petition of the priest "As Gunakara gave the Buddha consecration for the defence of the world in the same way give it to me today."[20] This is followed by a short

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19. Ibid., folio 12a-b.

ऊं सर्वतथागत कायवाकचित प्रणामेन वज्र वंदनं करोमि
ऊं सर्वथागत पूजीपस्थानायात्मानं निर्यातयामि
ऊं सर्वथागत ऊं वज्रसत्व अधिष्ठिमां
ऊं सर्वतथागित वैरोचन अधिष्ठिमाम्
ऊं सर्वतथागत पूजामिषेकायात्मनां निर्यायामि
ऊं सर्वतथागत वज्ररत्नाभिषिचनां
ऊं सर्वतथागत प्रवन्नंतये आत्मांनं यितियामि
ऊं सर्वतथागत वज्र धर्मप्रवर्त्तयमां
ऊं सर्वतगत पूजाकर्म्यणे आत्मानं निर्यातियामि
ऊं सर्वतगत वज्रकर्म्य कुरुस्वमाम्

20. Ibid., folio 12b. बुद्धानाममिषेकन्तुजगत्त्राणायवज्रिना गुणाकरो यथादत्त तथा देवयंमह् यमिति। (Gunakara is the legendary preceptor of the Vajracaryas of Kathmandu.)

*puja* of the *mandala* accompanied by the following meditation: "See the whole sky filled with the *tathagatas*, the *bodhisattvas*, and the whole troupe of the knowledge gods who are born of the rays from your own heart." The priest then addresses the *jajman:* "See the heavens covered with the whole troupe of the *tathagatas, bodhisattvas*, and knowledge deities which have arisen from the rays arising from your own heart. May that blessing, which was received by the Aryans and which the lord Sakya Simha described, be yours today through this consecration (*abhiseka*).[21] Then taking water, the priest gives him the *vajra*-water consecration. This is followed by the *pancopacara puja*.[22]

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21. Ibid. स्वहृदिवजमयुसंजात तथागतवोधिसत्रव विद्यादेवतागनैणैः गगणमापुर्ति दृष्ट्वा । यत्मंगलं हितकरं परमं पवित्रं पुण्यक्रिया करणमार्यजनामि युष्टं कृत्स्नं जगाद्भगवान्मुनिशाक्यासिहः तंमंगलं भवतुते परमाभिषेकै ।

22. Some help in understanding the rites here described can be obtained by comparing the similar rite of the Tibetans which Tucci describes. First the priest prays for *siddhi*. "The centre of these liturgies always remains the priest's spritual experience: he is the miracle-worker, because he finds again and causes to shine in his own soul that universally luminous consciousness which is the womb of all things: the gods themselves. are only its temporary emanations." Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1949), 2: 309. Hence before the actual consecration the priest recalls or briefly re-enacts his consecration and identification with Vajrasattva, the source of his *siddhi*.

The second part of the ritual involving the "consecation of the *jajman*," presents some problems. Informants have told me that it is the image that is given this consecration not the *jajman*, yet according to the ritual text it is the *jajman* who requests the consecration for himself, and in response to this request the priest gives the *vajrā*–water consecration. This opinion of my informants is confirmed by Tucci's description of the rutial where he notes that the priest must first purify the object to be consecrated with water; only then does he evoke the deity. Confer Tucci p. 310. The ritual text and this interpretation can perhaps be reconciled in the following way: it is the *jaman* who brings the image to his priest to be consecrated. He requests consecration in the name of the image and the consecration is given to the image. At a deeper level the two are inextricably bound up. The deity in question is not to be conceived of as a separate, existing being after the manner of the popular conception of the "gods". The diety is first the *samaya-sattva* conjured up from the depths of the worshipper's

The second part of this rite is the *pratistha* of the image. The priest stretches the five-stranded buddha string from the golden *kalasa* containing the spirit of the deity through his hand and then round the image. Taking in his hand the *vajra*, a flower garland and puffed rice, and holding the string he recites a *mantra* 108 times to transfer the spirit of the god from the *kalasa* to the image. This is the solemn moment of the consecration of the image. This rite however, seems to be something of an anomaly as the god was already considered to have been "born" in the image during the rite of the *jata karma*. Informants have explained the anomaly in the following way: at the time of the *jata karma* the image comes to life as a *bodhisattva*. At this point with the recitation of the *mantra*, Avalokitesvara takes possession of this *bodhisattva* and is incarnate in his person. Others explained, perhaps more plausibly, that the anomaly exists because two rites—the *pratistha viddhi* and the series of the *samskaras*—have been combined without an effort to integrate them.

At the conclusion of the *partistha viddhi* proper the image is put through a series of tantric consecations (*abhiseka*) similar to the consecrations that a Vajracarya priest receives at this initiation. Following are the eight conserations given.

1. *Mukatahiseka*—the crown consecration. Reciting a *mantra* the priest places his own Vajracarya crown on the image.

2. *Vajrabhiseka*—the *vajra* (diamond) consecration. Touching the image on the throat, head and heart with his own ritual *vajra* and

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consciousness which is then identified with the *jnana-sattva*, the eternal principle. Hence in Vajrayana Buddhism the consecration of an image is always inextricably bound up with the worshipper's *sadhana*. It is a further ritualization of the process of the *sadhana* and the worshipper himself is given this *vajra*-water consecration as an intitiation into the *mandala* of the deity. It should be considered as a first step in the yogic process of *sadhana* which will ultimately culminate in the realization of the worshipper's identity with the deity (*ahamkara*) and his resting in deep meditation (*samadhi*). Whatever be the conception of the popular mind, it makes no sense in Vajrayana Buddhism to consecrate an image divorced, as it were, from the context of the *sadhana*. It must be a part of somebody's *sadhana*, in this case the *jajman's*.

reciting a *mantra* he gives the image the consecration of the *vajra* which is considered to be the "essence of the buddhas."

3. *Ghantabhiseka*—the bell consecration. To the accompaniment of a *mantra* the priest presents his ritual bell to the image.

4. *Namabhiseka*—the name consecration. Placing a *tika* on the image the priest names him "Vajra"– Avalokitesvara and so doing considers him to be transformed into Vajrasattva.

5. *Acaryabhiseka*—the consecration of the (Vajra) Master. Meditating on the deity as holding the bell and the *vajra*, the iconographic signs of Vajrasattva, and embracing his *prajna*, the priest consecrates him as an *acarya*.

6. *Guhyabhiseka*—the secret consecration. This consists in the priest meditating on the deity as having been brought into the *mandala* of the five Buddhas on the rays arising from the heart of Vajrasattva and there being personified in the *bodhicitta* which arises from the union of Vairocana and his *prajna*.

7. *Prajnabhiseka*—the *prajna* consecration. The priest meditates on the deity in union with his *prajna* and enjoying the *sahaja* happiness.

8. *Caturthabhiseka*—the "fourth" consecration. Fourth here does not indicate a number , but is the proper name of this consecration. It is so called in many texts, including the Acarya Diksa, but no one has been able to explain to me the orgin of the term. Here the deity is considered to have entered the state of supreme happiness (*mahsasukha*) where there is no difference between the void (*sunyata*) and compassion (*karuna*). All has been dissovlved into the void.

Following these consecrations the image is presented with a feast of different kinds of food, *puja* is performed to the hands of the artisan who made (or in this case repainted) the image, and a long *dharani* is recited to bind the deity in place and insure his continued presence in the image. This is followed by the consecration of the *desa bali* which is then sent out to be broken up on the main cross-roads around the temple. This is followed by the usual concluding rites of a *kalasa-homa puja*, and with this the main rites of the consecration have been completed.

The members of the *sangha* then retire from the courtyard to the

*agam* of the *baha* where they perform two secret tantric *pujas*, the *samayacarkra* and the *ganacakra*, performed this time not by the Priest of Lokesvara but by the elders of the *sangha* with the eldest Vajracarya acting as priest. For this *agam puja* I have been given the following explanation. The *agam* deity at Jana Baha is Herukacakrasamvara, and he is considered to be an embodiment or personification of the whole of the Vajrayana traditon and the entire Mahayana and Vajrayana pantheon. So the consecration of Avalokitesvara is a consecration of Heruka. Avalokitesvara is considered to be the tongue of Heruka,for it is his function to spread the *dharma* of *karuna*(compassion). The *agam puja* is followed by a feast (*bhoj*) in the courtyard around the temple for all the members of the *sangha* and their families. All come for this even though they have not been present for the earlier ceremonies. The *bhoj* usually ends about dawn, about twelve hours after the beginning of the *dasa karma* ceremonies.

At the conclusion of this elaborate *pratistha vidhi*, the image is left near the main door of the temple and only partly covered, for the next four days, to allow devotees a closer view of the image than they usually get. At the end of the four days it is moved to its usual place in the sanctum and completely covered with the apron-like garment which leaves only the face showing.

**Maghe Sankranti—The First Day of the Month of Magh**

The next day on the annual calendar at Jana Baha is Maghe Sankranti, the first day of the month of Magh according to the solar calendar. It marks the beginning of the month of Magh, which is an auspicious month following Paus, an inauspicious month. It is an important festival all over the Valley for Hindus and Buddhists alike, and on this day they eat special foods that are considered to be healthful for this cold season of the year. The Buddhists of Kathmandu come to the temple of Avalokitesvara to offer these foods to him on the morning of this day. The foods consist of rice, ghee, *caku* (molasses), vegetables and bread made from seasame seed.[23] The purpose of this festival

23. This is the list given by my informants. Mary Anderson gives a slightly different list: seasame seed, sweet potatoes, green leaf spi-

seems to be purely practical: there are certain kinds of foods that promote health and ward off diseases during the cold season. The people should eat these foods from the beginning of this month until the warm weather.

**The Ratha Jatra of Avalokitesvara—Seto Matsyendranath**

The *ratha jatra,* or chariot festival, of Seto Matsyendranath begins on Caitra *sukla astami,* the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Caitra. It is a much shorter festival than that of Patan, and it has never assumed the general popularity of the *ratha jatra* of Rato Matsyendranath. Unlike the festival of Patan, this festival is not connected with prayers for rain, even in the popular mind. There are several traditions about the beginning of the festival and its purpose as noted above. In the popular mind the festival is still considered to be a protection against the many diseases, such as cholera and smallpox, which plagued the people of the city in the hot weather until very recently. Petitions for protection from these diseases are still offered, especially as the image is brought back to Jana Baha. Many people also say that the main reason for the *jatra* is to afford people throughout the city an opportunity to worship the deity, especially those who because of age or infirmites are not able to go to the temple.

The *ratha* itself is a smaller version of the massive *ratha* used in Patan, but the symbolism and ornaments attached to the *ratha* are basically the same. The massive wheels with eyes painted on them represent the four Bhairavas who make the chariot go. The large beam which rests on the chassis and curves up in front, represents a *naga;* and on the front of this is painted the hood and face of the *naga.* Over this is hung a colourful mask of Bhairava, or Hayagriva. Above the wheels is the platform for the shrine which houses the image, surrounded by a veranda about two feet wide. The shrine itself has four doorways and a series of ten panels depictng the ten Guardians of the Directions: Indna, Yamaraj, Varuna, Kubera, Agni, Nairityaraja, Vaya-

nach, *khichari,* a mixture of rice and lentils, great quantities of meat and often home-brewed wines and beer. Mary Anderson, *The Festivals of Nepal* (London, 1971), p. 224.

bya, Brahma, Mahadeva, and Narayana.[24] As noted avove, all of these panels have been donated by Manandhars. Over the main doorway of the shrine is a *torana* of Sahasrabhuja Lokesvara, similar to the one over the main door of the temple. The main figure is flanked by two six-armed Taras. The outer circle has the *makaras* at the base with the *garuda* in the centre flanked by two *nagas* in human form. Set into the outer circle are also four more seated, eight-armed tantric figures. The *torana* over the rear door has three seated Buddhas: Vairocana in the centre, flanked by Amitabha on his right and what appears to be Ratnasambhava on the left. There is some doubt, as the ordinary position of the hands is reversed. The *toranas* for the two side doorways are both of four–armed forms of Avlokitesvara flanked by to four–armed Taras. The spire rising above the shrine, which is made of long supple branches and bamboo covered with fir branches, is topped by a saucer-like receptablce where a gilded bronze image of Vajrasattva is placed. Above this rises a triple umbrella surmounted by the *gajur*. From the top are hung images of the sun and moon as well as banners (*pataka*) which are offered by devotees as the chariot makes its way along the route.

The construction of the chariot is begun three or four days before *astami* in front of the Sanskrit hostel in Jamal, near the place where tradition says the image was found. Jyapus from the area around Lagan Tole and some from Thamel do the construction work. According to tradition they are the descendants of the Jamamis, the Jyapus who used to live in and around the village of Jamal and who farmed the area before it was enclosed in the compound of Seto Darba. The right to construct the *ratha* is hereditary and the expenses incurred are met by the government Guthi office. It is the job of these Jyapus to gather the wood, bamboo, fir branches, rope and whatever is needed

24. There are ten panels and these are the names given by informants. The usual list of the Guardians of the Directions, used by Hindus and Buddhists alike contains eight deities, i. e., the first eight of this list. Confer P. L. Vaidya, ed., "Dharmasangraha," in *Mahayana Sutra-Sangraha,* Part I (Darbanga, 1961), p. 329. Mahadeva (Siva) and Narayana (Visnu) have been added here is guardians of "up" and "down."

to construct the chariot. The wheels, main beam, and platform for the shrine are taken out of storage and brought to Jamal for the construction. The more valuable fixtures of the *ratha*, the gilded panels for the shrine, the *toranas*, the imges of Vajrasattva, the sun and moon, etc. are stored inside the temple at Jana Baha in the northern part of the ground floor in a closed section that can be reached only through the north door. This door is opened ony twice a year, to remove these fixtures and to return them.

A week before the *astami* all the members of the *sangha* are called together for a *puja* in the *agam* of Jana Baha and are officially informed that the *jatra* will begin a week hence, and that therefore certain restrictions will be laid on them for the time of the festival. During the time of the festival all are expected to observe the dietary rules of a *vrata*, no one is permitted to leave the Valley, and no one is permitted to sleep anywhere but in their own quarters. This last injunction is better understood if one remembers that originally all the members of the *sangha* lived inside the *baha* compound. This is the great festival of the *sangha* and for the duration of the festival they must observe these religious regulations as a group.

On the day of *astami* the rituals begin in the morning when the Priest of Lokesvara arrives to perform a *kalasa puja* during which he divides the spirit of the deity and induces half of it into a golden *kalasa*. When the image is removed from the temple the golden *kalasa* is left in its place so that the presence of the deity remains in the temple during the *jatra*. During the *jatra* the current *deo pala* remains on duty in the temple and performs the *nitya puja* there as usual.

This day of *astamai* is also a day when many private and family groups come to the temple to have their own priest perform a *kalasa-homa puja* in honour of Avalokitesvara. Many do this merely out of devotion, some do it to offer a cloth, or occasionally a metal, banner to hang on the *ratha*.

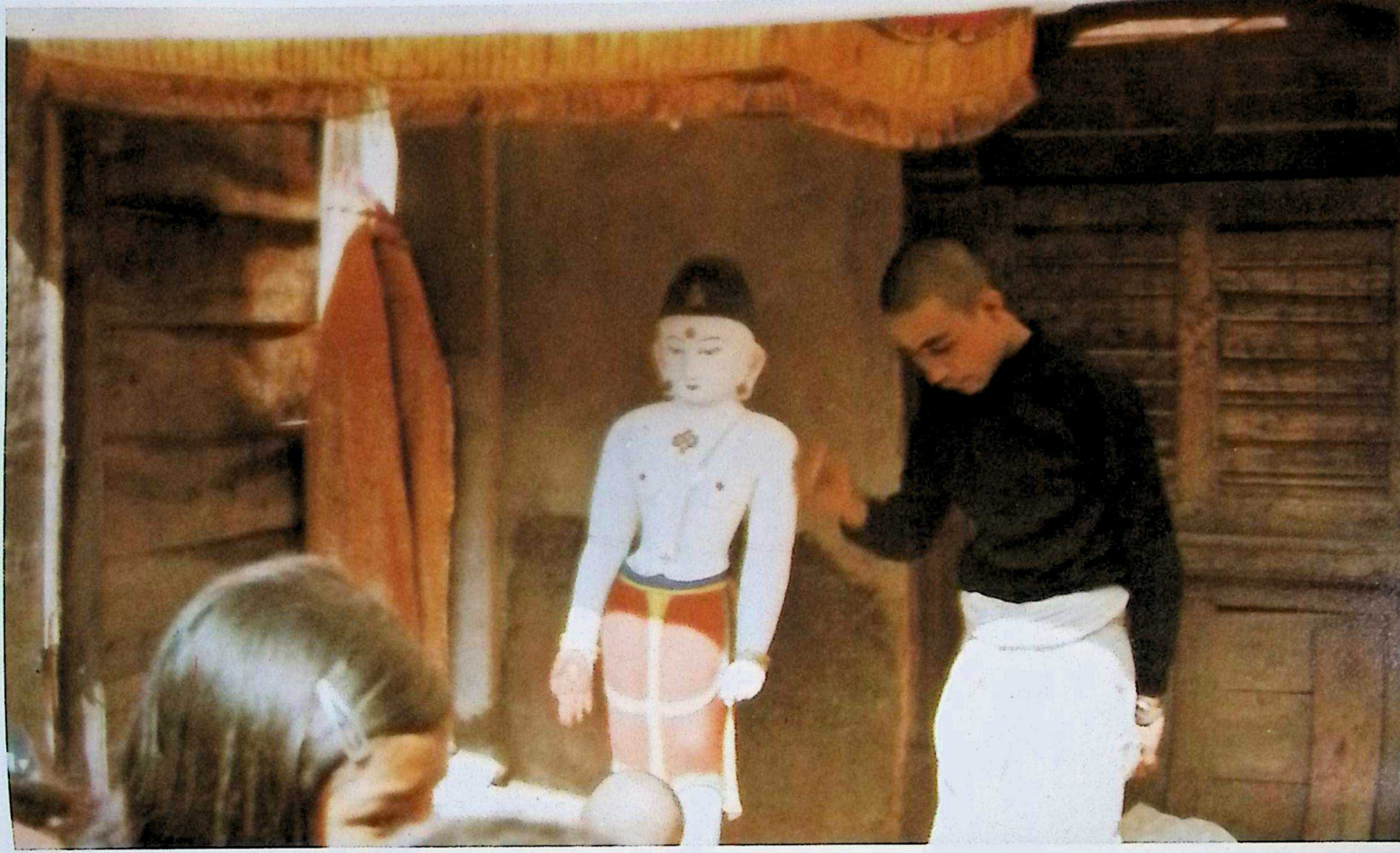
For the period of the *ratha jatra* one of the members of the *sangha* is appointed to ride on the *ratha* and act as *deo pala* The man who is to ride the *ratha* must undergo the usual purification and so must those who carry the image on the *khat*.

34. Thakali and Noko lead the procession to the bathing platform, *Jana Baha*

35. The bathing of the image of Avalokitesvara

34. Thakali and Noko lead the procession to the bathing platform, *Jana Baha*

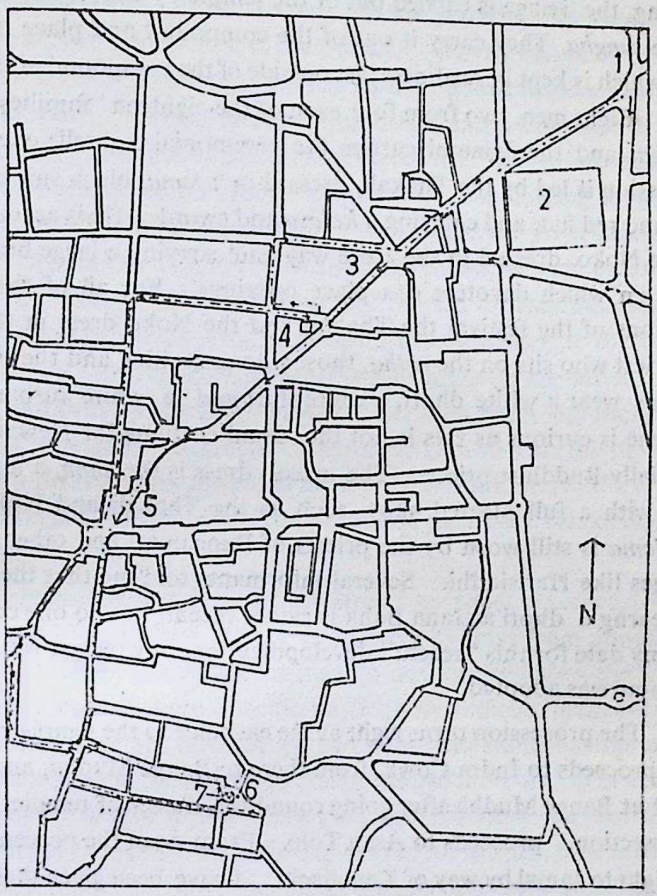
35. The bathing of the image of Avalokitesvara



38. Repainting the image of Avalokitesvara

39. Women preparing votive offerings for the consecration ceremonies

Route of *Ratha Jatra*




1. Jamal
2. Rani Pokhari
3. Asan Tole
4. Jana Baha
5. Hanuman Dhoka
6. Lagan Khel
7. Temple of Lokesvara

Toward evening all of the participants and a large number of devotees gather at the temple to form the procession that will escort the image to Jamal. At the auspicious moment, usually about five in the evening, the image is carried out of the temple by two of the members of the *sangha*. They carry it out of the compound and place it on the *khat* which is kept in readiness just outside of the compound at the main road. Eight men, two from four each of the eighteen "families," carry the *khat* and the Jamami carries the ceremonial umbrella over it. The procession is led by the Thakali, dressed in a *jama,* black suit coat, red sash and red hat, and carrying a *kalasa* and sword. He is accompanied by the Noko, dressed in the same way and carrying a large brass plate (*thal*) on which devotees can place offerings. For all of the official functions of the festival the Thakali and the Noko dress in this way; the priest who sits on the *ratha,* those who assist him, and the eight *khat* carriers wear a white dhoti, a white shirt and a white turban. This costume is curious as this is not the usual costume for Newar priests, especially Buddhist priests. The usual dress is the *jama,* a long white robe with a full pleated skirt, such as the Thakali and Noko wear. The *jama* is still worn by the priests of Bungamati and other outlying villages like Harisiddhi. Several informants told me that the custom of wearng a dhoti at Jana Baha is rather recent, but no one could give me any date for this "recent" development nor any reason why the new costume was adopted.

The procession turns right at the entrance to the temple courtyard and proceeds to Indra Cowk, from there to Bange Mudha, and turning right at Bange Mudha after going round the cluster of temples near the intersection, proceeds to Asan Tole. From Asan the procession goes straight to Jamal by way of Kamalachi. I have been given three explanations for this round-about route. One theory says that the procession must proceed by turning right only; it is inauspicious to turn left with such a procession. The route taken does make a series of right turns, and it is about the only way to get to Jamal by turning right only. A second explanation says that this is the ancient route taken when the only way to get to Jamal was by this route. The third says that the reason for the route is to provide the people of that section of the city

a chance to view the deity. The *ratha jatra* does not pass along these streets.

As the procession makes its way to Jamal final preparations are taking place as the last of the decorations are placed on the *ratha,* and a large crowd gathers to witness the festival. Shortly before the procession arrives from Jana Baha the Raj Guru's guard arrives escorting the king's sword carried under an umbrella and accompanied by a flaming torch. The guard circumambulates the *ratha* once and the sword bearer climbs up on to the *ratha* where he sits holding the sword as the *ratha* moves through the streets. As soon as the procession from Jana Baha arrives the image is lifted up on to the *ratha* and enthroned there in the shrine. The priest who will remain on the *ratha* for the duration of the festival takes his place inside the shrine next to the image. The Thakali and the Noko stand outside the shrine on the veranda and wave yak tail fans as the *ratha* moves. Between them sits the sword bearer and the eight members of the *sangha* who carried the *khat* stand off to the side. As the *ratha* moves, or when it stops, they hand up the offerings of the people to the priest and pass back bits of flowers as *prasada.*

The *ratha* is pulled through the streets by ropes attached to the axles. The pulling is done almost exclusively by boys from about the ages of ten to fifteen. Usually the men do not join in unless the *ratha* has become stuck or there is some particularly difficult maneuver to perform. The boys are directed by two men who stand on the main "snake" beam, one in the front and one in the back. This job of acting as "conductor" is also a hereditary post and has been the privilege of one family of Dongols from near Lagan Tole for the past four generations. These two men have no direct connection with Jana Baha, and, in fact, their commission extends to all such festivals. In addition to this festival they direct the pulling of the *ratha* of the goddess Kumari in the late summer and of another *ratha* for a festival near Deo Patan in the fall. They also have to be present for any festival at which either the King or his sword is present. Hence, they were part of the official court for the coronation of the King and the Royal Wedding. They are appointed to this post by the government, and for their services the y

receive payment from the Guthi office. Originally they received a rather substantial remuneration in rice; but some years ago this was converted into a straight cash payment on the basis of the current market rate for rice. Since that time the price of rice has soared, but their remuneration has remained the same, a phenomenon true for many of those who receive payment for their services at such festivals. The presence of these conductors is required at the Ratha Jatra only when the *ratha* is pulled, thus not for any of the preliminary ceremonies at Jana Baha nor for the procession which returns Avalokitesvara to Jana Baha. Though both of these men ride the *ratha* each time it is pulled, they divide the work so that one of them directs the pulling for the first half of the journey and the other for the second half. While functioning on the *ratha* they wear a red, saucer-like hat, the only badge of their office.

When the priests have all settled into place, the Raj Guru's guard line up in front of the *ratha* and the "conductor" directs the boys to start pulling. As soon as the *ratha* moves, horns are blown and the soldiers fire off a salute with their ancient muzzle--loader rifles. After the salute the *ratha* moves off on the first stage of its journey through the city.

Theoretically there are three stages to the journey. The first day the *ratha* is to proceed from Jamal by way of the Clock Tower to Botahitti and then to Asan Tole, where it spends one night. The next evening, again preceded by the Raj Guru's guard, the *ratha* is moved from Asan Tole by way of Kel Tole, Indra Cowk and Makan Tole to Hanuman Dhoka where it stops immediatey in front of the large image of Kalo Bhairava. On the third day it moves to Lagan Tole by way of Jaisi Deval. I say "theoretically" because there are often unscheduled stops due to breakwowns or deliberate sabotage. One year the *ratha* had moved less than a hundred yards from the Sanskrit Hostel to the nearby mosque when one of the wheels was damaged. It remained there for two days until repairs could be made. The last two or three years there have been "unscheduled" stops at Botahittiha and Kel Tole—unscheduled in the sense that everyone agrees there are only the three official stops, but these stops were cetainely planned. When the *ratha* reached Botahitti the ropes mysteriously disappeared

and could not be found until the next evening. Two days later the same trick was repeated at Kel Tole. This prolongs the festival to the delight of everyone, especially the people of those two areas who were privy to the disappearnance of the ropes and had planned celebrations for the night the *ratha* would spend in their areas.

At Lagan Tole there is a large open space about the size of a football field, in the centre of which stands a large tree and a small white temple. The temple contains an image of Avalokitesvara identical to the one at Jana Baha. The tree, called *maju sima,* is supposed to represent (or harbour) the mother of Avalokitesvara, an obvious imitation of the tradition associated with the Avalokitesvara of Patan. In the evening of the day after the *ratha* arrives in Lagan Tole, it is pulled thrice round this tree so that Avalokitesvara can pay his respects to his mother. This should be completed in one evening, but it is a tricky maneuver and it often takes two evenings, thus prolonging the festival one more day.

Just as in Patan, the day when the *ratha* stays in each of these sections of the city is observed as a festival by the people who live there, though in Kathmandu most of the devotees come to pay their respects, burn lamps and make offerings only early in the morning or at night. There is no custom of the people coming during the day, household by household, to present their offerings. During the day there is little activity except for an occasional family or private group who come with their priest to offer a *kalasa-homa-puja.* This is often done in connection with the offering of a cloth banner for the *ratha.* There is always a cloth banner offered and placed on the *ratha* by people from Jana Bah when the *ratha* passes in front of the *baha.* Even if there is no "unscheduled" lay-over in Kel Tole, the *ratha* is halted briefly for this ceremony.

On the day that the *ratha* remains in Asan Tole, some Kanphata yogis from Mrigasthali come in the afternoon to perform a *cakra puja* in front of the *ratha.* One of the yogis goes up on to the *ratha,* and sitting just at the doorway of the shirne he cuts the centre out of a large piece of flat bread and offers it to the deity. The remaining part he keeps as *prasada.* When this is complete, he comes down from

the *ratha* arnd performs the *cakra puja* on the ground in front of the *ratha*. There is a *guthi* for this and a small bit of land from the income of which the *guthiyars* have to provide the things needed for the *puja*. The yogis set up a series of seven water pots and one of their number performs a series of *pujas* to the pots. After this one of the *guthiyars* brings up a cock, slits its throat, and pours the blood on the pots. The yogi performs the preliminary rites, but the actual killing of the cock is always done by one of the *guthiyars*. The yogis perform the *puja* to Avalokitesvara as Matsyendranath, the *guru* of Gorakhnath who is the founder and patron of the sect of Kanphata Yogis. As will be noted in the final chapter, these yogis perform a similar *puja* at the start of a large number of the *jatras* within the Valley.

During the late evening of the day following Avalokitesvara's homage to his mother in Lagan Tole, the image is taken down from the *ratha* and carried back to Jana Baha on a *khat*. Before the image is taken down the Thakali and Noko assist the Priest of Lokesvara in the performance of a rite known as the *santisvasti puja*, a pacification and puification rite. During the time of the festival the *ratha* may have been touched by people of low caste or by unclean animals such as dogs or pigs; furthermore, the deity has received food from the hands of all indiscriminately even the low castes. There is further danger that this may happen again on the return journey to Jana Baha. Hence this rite is performed to pacify and purify the deity.

At the conclusion of this *puja*, the image is taken down from the *ratha* by two members of the *sangha* and placed on the *khat*, which will be carried again by the same eight men who carried it to Jamal. The procession forms up as before, with the Thakali leading, carrying the *kalasa* and sword and the Noko carrying a plate for offerings. The procession follows a round-about way back to Jana Baha (confer accompanying map) which goes roughly along the old road which lay just inside of the western city walls. At the cross roads horns are blown and frequent stops are made so that people along the way can make offerings to Avalokitesvara. As the procession moves through the city more and more people join, including groups of people singing *bhajans* and playing musical instruments. The procession moves slowly,

leaving Lagan Tole about eight in the evening and arriving at Jana Baha only about midnight.

Upon arrival at Jana Baha the image is ritually welcomed by members of the *sangha* and placed just inside of the door of the temple. The members of the *sangha* then retire to the *agam* for a *puja* followed by a *bhoj* which ends about dawn. This *bhoj* is financed by the family of the priest who has had the honour of serving on the *ratha* during the festival. For this he must use the offerings of money made by devotees during the festival. If the money exceeds the amount needed for the feast, the priest and his family keep the surplus for themselves. If it falls short of what is needed, they must make up the difference from their own resources. There is more danger of the latter occuring in these days of inflation when people offer less, and the money they offer buys less.

On the following day the Priest of Lokesvara comes to Jana Baha to perform a *kalasa-homa puja*. During the *puja* a more complete *santi svasti puja* is performed for the same reasons as on the previous night, and the priest removes the divided spirit of the deity from the golden pot through incantations and replaces it in the image. Then the story of the *ratha jatra* is read to the deity, seemingly to explain to him why the *ratha jatra* takes place. After this the golden pot is removed and the image placed back in its customary seat in the sanctum of the temple where it will remain until the *mahasnana* ceremony the following winter.

The whole of the *ratha jatra* of Seto Matsyendranath is essentially a copy on a smaller scale of the *ratha jatra* of Rato Matsyendranath in Patan. The differences are accidental, e. g., the garb worn by the priests, the length of the festival, the time of the festival. There is no *bhoto jatra* as in Patan, but this is clearly a later addition to that festival. Though the festival has never assumed the Valley-wide popularity of that of Rato Matsyendranath, it is as important for the residents of the old city of Kathmandu as that of Rato Matsyendranath for the people of Patan.

**Sithinakha**

The festival of Sithinakha or Kumara Sasti, which occurs on the sixth day of the bright half of the month of Jyestha, is not a festival of

Lokesvara nor even properly a Buddhist festival. It is a festival in honour of Kumar, the son of the Hindu god Siva. However, for Hindus and Buddhists alike this is the day set aside for the cleaning of wells, tanks and ponds. Legend says that the reason for performing the cleansing on this day is that the *nagas* who live in the wells and ponds are absent on this day when they leave their homes to perform their *diwali puja*, the *puja* of their family deity, a rite performed by all Newar families during the month which ends on this day. A very practical reason for the selection of this time of the year is that this is the dry season when the wells and ponds will be nearly dry. At Jana Baha the members of the *sangha* gather on this day to perform the cleaning rites for the well within the compound from which all ceremonial water is drawn. The well is cleaned, lime and *pancamrita* are put into it to purify it and the resident *naga* is worshipped. At the conclusion of this the members of the *sangha* go to the *agam* for a secret tantric *puja* followed by a feast at which they eat a special bread called *wo*.

**Gunla Dharma—The Sacred Month of the Buddhists**

The month extending from the first day of the bright half of the month of Sravan to the end of the dark half of the month of Bhadra (in 1976 from 28 July through 25 August) is kept sacred by the Newar Buddhists much as Mohammedans keep Ramadan or Christians keep Lent. It is a time of special religious observances and fasts, primarily in honour of the historical Buddha. According to tradition it was on the full moon day of the month of Sravan that he attained enlightenment, accomplished his victory over the *maras* and preached his first sermon in the deer park at Sarnath. The observance also reflects the ancient Buddhist monastic tradition of the monsoon retreat (*vassa*), the three months when the *bhiksus* would give up their wandering life because of the inclement weather and live in community. During this time they developed a community life that eventually grew into permennent monastic settlements. They would recite the Patimokkha and this recitation developed into a congregational service. Other common ceremonies such as the Distribution of Robes (Kathnik) were held at this time and out of such practices grew the customs that later gave

structure to the monastic life.[25] Such customs are reflected in the practices of Gunla Dharma.

For the Newar Buddhist community, especially those living in Kathmandu, the observances of the month centre around Swayambhunath. Many people of all classes, but especially the Vajracaryas, Sakyas, Udas, and Jyapus can be seen wending their way each morning to Swayambhunath to the accompaniment of drums and cymbals in order to perform *puja* and recite *bhajans* at dawn. During the day and at evening lectures and sermons are given there on the Dharma.

There are special *pujas* and observances in Buddhist households during the month and individuals undertake special religious practices. Sakya and Vajracarya households perfom a special *puja* each day, and many still observe an old custom of making each day a number of small clay *caityas* which are then collected and thrown into the river at the end of the month. Individuals often undertake a fast during the month, nowadays usually the *uposadha* fast according to which they take only one *niramisa* meal a day. However, in former days it was common for individuals to spend the entire month in prayer at one of the *bahas* and to take only water. This has almost entirely disappeared, but I have heard of a few individuals in Patan still observing this strict fast. Those who observe the *uposadha* fast often spend several hours a day at one of the *bahas* continually circumambulating the temple and reciting prayers. This can be seen primarily at Swayambhunath.

Each of the *bahas* also has its own program for the month. There is a morning *puja* similar to the one at Swayambbunath, followed by the reading of scriptures. This is done differently in each place and the texts recited depend on what texts are kept in a given *baha*, or what texts are considered especially sacred there, or what deity is enshrined in the *baha*. In some places there is the custom of reciting the whole of the *nava grantha* during the month. This takes some doing and has to be done as rapidly as possible to be completed. In the Thamel Baha and in Itum Baha there is a cusom of reciting the entire

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25. Sukumar Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries in India* (London, 1962), p. 79.

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Prajnaparamita in 100,000 *slokas*, an ancient copy of which is kept in the Thamel Baha. It was formerly the custom in most of the *bahas* to have lectures and sermons on the *dharma* each evening throughout the month, but within the past thirty to forty years this has almost completely disappeared, surviving only at Swayambhunath and one or two other places, It seems that the main reason for the lapse of this custom is that there are few people nowadays sufficiently well-read to give such sermons and lectures.

At Jana Baha the usual crowds which come for the morning *puja* and the evening *arati* increase considerably during this month. In addition to this the members of the *sangha*, beginning with the Thakali and proceeding down the list in seniority, come each morning and evening by turn to perform a *puja*. The *puja* consists in a *pancopacara puja* to Avalokitesvara followed by *stotras* in his honour, a circumambulation of the temple and a final *pancopacara puja*. In the evening the same ritual is repeated but with the chanting of the "Nama Sangiti."

In addition to these daily *pujas* there are special rites to be performed at Jana Baha on different days of the month. Following is the list of these.

1. *Nag Pancami*—this festival, occuring on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Sravan is the day when all people in the Valley, Hindus and Buddhists alike, propitiate the *nagas*, the patron snake deities of water who control the monsoon rains and protect people from both droughts and floods. They are also considered to have a special way over the whole of the Valley since it was once a lake. On this day there is a *nagapuja* at Jana Baha which the members of the *sangha* are expected to participate in, another case of a festival which has nothing to do with Lokesvara directly but involves the members of the *sangha*.

2. *Astami*—on the eighth day of the bright half of Sravan the usual *astami vrata* of Amoghapasa Lokesvara is held but with much more solemnity than usual and with larger crowds in attendance. On this day in Patan the people observe the *pancadana* festival when gifts are given to the priests by the laity in honour of a visit of Dipankara Buddha which, according to tradition, took place on this day.

3. The *Bahi-dya:-boya*—the visitation of the gods of the *bahas*. On the twelfth day of the bright half of the month occurs the festival of seeing or visiting the gods of the *bahas*. It was formerly the cusotm to exhibit all of the treasures of the *baha*, the images, paintings, books, etc., for the entire month of Gunla Dharma. People would then go from *baha* to *baha* during the month to see the exhibitions and to listen to religious sermons. In more recent times this has been reduced to four days, or even to one day; and even then not all of the treasures are exhibited. The change seems partly due to the fact that people no longer have the leisure to spend their days going from *baha* to *baha*, but it is also due to the danger of theft. The exhibition used to generate a festive atmosphere in the whole of the old city of Kathmandu, as people would don their best attire and make the pilgrimage from *baha* to *baha*. But with the cutting short of the time and the increasingly meagre displays much of this has been lost. Where the display is still held, it begins on this day with a special short *pratistha* rite for setting up the images and pictures in the courtyard or ground floor rooms of the *bahas*. The actual visiting usually begins on the following day. Some of the groups which go to Swayambhunath each morning make a round of the principal *bahas* on their return to the city.

4. *Purnima*—this full moon day is the day when the Buddha is believed to have attained enlightenment, overcome the *maras*, and preached his first sermon; but for the Newar Buddhists the main aspect commemorated is his victory over the *maras*. Large crowds go to Swayambhunath on this day for *puja*, and a special *puja* is held at Jana Baha to commemorate the victory over the *maras*. This is the principal day of the month-long observance.

5. *Gai Jatra*—the Hindu festival of Gai Jatra to commemorate those who have died within the past year, is observed on the following day, the first day of the dark half of the month of Bhadra. Though the Bare do not take part in the festival by sending a cow in procession to Hanuman Dhoka, they have adapted this festival and observe it their own way. At Jana Baha there is a special *puja* in honour of Avalokitesvara on this day to interecede for the deceased members of the families of the *sanhga*. Avalokitesvara is the god of compassion who

goes to the various "hells" to offer solace to the dead in order to alleviate their sufferings, and to wipe away their sins so that they will not have to suffer the evil effects of the *karma* in the next life. The *puja* performed on this day commemorates the visits of Avalokitesvara to these hells and the names of the deceased are mentioned to gain his help for them. The tom-foolery which accompanies the festival of Gai Jatra is looked upon by the Bare as manifestations of the demons (*maras*) whom the Buddha overcame on the previous day.

6. *Nisala puja*—on the eighth day of the dark half of Bhadra, or shortly after this, all the members of the *sangha* gather for a special observance known as *nisala puja*. The ceremonies last all day and include readings from the scriptures, hymns, *pujas* and a procession round the city. Different types of grain are offered to Avalokitesvara on this occasion. The ceremonies conclude with a simple offering of flowers to the deties in the *agam* and a feast for the members of the *sangha*.

7. *Pancadana*—on the thirteenth or the fourteenth day of the dark half of the month of Bhadra the Buddhists of Kathmandu commemorate a legendary visit of Dipankara Buddha to Kathmandu with festivities similar to those held in Patan earlier. *Pancadana* means "five gifts," and on this day the faithful offer gifts to their priests in memory of the gifts offered this day to Dipankara Buddha. There is a *guthi* fund at Jana Baha which pays for the distribution of gifts there. Any Sakya or Vajracarya, not only members of the *sangha*, may come to receive gifts on this day. In addition to this the Vajracarya members of the *sangha* visit the homes of the families they serve as priests to receive gifts, and each male member of the *sangha* is expected to visit each of the houses of the members of the *sangha* to receive gifts. This latter custom is peculair to Jana Baha. The traditional gifts offered are paddy (*dhan*), uncooked rice (*camal*), fruit, bread and money. Nowadays a wide variety of gifts are exchanged, especially by those who are related or close frineds, including such things as clothes, fountain pens, household utensils.

8. *Aunsi*—the dark night of the month. The last day of the dark half of the month of Bhadra is the last day of Gunla Dharma. This is also the day when Hindus visit their fathers, or if their fathers are

deceased, bathe at Gokarna in their memory. The Buddhists do not visit their fathers on this day, but if their fathers are deceased, they come to Jana Baha to perform a *puja* similar to that performed on Gai Jatra to intercede with Avalokitesvara for their fathers. Not only members of the *sangha,* but large numbers of Buddhists from all over Kathmandu come to Jana Baha on this day to pray for their fathers.

9. The conclusion of *Gunla Dharma*—on the following day, the first day of the bright half of the month of Bhadra, the observances of Gunla Dharma come to an end. At Swayambhunath there is a special *puja* performed to bring the sacred season to a close, followed by a picnic and much merry-making. The same sort of rite is perfomed at each of the *bahas,* but in many places it is performed a day or two later to enable people to participate in the ceremonies at Swayambhunath and at their own *bahas.*

**Occasional Pujas**

In addition to the official rites performed daily, monthly or yearly at Jana Baha there are a number of other rituals that may be performed by members of the *sangha* or outsiders as occasion arises. Anyone may come to the temple to pray privately, meditate, or offer the *pancopacara puja* to the *deo pala* who in turn offers it to the deity. Anyone may come with his own family priest to offer a *kalasa-homa puja* before Avalokitesvara; and Jana Baha is one of the most popular temples for such *pujas.* If Sakyas or Vajracaryas come to offer a *puja* they may be permitted to go up to the top floor of the *agam* building to offer *puja* to the *agam* deities. If they do so they must offer their *puja* outside the door of the shrine itself. No one but the initiated members of the *sangha* are ever permitted to enter the *agam.* Following are three types of *puja* performed by outsiders which are directly related to the worship of Avalokitesvara.

1. *Mahadip*—the great light ceremony. A large lamp is brought to the temple, set into sugar cane residue and left to burn in front of the temple. The devotee then remains there tending the lamp until all the oil has been used up. This rite may be performed by an individual or a group on their own without the services of a priest. Often,

however, it is combined with a *kalasa* or a *homa puja,* in which case the services of a priest are required. If it is combined with a *homa puja,* the lighting of the lamp takes place immediately after the offering of grains into the sacred fire. The devotees who are making the offering remain in their places from the beginning of the *kalasa puja* until the lamp burns out. There is a tradition that this ceremony is a remnant of an earlier self-immolation in which the devotee would burn himself before the deity or burn some part of his body such as a finger. The idea was that the devotee is ready to offer himself completely to the deity; and this interpretation is still currently given to the light ceremony.[26] Twice during the year, once on the day of the *mahasnana* and again during the *ratha jatra* the members of the *sangha* perform this light ceremony

2 *Offering of a banner* (*pataka*) If someone wants to offer a banner for the temple there is a special elaborate *puja* for this, including the *kalasa-homa puja* and the *mahadip.* In this case the *mahadip* is lit and then the devotees place the banner on a *khat* and take it in procession round the city. It is then brought back to the temple and placed near the lamp which the offerers remain tending throughout the night. On the following morning, the priest again offers a *kalasa-homa puja* after which the banner is offered by the *deo pala* to the

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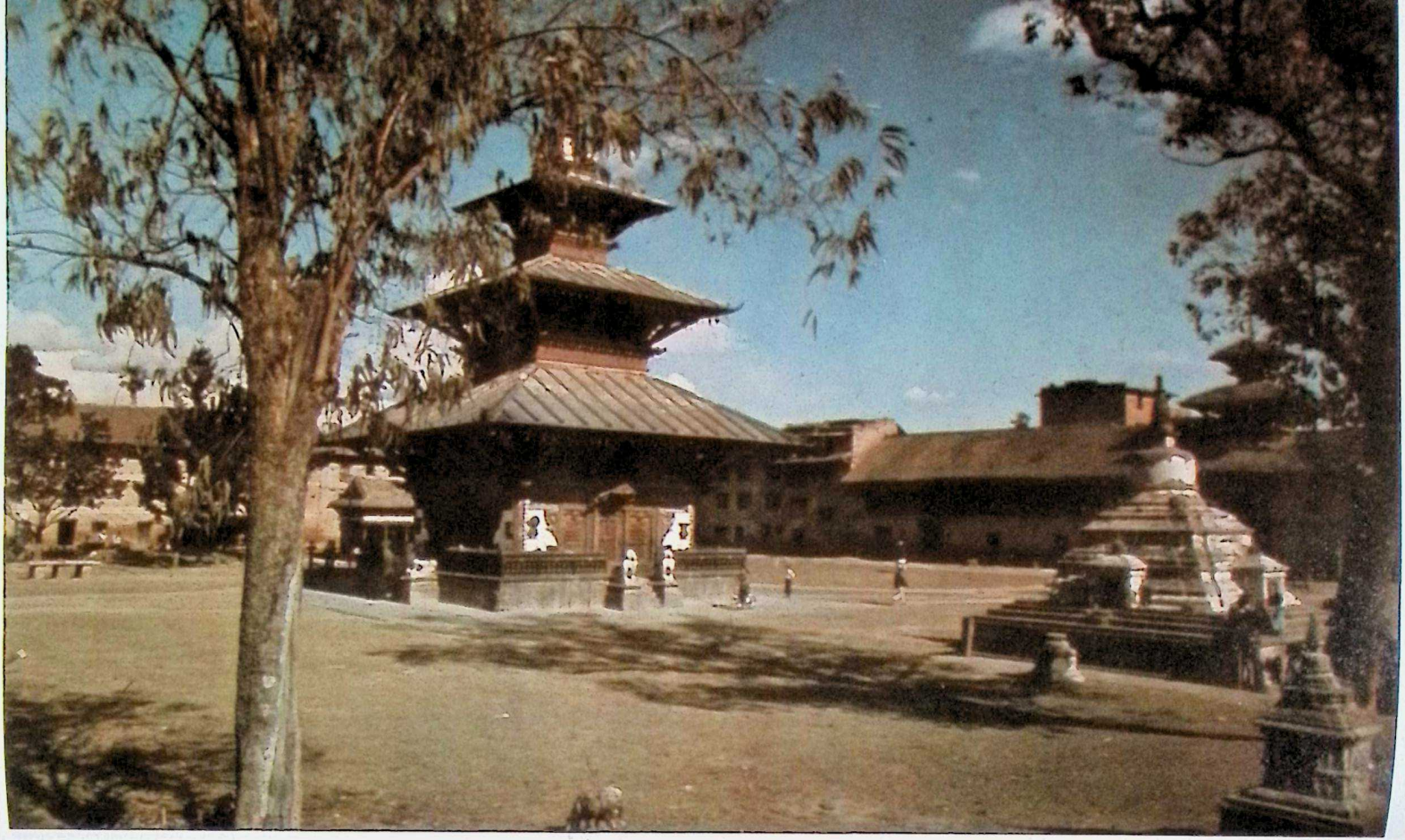
26. That such a practice was known in Buddhist countries is evident from I-Tsing's injunctions against it. "For the Buddhist mendicants there is but one method of study to pursue. Those who are beginners are intent on being brave and bright while ignorant of their Sacred Books. They follow in the steps of those who considered the burning of fingers as a devout deed, and the destroying of their body by fire as a blessed action. They follow their own inclination, thinking in their heart such actions to be right. True, there are some references to such deeds in the Sutras, but they are meant for laymen, for it is right for them to offer, not only any treasures in their possesson, but even their own life when needed." And again, "I hear of late that the youths bravely devoting themselves to the practice of the Law, consider the burning of the body a means of attaining Buddhadhood, and abandon their lives one after another. This should not be." I-Tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion* (Delhi, 1966), p. 195 and 196.

deity and then hung from the roof of the temple. The banners offered are usually cloth, but may also be metal: brass, gilded copper, or silver. If the banner is cloth it remains hanging from the roof of the temple for four days after which it is taken down and divided among the members of the *sangha*. If it is a metal banner the ceremony as described above is performed but omitting the procession around the city. After the metal banner has been offered and placed on the temple, it becomes a permanent part of the temple decorations and has to be registered at the government office. The members of the *sangha* have no right to appropriate such permanent fixtures.

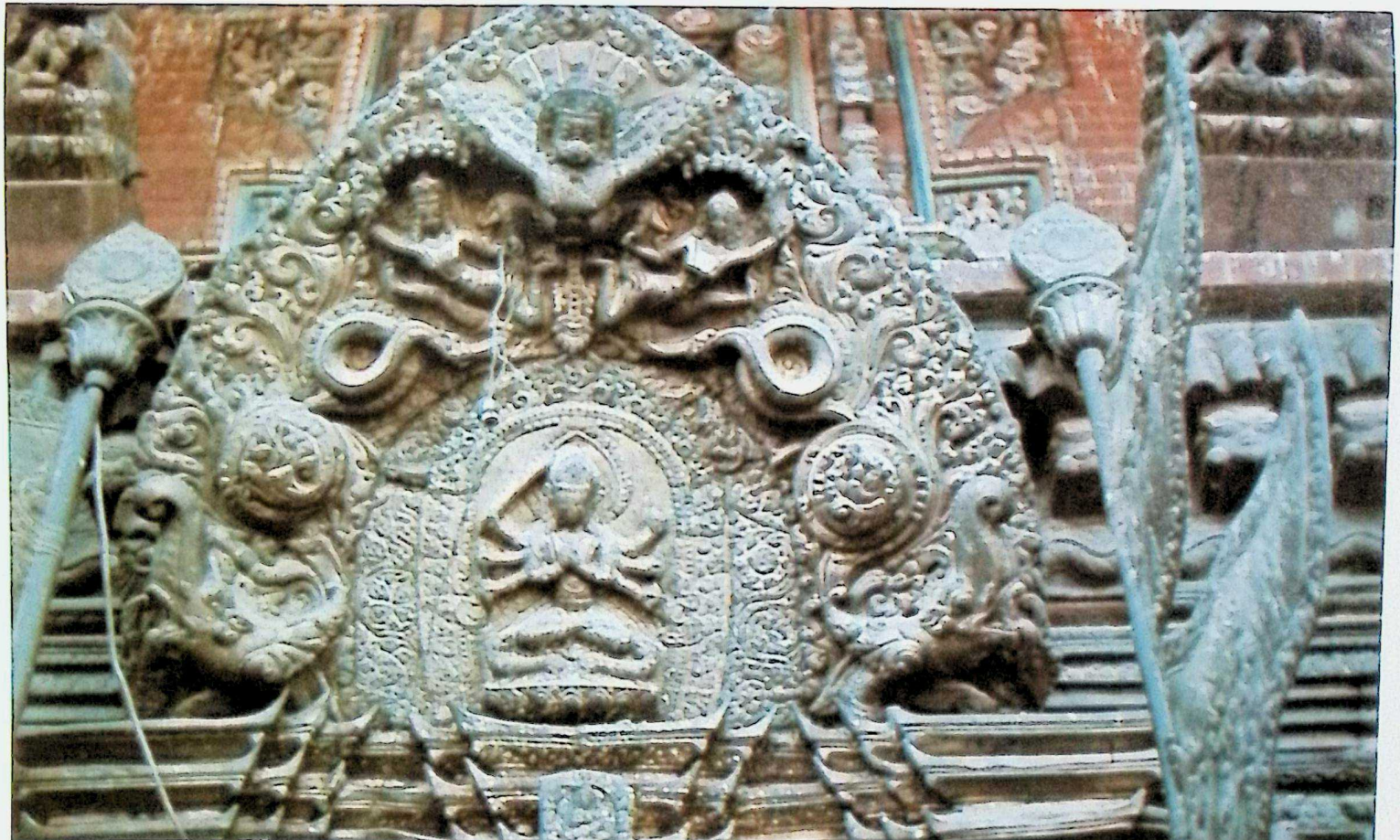
3. *Varsik puja*--yearly *puja*. This is a *kalasa* or *kalsa-homa puja* offered annually by those who have offered some permanent ornament or fixture to the temple. This includes moveable fixtures such as ornaments hung on the image and metal banners hung from the roof as well as such immoveable fixtures as *toranas*, the gilded roofs, images round the courtyard and *caityas* erected around the temple. When such fixtures are donated the donors set up a *guthi*, i. e., both a fund and a group of people to look after the fixture. Annually the *guthi* meets to see that the ornament is still there, to find out if any repairs are needed, perform a *puja* and have a feast. The income from the fund is used to make any necessary repairs, and to pay for the *puja* and feast. All of these *guthi pujas* are private affairs, and the *deo pala* has nothing to do except to bring the ornament out to the *guthiyars*, if it is a moveable fixture kept inside the temple.

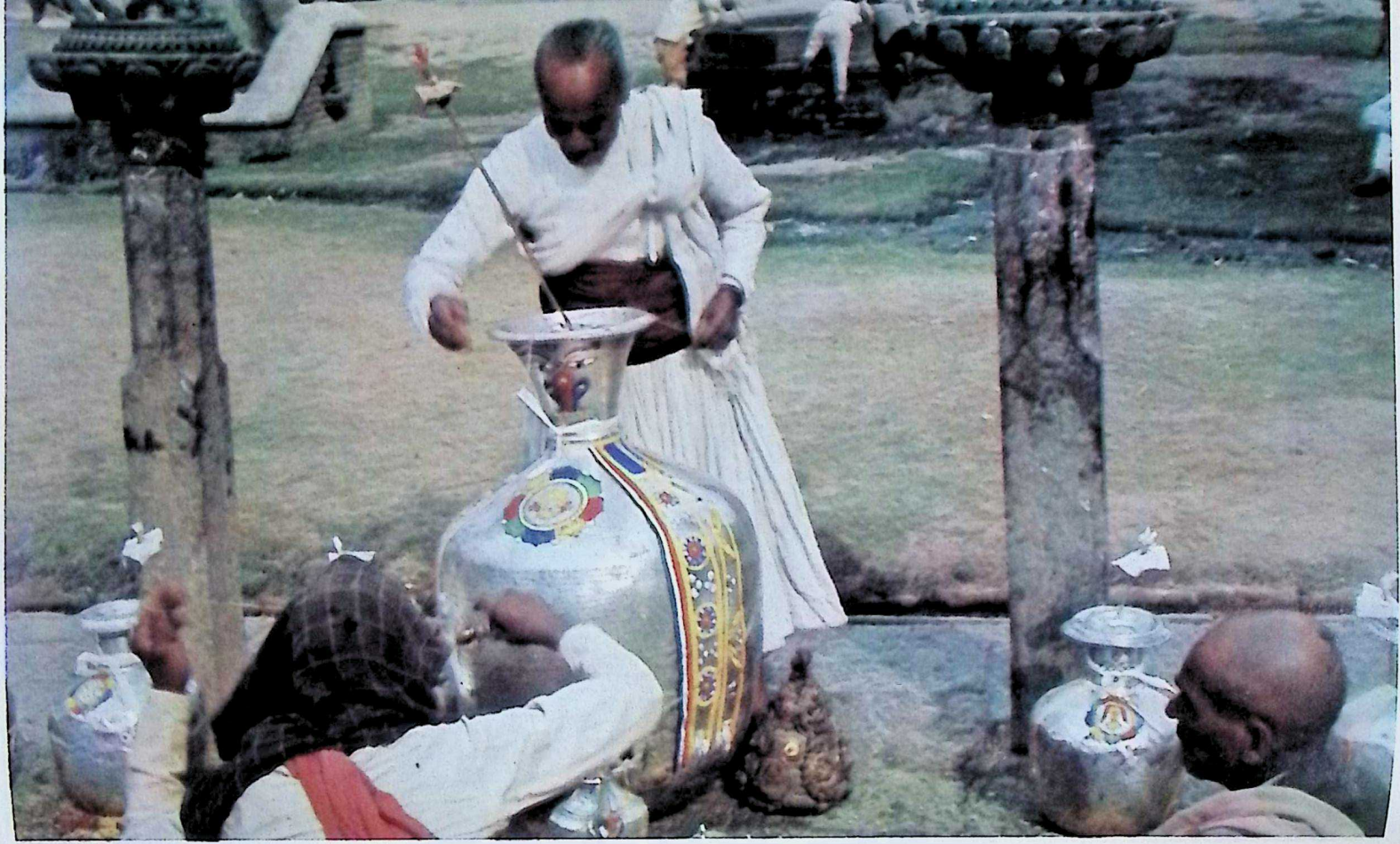
42. The *ratha* of Seto Matsyendranath at Hanuman Dhoka

43. Santi-svasti ritual performed before the image is removed from the *ratha*



46. Temple of Rato Matsyendranath, Ta: Baha, Patan





## PART THREE

# The History and Development of the Cult of Bunga-dya: and the Related Lokesvaras

"Like a great ship staggering through a heavy sea—its curved prow terminating in a gilt figurehead of Bhairav, apparently forcing its way through the seething mass of humans who like billows surround it in one capacity and another—the great god Matsyendra in his car, with strain and cry makes his annual journey. On a staging somewhat resembling a deck the officiating priests take their stand, and like sailors cling valiantly to the oscillating structure. A procession naturally accompanies the car, elephants gaily painted and caparissoned move ponderously along, bearing in their gold and silver howdaws the royalties of the state."

Percy Brown, *Picturesque Nepal,* p. 106–8.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### The Present cult of Bunga-dya:—Rato Matsyendrath

**The Temples of Patan and Bungamati**

The most important of the four Lokesvaras recognized as Matsyendranath is undoubtedly that of Patan-Bungamati. The cult of Rato Matsyendranath is surely older than the cult of any of the others; and all of the others are probably derived from this one or started in imitation of it, with the possible exception of Minnath in Patan. The annual *jatra* of Rato Matsyendranath is still a much more important festival than that of any of the others, and it is the only one of the Matsyendranath festivals that draws people from all over the Valley. The others are, for the most part, local festivals.

In treating of Jana Baha and Seto Matsyendranath, the emphasis was on ritual, for it is at Jana Baha that the full liturgy can be seen and the priests at Jana Baha have a greater understanding of the significance of the rituals they perform. In this section notice will be taken of liturgy and ritual only where it differs significantly from that of Jana Baha. The emphasis here will be historical for the history of Rato Matsyendranath is the history of the cult of Avalokitesvara and his connection with Matsyendranath.

Rato Matsyendranath has the distinction of being the only deity of the Valley, Hindu or Buddhist, to have two temples of residence. There are, of course, many instances of a number of temples dedicated to the same god, for example the Ganesh temples in every tole of the city. However, this is the only case of a specific image having two temples of residence. The main residence and original home of Rato Matsyendranath is in Bungamati,and his seconday residence is in Patan.[1] The deity is most commonly called Bunga-daya: (the god of

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1. Not everyone will agree that the original home of the deity is Bungamati. Some people in Patan claim that the original home of Matsyendranath was Patan. But if this is so no one can offer an expla-

Bunga or Bungamati) both in historical documents and by his modern devotees. The priests who tend the temple and the devotees of Patan and Bungamati never use the name Matsyendranath except when speaking to non-Newars. They do use the names Karunamaya, Avalokitesvara, Lokesvara, and Loknath.

The village of Bungamati lies about six kilometres to the south of Patan. It is an exclusively Newar farming community of about 3,000 inhabitants.[2] Much of the land the people farm is *guthi* land belonging to Bunga-dya:, and the social life of the village revolves round the festivals of Bunga-dya:. The priests of the temple are the traditional elders of the village.

The temple of Bunga-dya: lies at the southern end of the village in an open courtyard surrounded by ordinary village houses and a few religious rest houses. The temple is a free standing, *sikhara* temple, one of the few Buddhist *sikhara* temples in the Valley. The temple complex does not have, and perhaps never did have, the appearance of a *baha,* or *vihara.* The approach to the temple complex is up a long series of stone steps at the southern end of the village. About half way up the stone steps is a guardian lion half-buried in the facing stones. At the top of the steps are two large guardian lions flanking a doorway which leads through the surrounding buildings into the courtyard. There is an inscription on one of the lions commemorating repairs made in the year 2000 B. S. (1943). The doorway leads through a sort of rest house into the temple compound.

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nation of the connection with Bungamati. As will be seen below, some of the legends speak about a temple being built for Matsyendranath in Patan when he was brought to Nepal. However, all these legends are of a much later origin than the cult itself. The consistent use of the name Bunga-dya: in all the historical records—and this is the only name used in the oldest records—plus the fact that the priests of Bungamati have the exclusive right to serve in his temple whether in Bungamati or Patan is clear enough proof of the original home of the deity.

2. *The Physical Development Plan for the Kathmandu Valley,* H.M.G. Department of Housing and Physical Planning (Kathmandu, 1969), p 194.

The temple is directly in front of the doorway as you enter the compound. It rests on a plinth of two levels, the top level being about four and a half feet above ground and about twenty feet square. The sanctum, which is made of stone, is surrounded by a veranda about two and a half feet wide. A series of stone pillars round the veranda support a large wooden beam. The sanctum itself is about twelve feet square and the image is kept just inside the door. The entire superstructure of the temple is lime-plastered brickwork. Two large stone lions guard the steps leading up to the main door of the sanctum. At the top of the stairs is a sort of railing with a gate set into it. Over this gate is a brass repousse *torana* of three figures, the central figure of which is Padmapani Lokesvara standing in the *samabhanaga* pose and wearing the *bodhisattva* crown with his right hand in *varada mudra* and his left hand in the position of holding a lotus. He is flanked by two identiacal figures, both seated in *lalitasana*. Directly behind the gate is the main door into the sanctum, surmounted by a copper or brass repousse *torana*. The main figure in this is a standing, eight-faced figure with twelve hands, the right holding *khadga*, arrow, *ankusa*, and *pasa* (?), and showing *varada mudra*, the left hands hold a lotus bud, a fully opened flower, *pasa*, *dhanusa*, and one unrecognizable object. The two main hands are in *dharma carkra mudra*. The main figure is flanked by two seated figures. The right one is three-faced and has six hands. The left is six-faced and has twelve hands The figures are so badly sooted up with somoke from oil lams that the symbols in the hands are unrecognizable.

The door frame is done in brass work with nine small brass figures set above the door, the five Dhyani Buddhas in a row flanked by two *bodhisattvas* on either side, There is a chain of twelve bells across the doorway and five hanging down the right side.

Across the wooden beam which runs along the northern face of the temple are brass repousse representations of the eight auspicious signs (the *asta mangala*). There are three bells on the front veranda, one to the left dated 1927 B.S. (1870), and two on the right, one of which is dated 1966 B. S. (1909). The other one is not dated, but from the script of the inscription can be placed in the late Malla period.

The other three sides of the temple have very little ornamentation. Smaller stone lions flank the steps leading up to the doorways and each doorway has five prayer wheels set into it. Each is surmounted by a carved wooden *torana*. The main figure in each of the *toranas* is a multi-armed tantric figure, but due to decay and repainting the hand symbols are not clear. Brass repousse lotus flowers decorate the wooden beam on all three sides.

The main *sikhara* or spire rises to a height of about thirty feet and is surmounted by a golden *gajur*. Above this is a five-fold, golden umbrella supported by gilded triangular supports. Above this is another small, triple umbrella. Next to the *gajur* is a rather battered brass banner of some sort. Attached to the top of the spire, just below the *gajur* are four large symbols: N—*cakra*, E—*gada*, S—*padma*, and W—*sankha*—a very curious addition as these are the standard symbols of Visnu.[3]

Around the main *sikhara* are grouped eight smaller *sikharas*, one at each corner, about six feet high, and another slightly higher, over each of the entrances to the temple. Each of these smaller *sikharas* is crowned with a golden *gajur*. From the small *sikhara* above the main entrance hangs a single, rather battered, *pataka*. The area immediately around the temple is paved with large flagstones. For a description of the rest of the courtyard see the accompanying diagram.

To the west of the main temple complex is another small enclosed courtyard known as Luta Baha. It has the appearance of a proper *baha* compound with a *baha* shrine to the south. The shrine, though rather recently renovated, seems to be a late Malla structure, but the rest of the buildings round the courtyard are much later. The shrine has a brass or copper inscription across the front, which has been recently painted over with aluminium paint. The inscription speaks of repairs done to the *agam* shrine in the year 1031 N. S. (1911). The

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3. Avalokitesvara is associated with Visnu in at least one of his forms, the Hairhariharivahana Lokesvara form in which he rides on and the *garuda* as his vehicle. In the Valley the story explaining this form is associated with Changu Narayana. See Daniel Wright, *History of Nepal* (Kathmandu, 1972), p. 94–5.

*torana* over the main door, also painted over with aluminium paint, protrays an eight-handed and four-faced deity, probably a form of Mahavairocana. In the courtyardd in front of the shrine is an octagonal, votive *stupa* dated 829 N. S. (1709).

This *baha,* whose Sanskrit name is Amaravatipura Mahavihara, is the official *baha* of the *sangha* of Bunga-dya:.[4] The first floor of the shrine is empty as Bunga-dya: himself is the *kwapa dya:* of the *sangha.* The shrine is therefore simply the *agam* shrine of the *sangha.* Many of the Vajracarya families attached to the *sangha* still live within this courtyard. The other families of the *sangha* are scattered around the village, though most of them live near the temple.

Fr. Giuseppe, one of the Capuchins who lived in Patan in the last days of the Malla dynasty, has given a description of the temple complex at Bungamati as it appeared at that time.

> To the westward also of the great city of Lelit Pattan, at the distance of only three miles, is a castle called Banga, in which there is a magnificent temple.....One day, when I was at the commandant's house, he had occasion to go into the varanda, which is at the bottom of the great court facing the temple, where all the chiefs dependent upon his orders were assembled, and where also was collected the wealth of the temple; and wishing to speak with me before I went away, he called me into the varanda. From this incident I obtained a sight of the temple, and then passed by the great court which was in front; it is entirely marble, almost blue, but interspersed with large flowers of bronze well-disposed, to form the pavement of the great courtyard, the magnificence of which astonished me; and I do not believe there is another equal to it in Europe.[5]

Unfortunately he gives no description of the temple itself, but if this description is at all accurate, the whole complex has suffered greatly over the past two hundred years from neglect and pilferage.

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4. One informant told me that Luta Baha was originaily a *sakha* of the main *baha* and that there was originally a proper *baha* complex around the temple. Certainly no evidence of this remains today and the members of the *sangha* refer to Luta Baha as their *baha.*
5. Fr. Giuseppe, "An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal 1767–1771," trans. John Shore, *Asiatick Researches,* 2(1801): 312–13.

## Diagram of the Temple Complex at Bungamati

1. The *chetra pal* (sunken pit for sacred refuse), surrounded by oil lamps. The bottom of the pit is filled with stone bits and pieces—part of an old pillar, pieces from an old *caitya,* one broken image. Just to the north of this is the *dharmadahatu mandala* and recess for the *homa* fire.

2,3,4. Three empty pillars where the images of King Narendradeva, Bandhudatta, and Lalita Cakra used to be put on the first day of each Nepali month when Bunga-dya: is resident in Bungamati.

5. A large pillar bearing an image of Vajrasattva; dated 1024 N. S. (1904).

6. A stone pillar with an inscription in devanagri script set up in 2008 B. S. (1951).

7. A small temple containing a brass mask of the god Mahakal. This image was stolen a few years ago and a stone image substituted. Later the thief came down with a serious illness, repented of his deed and returned the mask. This deity is alleged to have come with Matsyandranath from Asam.

8. Set into the wall of the building behind this temple is a stone image which appears to be very old. The figure is a crowned *bodhisattva* sitting in *lalitasana* with a canopy of ten snake hoods behind him. The two hands of the image are both broken.

9. Votive *caitya* dated 2018 B. S. (1961).

10. Stone *dharmadhatu mandala* on an octagonal base 1084 N. S. (1964).

11. Votive *caitya* dated 1084 N. S.

12. Votive *caitya,* undated but apparently very old and recently repaired with cement.

13. Well.

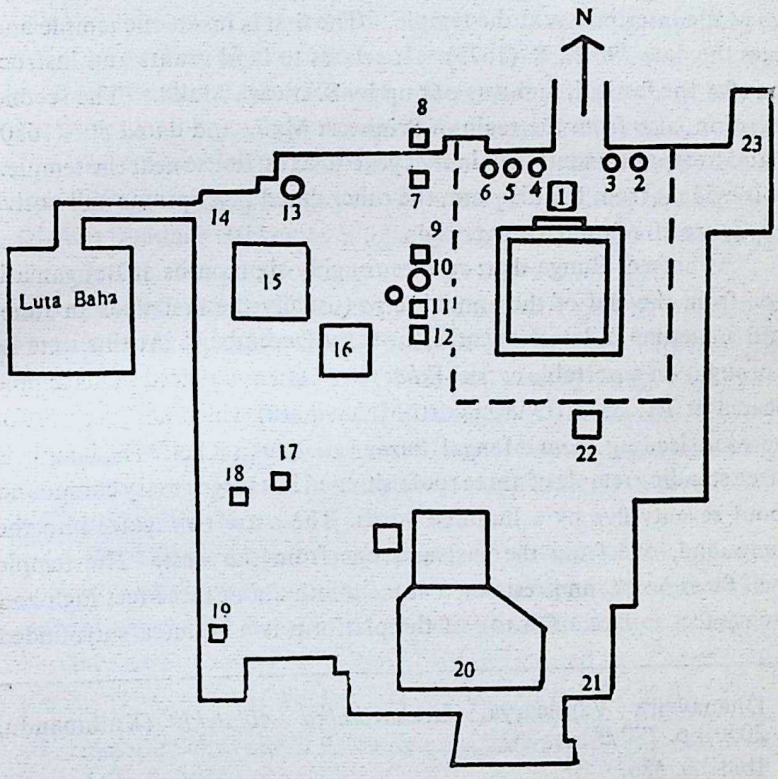
14. Passageway to the Luta Baha.

15. A small brick temple repaired in 1075. It is simply a brick sanctum with a wide veranda surrounded by iron grillwork and crowned with a plastered dome of the type popular in the early Rana Period. It contains a small *bodhisattva* figure, presumably Padmapani Bodhisattva. This is the temple which informants, both in Bungamati and in Nala, claim was the original home of the Nala Lokesvara.

16. An empty platform. Nearby are a numberof broken pieces—tops of old *caityas,* a broken Buddha image in *bhumisparsa mudra.*

17. A brick platform on which are two unrecognizable plastered lumps which seem to be *caityas.*

18. Votive *caitya* dated 1064 N. S. (1944).
19. A very large and old brick *caitya* plastered with lime.
20. A small grassy area with a tree in the centre and surrounded by a brick wall, said to be "Bhairava's Garden."
21. A temple of Bhairava which is almost as popular among the villagers as the main temple of Bunga-dya:. The present temple was renovated in 970 N. S. (1850).
22. Large votive *caitya*, undated but very recent.
23. Stone water tap in a sunken pit.



The area around the temple is still paved with a bluish limestone, but there no bronze flowers, and one gets the general impression of a are neglected and deteriorating shrine.

Dateable historical material is scarce at Bungamati. There are two Licchavi inscritions in the village, but neither tells us anything definite about the deity. The first inscription, put up by Amsuvarma, gives the name of Bugayumi to the village, but makes no mention of Bunga-dya: or Avalokitesvara.[6] The second inscription is badly damaged and undated. It speaks of someone who will have mercy on living beings and destroy their suffering (*duhkha*). This may be a reference to Avalokitesvara, but that is about all that can be said.[7] There are two Malla inscriptions at the temple. The first is inside the temple and bears the date 796 N. S. (1675). It relates to land grants and instructions for the festival, and was put up by Srinivasa Malla.[8] The second inscrition, also from the regin of Srinivasa Malla and dated 801 (1680) relates to repairs undertaken in that year to a rest house near the temple.[9] As is evident from the diagram, the other dated inscriptions and votive *caityas* are all of quite recent origin.

At present Bunga-dya: resides roughly six months at Bungamati, i. e., from the end of the annual *jatra* (usually the first week in June) until sometime in late November or early December. At this time he is brought on a portable carrier (*khat*) to Patan and placed in his temple located at Ta: Baha (Dharmakirti Mahavihara) which lies just west of the road leading from Mangal Bazaar to Lagan Khel. The temple is a free standing temple of three roofs situated in a large grassy compound about seventy-five by a hundred yards. There are two gates into the compound, one from the east and one from the west. The temple itself faces north, and rests on a stone plinth about three feet high and twenty feet square. On top of the platform is a veranda surrounded

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6. Dhanavajra Vajracarya, *Licchavikalka Abhilekh* (Kathmandu, 2030), p. 290 ff.
7. Ibid., p. 586.
8. D. R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 4 vols. (Patna, 1966), 4: 168.
9. Ibid., p. 187.

by a railing into which are set a series of 143 prayer wheels. The prayer wheels are evidently of recent origin. Four of them are set over an inscription which says, "Installed in the year 1069 N. S. (1948)." Behind the prayer wheels is a series of 143 paintings of seated Buddha figures.

There is a triple doorway on each side of the temple. Large brass lions guard the steps leading up to the main or north door. Over this door is a large, copper repousse *torana* with a single figure in the centre. The figure, wearing the *bodhisattva* crown and a necklace of beads, sits in *lalitasana* on a lotus seat and is one-faced and eight-armed. The two main hands are in *dharmacakra mudra*. The remaining right hands hold *khadga, pasa, vajra,* and the left hands hold *pasa, ghanta* and one unclear object. It is a form of Mahavairocana also known as Dharmacakra Mahamanjusri. Immediately above the doorframe are three small brass figures: two of Vajrasattva and one of Amitabha. The doorframe itself is overlayed with silver which was added in the year 1058 N.S. (1938). On the doorframe are seven figures, the five Dhyani Buddhas flanked by a figure of the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara on each side. On either side of the doorway are the usual brass banners. On the veranda to the deity's right is a large bell which bears a Newari script legend in mixed Sanskrit and Newari. It is dated 824 N. S. (1793–4) and says the bell was offered by King Yognarendra. One Bhavanisankar Malmi was in charge of making the bell.[10] At the top of the bell support is another inscription commemorating the reconstruction of the temple in the time of Juddha Shamsher after the earthquake of 1934.[11]

Steps flanked by stone lions lead up to each of the other three doorways of the temple. Each of these dorways is surmounted by an elaborately carved wooden *torana* depicting multi-armed and multi-headed deities. There is a window on the ground floor above each of the doorways. Each window has the face of a deity in it. The floor

10. Hemaraj Sakya and T.R. Vaidya, eds., *Medieval Nepal* (Kathmandu, 1970), p. 198.

11. संवत् १९९०सालमा माघ २ गते रोज २ का भूकम्पमा बिग्रेका श्री ३ महराज जुद्ध शमशेर वहादुर राणावाट जीर्णोदार गिरि बक्स्याको ।

joists of the first floor all end with the faces of the *yamadutas*.

All three roors are metal. The lowest roof, supported by struts depicting various forms of Avalokitesvara, has a row of bells all the way round and a round pot hanging from each of the four corners. The ribs of the roof end in *bodhisattva* faces and on each of the upturned corners of the roof is a bird with a fish in its beak. This roof is of recent origin and bears an inscription which says that the Guthi Committee, by order of His Majesty King Mahendra, replaced the entire tilled roof with a roof made of 1,057 *dharnis* of brass in the year 2025 B. S. (1968), when the eastern portion of the tile roof suddenly collapsed.[12]

The first storey of the temple has one large window flanked by two smaller windows on each side. The large window is open, the two smaller whindows each have a *bodhisattva* face. The second roof of gilded copper has an inscription which has been disrupted, pieces of old inscriptions being patched together and not always in order. The name Srinivasa (King of Patan 1661–84) appears twice on the inscription and on the north side is the name Sri Yogaprakasa (King of Patan 1723–29). Two dates appear on the inscription 789 N. S. (1669) which corresponds to the reign of Srinivasa, and 849 N. S. (1729) which corresponds to the reign of Yogaprakasa. The top roof, also of gilded copper, has no inscription. The temple is surmounted by one large *gajur* and four smaller ones. Above this is an elaborate frame supporting a triple umbrella surmounted by another smaller triple umbrella.

Immediately to the north of the temple is the *chetra pala*, a recess for the *homa* and a *dharmadhautu mandala*. Behind these are three empty pedestals where the images of Narendradeva, Bahndhudatta and Ratna Cakra used to be placed on the first day of each Nepali month. As will be seen below, these are the three associated in legend with the

12. श्री मत्स्येन्द्रनाथ मन्दीरको पूर्व भाग स्थित पहिलो झिंगटी छाना अकस्मात भत्की दुखस्त परिणत भइरहेको श्री ५ महाराजाधिराज महेन्द्रवीर विक्रम शाहदेव-बाट हूकुम बक्सेबमोजिम गूठी जीर्णोद्वार एवं निर्माण समितिद्वारा चार तर्फझिंगटी छाना परिवर्तन गरी धार्नी १०५७ पितलको छाना हाली जीर्णोद्वार कार्य सुसंपन्न भयो। इति विं सं २०२५ वसाल कात्तिक १ गते रोज ५शुभम् ।

bringing of Avalokitesvara to Nepal. Behind these pedestals are a number of pillar-mounted sculptures in bronze which face the main entrance of the temple. They consist of an elephant, a lion, a cobra, a fish, a peacock, a *garuda* and a group of five deities each with a foot resting on its respective vehicle. The deities include: Visnu and his *garuda,* Ganesh and the rat, Siva and the bull Nandi, and Surya and the horse. Each of these bears the following inscription: "Presented in the year 1940 B. S. (1883–4) by the Eastern Commanding General, Padma Jung Bahadur Rana, son of his Highness the Maharaja Jung Bahadur."[13]

Set into the wall at the south end of the large compound is a *baha* shrine, the shrine of the *kwapa dya:* of Ta: Baha with the *agam* shrine above it. In front of the shrine is a stone *dharmadhatu mandala* of recent origin mounted on an octagonal base. In front of this is a large, old stupa, and to the west of this another stone *dharmadhatu mandala* on an octagonal base. There is an inscription in front of it dated 819 N. S. (1699). Informants at Ta: Baha have been careful to point out that the area of Ta: Baha extends up to the large *stupa;* the area beyond that belongs to Matsyendranath. In their minds there is a clear distinction between their *baha* and the shrine of Matsyendranath. No one seems to know if the area of the *baha* was ever enclosed, but one informant told me that the *baha* predates the shrine of Matsyendranath by a hundred years or more and that the shrine of Matsyendranath is not more than 300 years old. He could offer no proof of this, but it is a tradtition that may well be accurate.

East of the temple of Bunga-dya: is a shirne dedicated to Manjusri. The *torana* shows a four-handed, seated figure of Manjusri with the two main hands in *dharmacakra mudra,* the other right hand holding an *aksamala* and the other left a *pustaka.* Set into the wall near the shrine are three images: one of Ganesh, one of Mahakal, and one of Manjusri.

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13. श्री ३ महाराज जङ्ग वहादुरका छोरा श्री पूर्व तर्फका कम्याङडिङ जनर पद्म वहादुर राणावाट सम्वत् १९४० सालमा चढाइ वक्स्याको । The five deities on the last pedestal have been stolen some time within the past two years.

One of the buildings to the north of the compound houses the government Guthi office which looks after the temple of Bunga-dya: and the *guthi* lands which belong to it. Between the Guthi office and the temple are three small *caityas* and one rest house with another rest house off to the west.

The image of Bunga-dya: is a standing image about three feet high. The entire image is plastered over annually with clay and painted red. The face is smooth and featureless except for a slight bulge for the nose; the eyes, painted in anew each year, are large and staring. It is difficult to say just what the image is made of. Some writers speak of a rough-hewn block of wood, and it seems that the torso and head of the image are just this. The legs and arms, which are rather crudely made, appear to be clay moulded over a framework of some sort. Some of the temple attendants from Bungamati say that the torso of the image is made of gold plastered over with clay. No one has seen the gold inside, but they insist that this is true as the image can be lifted only with difficulty by four men. However, others testify that it can be, and is, easily lifted by one man. It is difficult to veritfy any of this as the image is always at least partly covered, even during the bathing ceremony. It is only uncovered completely during the repainting and replastering and the Nyekhus do this work behind closed doors.

**The Sangha of Bungamati and the Nitya Puja**

Bunga-dya: is the *kwapa-dya:* of the *sangha* of Bunga Baha (Amaravatinama Vihara) in Bungamati. It is a mixed *sangha* of Sakyas and Vajracaryas and comprises nearly 400 initiated members, all resident in Bungamati. In an arrangement that is as far as I know, unique among the *bahas,* the *sangha* has an elite inner core of thirty-one, seven Vajracaryas and twenty-four Sakyas known as the *panjus* (or *panijus*).[14] They and they alone are eligible for office within the

14. The term *panju* is currently used in Bungamati for this inner core of the *sangha,* and it is used at Tanga Baha (the temple of Minnath) for the members of the *sangha* who have taken the *acarya diksa.* Informants say that it is a synonym for any member of the *sangha* and simply means *pujari.* Though the word is recognized in Patan,

*sangha* and service of the deity. At the present time the office of *panju* is auctioned off by the government Guthi office. When a *panju* dies any initiated member of the *sangha*, regardless of age, is eligible to fill the vacancy with the one proviso that a Vajracarya must be replaced by a Vajracarya and a Sakya by a Sakya to keep the proportion of seven to twenty-four. Any one interested in taking up the office must submit an application to the Guthi office stating how much he is willing to pay. The post goes to the highest bidder. A place fell vacant in 1975 and the office went for Rs. 8,000. The money is given to the Guthi office and goes into the general *guthi* fund. It is considered to be a sound investment because of the amount of income accruing to the office of *panju* from *guthi* lands and free will offerings. The result, however, is that many senior members of the *sangha* who cannot produce the ready cash cannot become *panjus*. The man who assumed the office in 1975 is a young man of about twenty years, and thre are many old men in the *sangha* who are not *panjus*. Generally the new *panju* is the son of the deceased or of another recently deceased *panju*, a continuity assured by the fact that scarcely anyone else in the village would have the ready cash to bid for the office.

Office within the *sangha* is confined to the *panjus*—the Thakali of the entire *sangha* being the eldest *panju*, irrespective of whether he

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it is almost unknown in Kathmandu. The earliest use of the word in relation to the *sangha* of Bungamati that I have seen occurs in a *thyasaphu* reference under the date of 801 N. S. (1681), where the word is spelled *paniju* and is used of the temple priests of Bunga-dya:. See Regmi, 3: 92. However, the word occurs in a Dolakha inscription of 669 N. S. (1545) describing a Vajracarya from Manisangha Mahavihara in Kathmandu as "*vajracarya panduju*." Dhanavajra Vajracarya and Tek Bahadur Shrestha, *Dolakhako Aitihasik Ruprekha* (Kathmandu, 2031 N. S.), p. 93. Dharmaswamin,the Tibetan monk who lived in the Valley early in the thirteenth century, says that the Aryavalokitesvara of Bu-kham is tended by young tantrics acalled *han-du*. G. Roerich, ed., trans., *Biography of Dharmasvamin* (Patna, 1959), p. 55. This may be the same word. Some informants have speculated that it is a corruption of the suffix *pada* added to the name of the great Siddhas (Nagarjuna-pada, Charpati-pada, etc.,), the original Newari word thus being *padaju*.

is a Sakya or Vajracarya and regardless of the fact that there may be older members of the *sangha* who are not *panjus*. The Thakali plus the second and third eldest *panjus* comprise the governing body of the *sangha*. Seniority among the *panjus* is calculated from the date of each man's initiation into the *sangha*, not from the date of his assumption of the office of *panju*.

The newly appointed *panju* is given a special *diksa*, which as near as I can determine from informants, is the *acarya diksa*. Once he has been initiated a certain standard of conduct is expected of him. He must be able to get on amicably with the other *panjus*, he must take up his religious duties on the appointed day and remain faithful to them throughout his term of service. He is not allowed to eat rice in the houses of any but Vajracarya or Sakya families. He is not allowed the use of tobacco at any time. The official attire of the *panju* is the long white robe, known as the *jama*, and a red sash. For the principal events of the annual festival those on duty are expected to wear a red *jama*.[51] Each *panju* must purchase two sets of these garments for himself, and is expected to renew them every fifteen years. When he dies his entire outfit is given to the family priest (a Vajracarya) and the new *panju* is expected to buy a new outfit for himself.

The origins of this unique arrangement, which restrict the full rights and privileges of *sangha* membership to a mere nine percent of the total *sangha*, are obscure. The most probable explanation is the following. The *sangha* originally consisted of thirty-one families, seven Vajracarya and twenty-four Sakya. The rites associated with the worship of Matsyendranath are more detailed and more exacting than those performed in other *bahas*. Furthermore, especially in the late Malla period, the cult of Bunga-dya: was a national cult, and his annual *ratha jatra* was a national festival. Those who served as priests were expected to maintain a higher standard of scholarship and expertise in the performance of the ritual. Not every member of the *sangha* was willing to undergo the necessary training or was capable of it.

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15. The young *panju* I referred to above, however, never wears a *jama* and never shaves his head. His one concession to tradition is to wear the red sash over his bush shirt on solemn occasions.

To ensure an even distribution of offices and the income accruing from that office, each family was asked to provide one member to be initiated as a *panju*. The custom of auctioning off the post is probably a rather recent innovation and may well have been a practical measure to deal with the inevitable disputes which arose as these thirty-one families increased and futher divided.[16]

The principal duty of the *panju* is temple service and service of the deity during the annual festival. For his services the *panju* gets a generous stipend from the *guthi* fund and a further amount from free will offerings given by the people who visit the deity daily, especially in Patan and during the annual festival. There is a special *guthi* of the *panjus* and they alone are entitled to the income from the lands of this *guthi*. There is another *guthi* of the entire *sangha*. The other members of the *sangha* take part in feasts and festivals of this *guthi*, but they are never permitted to touch the image or to serve as attendants either in the temple or on the *ratha*.

All service of the deity is performed exclusively by the *panjus* of the *sangha* of Bungamati. Whether the deity is in Bungamati, on the *ratha*, or in the temple at Patan, they and they alone may enter the temple and touch the image. The temple in Patan is situated *at* Ta: Baha. It is not Ta: Baha, and the members of the Ta: Baha *sangha* have no connenction whatever with the deity.

The *panju's* term of service in the temple is only one lunar fortnight. Before he takes up his duties he is expected to shave his head and undergo the same purificatory rites as at Jana Baha. During his term of service he must stay at the temple twenty-four hours a day and he is allowed only one meal of rice which he must cook himself. Temple service and the *nitya puja* follow the same pattern as at Jana Baha, but they have fewer *pujas* to perform, and they do it with much less care and exactitude. There are only four *pujas* to be performed: one in the morning on rising, one at noon, one in the evening, and one in the middle of the night. One peculiar feature is that the *arati puja* is performed at each of the four times, whereas at other *bahas* it is per-

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16. Note that the original arrangement, before they began to auction off the post of *panju*, is similar to the system followed at Jana Baha.

formed only in the evening. As will be noted below, Srinivasa Malla set up a *guthi* for this and specified that it be performed four times a day; the custom has been continued. The morning *puja* consists of the bathing of the reflection of the image in the mirror, as at Jana Baha, and the *pancopacara puja* plus the *arati*. The *puja* at the other three times of the day consists simply of the *pancopacara puja* and the *arati*. At each of the hours the *pancopacara puja* is followed by the recitation of the *stotra* proper to that time of the day as at Jana Baha. After the noon *puja*, the *deo pala* cooks his rice and, before eating, he offers some to the deity. The night *puja*, which informants tell me is performed between two and three A. M., is another unique feature not found at any other *baha*. Usually the only ones present for this *puja* are the *deo pala* and two assistants, one to wave the yak tail fans and one to blow the conch shell.

Another special feature of the *nitya puja* is that there are two *guthis* whose function it is to provide the materials needed for the *puja*, i. e., oil for the lamp, flowers, *tika* powder, incense, rice grains, curds and milk. One *guthi* consists of Sakyas from Bungamati, and the members of this *guthi* serve in rotation for a month at a time to bring the supplies needed for each day's *puja*. The other *guthi* is made up of Sakyas and Vajracaryas from different *bahas* of Patan who perform the same service in rotation when the deity is resident in Patan. The actual offering of the substances of the *pujas*, however, is always done by the *panju deo pala* and not by the members of these *guthis*.

The Sakya *panjus* can perform all of the ordinary *pujas* in the temple, i. e., any rite which does not require a *homa* sacrifice. Any ritual which requires a *homa*, such as the removal of the life of the image, the *dasa karma* rites, etc. must be performed by a Vajracarya, and the seven Vajracarya *panjus* perform this service in rotation. The period of service for this is one year. During his year of service the Vajracarya-*panju* will perform all the *homa* rituals connected with the annual worship of Bunga-dya:, officiate at any initiation rites into the *sangha* if these occur during the year, and perform the annual bathing ceremony at Nala. Thus, in contrast to the practice at Jana Baha and at most other *baha*, these rites are never performed by an outside priest.

**The Monthly Rituals Associated with Bunga-dya:**

The monthly observances at Bungamati and at Ta: Baha are the same as those observed at Jana Baha. People come to perform the *astami vrata* of Amoghapasa Lokesvara on the eighth day of the bright half of the month and to observe the *purnima vrata* on the full moon day. One special feature is the importance given to the observance of the *sankranti*, the first day of the month according to the Nepali solar calendar. In contrast to Jana Baha, the ceremonies do have a close connection with the worship of Avalokitesvara. There are a number of *guthis* in Patan known as Sanlhu-guthis (*sanlhu=sankranti*) which meet on the first day of each month to worship Avalokitesvara. The reason for the *guthi* is that the people honour a different form of Lokesvara each month and they come on the first day of the month to worship the "new" Lokesvara. The Lokesvaras thus worshipped are the following:

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| 1. Sadaksari- lokesvara | Kartik |
| 2. Srimat-lokesvara | Mansir |
| 3. Halahala-lokesvara | Paus |
| 4. Khasarpana-lokesvara | Magh |
| 5. Simhanada-lokesvara | Phalgun |
| 6. Padmanritya-lokesvara | Caitra |
| 7. Harihariharivahana-lokesvara | Baisakh |
| 8. Trailokyavasankari-lokesvara | Jestha |
| 9. Rakta-lokesvara | Asadh |
| 10. Nilakantha-lokesvara | Sravan |
| 11. Mayajala-lokesvara | Bhadra |
| 12. Karandavyuha-lokesvara | Asvin[17] |

The series is considered to begin in Kartik. This may be connected with the Kartik fast observed in Bungamati, but Hemaraj Sakya says that the reason for beginning the series in Kartik is that it is during Kartik (on the eighth day of the bright half of Kartik or Mukhastami)

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17. See Hemaraj Sakya, *Nepal-Samskritya Mulukha* (Lalitpur, 2512 Buddha Sambat), p. 53 and 54.

that the Buddha crown is placed on the *linga* at Pasupatinath.[18] However, it is also true that the new year according to the lunar Newar calendar (*Nepal sambat*) begins on the first day of the bright half of Kartik, so it would be logical to begin the series in Kartik.

During the *sankranti puja* it was formerly the custom to place images of King Narendradeva, Bandhudatta Acarya and Ratan Cakra on the three empty pedestals in front of the temple either in Patan or in Bungamati. According to legend these three were responsible for bringing Avalokitesvara to Nepal. In order to safeguard these old and valuable images the custom was discontinued some years ago when the Guthi office of Matsyendranath was placed under the jurisdiction of the central Guthi Samsthan.[19] Formerly there was also a custom of fee-

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18. Ibid. This is surely one of the most curious customs of Newar religious culture. A discussion of it would take us far afield here. It seems, however, to have no direct connection with Avalokitesvara. Some informants have told me that the crown placed on the *linga* is that of Bunga-dya: which is brought for the occasion by the *panjus*. This is entirely erroneous. The crown is a metal crown, similar to that worn by the Vajracaryas, with images of the five Buddhas on it. The crown is kept at Pasupatinath by the Bhatta Brahmans who have charge of the shrine, and they place the crown on the *linga* on this day. Though many Buddhists, and especially Vajracaryas, go to Pasupatinath on this day, they have no part to play in the actual ceremony. I see no connection between this ceremony and the series of twelve Lokesvaras.

19. The result of discontinuing this custom was the opposite of what was intended. In January of 1977 it was discovered that the upper portion of the image of Narendradeva was missing and the lower portion of the image of Ratan Cakra (alias Lalita Jyapu) was missing. *Gorkhapatra,* 26 Pus 2033, p. 1. Since they had not exhibited the images publicly for some time, no one knew when or how they had disappeared. Informants say that if the custom had been retained this would never have happened, as it would have been noticed immediately on the next *sankranti* and the current *deo pala* held responsible. The images were later recovered hidden in the house of one of the *panjus*. After they were recovered the police brought them to the Archeology Department for evaluation. See *Gorkhapatra,* 24 Magh 2033, p. 12. Hemaraj Sakya informs me that he dated the images, which are of gilded copper, to the late Malla Period, between three and four hundred years old. They are certainly not 1,300 years old as claimed by the *Gorkhapatra*.

ding a group of *kanphata* yogis at Bu Baha. This was a private *guthi* of the *sangha* of Bu Baha. They would go in the morning to Ta: Baha for the *sankranti puja* and then return to their *baha* for the feeding of the yogis. The reason given for this custom is that they are considered to be the followers of Gorakhnath, the disciple of Matsyendranath (Avalokitesvara). For some reason the custom was discontinued after the earthquake in 1934.[20]

**The Annual Rites and Festivals of Bunga-dya:**

The most important of the annual events associated with Bunga-dya: is the festival beginning with the bathing in April and continuing on with the *ratha jatra,* finally culminating in the *bhoto jatra,* or "showing of the shirt of Matsyendranath", which usually takes place the first week in June. Ordinarily Bunga-dya: is residing at Ta: Baha at this time, and all of the rites are performed in Patan. Once every twelve years, however, Bunga-dya: is not brought to Patan but left in Bungamati for the entire year. This year the bathing, repainting, and reconsecration ceremonies are performed in Bungamati, and the *ratha jatra* begins at Bungamati. The *ratha* is pulled from Bungamati, crosses the Nikhu Khola and then is pulled toward the area of the Western Asoka Stupa by way of Dhobi Ghat. From there the festival carries on through Patan as usual. After the Bhoto Jatra at Jawalakhel the *ratha* is again pulled back to Bungamati where the Bhoto Jatra is repeated before the image is removed from the *ratha* and returned to the temple. This last took place in 1979 (2036 B. S.)

The ceremonies of the annual festival can be conveniently divided into three stages: A) the bathing and consecration ceremonies, B) the Ratha Jatra or "Chariot Festival," C) the Jawalakehel Jatra and the "Showing of the Bhoto."[21]

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20. Confer historical section below. There was a *guthi* set up by Srinivasa for the feeding of the yogis at Ta: Baha. This was a government *guthi* and seems to have been long since discontinued. The *guthi* at Bu Bha was a private one.

21. For a fuller treatment of this festival see John K. Locke, *Rato Matsyendranath of Patan and Bungamati* (Kathmandu, 1973), p. 17–38. I give here a brief outline of the events plus some new

A) The Bathing and Consecration Ceremonies

The bathing ceremony takes place on Baisakh Krisna Pratipada the first day of the dark half of the month of Baisakh (in 1976—April 15). Four days before this time the *panjus* come to Patan to collect offerings from the people for the ceremonies. On the day of the bathing itself the currently officiating Vajracarya *panju* from Bungamati performs a *kalasa puja* at Ta: Baha, at the conclusion of which he removes the spirit of the god from the image and places it in a large silver *kalasa*[22] At the *kalasa puja* he consecrates eight smaller silver pots of water in addition to the large one for the spirit of the god. Two of the smaller ones are used for the bathing, the other six are placed in the temple and six protective, "secret"(*guhya*)deities are invoked into them. The water for all of these pots must be drawn from the well within the compound at Ta: Baha. Rice grains, a few paise, milk, water and finally betel nuts are added to each of the pots during the ceremony. Throughout the ceremony one of the Nyekhus who will bathe the image and repaint it, sits to the right of the Vajracarya as his *jajman*.[23] At

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material and corrections. See also Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, vols. 1 and 2 passim; Gopal Singh Nepali, *The Newars* (Bombay, 1956), p. 269–75; and Mary Anderson, *The Festivals of Nepal* (London, 1971), p. 53–61.

22. The large silver *kalasa* and the eight smaller ones bear the date 1990 B. S. (1933–34) and were donated by Juddha Shamsher after the earthquake of that year.

23. I have no satisfactory explanation for the position and functions of the Nyekhus. They have a similar role to play at Cobhar and at one time did so at Jana Baha. They are definitely Siva-margi Shresthas. According to the chronicles, the Nyekhus who bathe and repaint Bunga–dya: originally came from Bhaktapur; the present ones live in Patan near Ta: Baha. Several informants have told me that they rank highest among the Shresthas of Patan, though this has been denied by Patan Shresthas who admit that they are Shresthas but somehow outside the traditional Shrestha clans of Patan, a fact which confirms their Bhaktapur origin. Some say that they were originally royal collaterals of the Malla kings, confirmed by the fact that they are still known as Nyekhu-juju. They are credited with possessing secret tantric powers. Some claim that when they finish painting the image they give it

the conclusion of the *puja* the large *kalasa* is taken into the temple, the life of the image is removed and placed in it by incantations, and it is placed in the sanctum of the temple. The image is then turned over to the Nyekus. Towards evening the Raj Guru's guard arrive followed by an official of the Guthi Samsthan carrying the King's sword under an umbrella.[24] A procession is formed of the Raj Guru's guard, followed by the Kings' sword and then the officiating Vajracarya *panju* and several other *panjus*, whose main function seems to be to keep the crowd away from the image. Finally come four Nyekhus carrying a *khat* with the image. The procession goes from Ta: Baha straight to Lagankhel where the image is taken up to the raised platform where the bathing takes place. The sword of the king is placed on the ground about thirty feet in front of the platform, and the crowd is cleared away from in front of the platform so that the "king" can have a clear view of the proceedings.

Most of the ornaments and garments have been removed from the image before it left Ta: Baha, and in place of the regular crown they have placed on his head a crown of purple flowers. Once the image is in place on the platform, the Nyekhus remove the remaining garments and the presiding Vajracarya *panju* performs a dance *puja* (*lasya*), first at each of the cardinal points of the platform and then at the intermediate points, to the eight Guardians of the Directions. Two of the Nyekhus then go back to Ta: Baha and bring the pots with the bathing water. At the auspicious moment determined by the astrologers the two Nyekhus pour the two pots of water over the image simultaneously as the presiding Vajracarya *panju* recites *mantras*.

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a secret Hindu, tantric initiation, though no one can confirm this as the Nyehus do all of their work in secret. No one seems to know any more when and why they were given this office.

24. The sword is ambiguous. It certainly represents the king. In the days of the Patan Malla kings, the king was obliged to attend this ceremony; it could not be conducted without him. Towards the end of the Malla period we do find, though, that the king did not always attend (confer historical section). The sword was brought if the king did not attend, and represented him. Some consider the sword to represent the present king, but many people in Patan still say "Srinivasa has come" when the sword arrives.

Immediately after the bathing, the image is covered with a cloth and bathing water is scattered over the crowd as a blessing. As soon as the crowd clears a bit, the procession forms up again and the four Nyekhus carry the image back to Ta: Baha where they shut it up in a room on the east side of the temple. Over the next two weeks the Nyekhus clean, replaster and paint the image. According to tradition thirty-two different kinds of clay are supposed to be brought for this from Mhaypi. Clay is still brought from there, but they say they are no longer able to find thirty-two different kinds.[25]

On the thriteenth day of the fortnight the image is handed over once again to the *panjus* from Bungamati. On the night of the thirteenth the currently officiating Vajracarya *panju* performs the *dasa karma* and the reconsecration of the image. The ceremony is the same as that performed at Jana Baha, with a few minor additions.[26] During the *kalasa puja* which precedes the *dasa karma* they set up one large clay pot and sixty three small pots each painted with the symbol of a tantric deity. During the *puja* these deities are all summoned into the pots to be present for the *dasa karma* rituals. The ten life cycle rites and the tantric initiations which follow are performed just as they are at Jana Baha with the addition of the *barha-tayegu*. This is the puberty ceremony which a Newar girl undergoes. The girl is confined in a dark room for eleven days either just before or just after her first menstruation. In

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25. Mhaypi, on the road to Balaju, is listed as one of the twelve pilgrimage places (*tirtha sthan*) of the Newar Buddhsts. See Hemaraj Sakya, *Nepal Bauddha Vihara wa Grantha Suci* (Patan, 2500 Buddha Sambat), p. 31. It is considered to be the seat of Yogambara, the *ista devata* of Santikar Acarya and the family deity of Bunga-dya:. According to the legends associated with Bunga-dya:, Yogambara was served by Santikar Acarya in a previous existence at which time Yogambara predicted the coming of Avalokitesvara Karunamaya to Nepal. Asakaji Vajracarya, *Bunga-dya: Nepal ha:gu khan* (Patan, 2024 B. S.), p. 35–6.

26. D. R. Regmi claims that the rites are those performed in the iniation of a mendicant. Regmi, 2:635. This is true only in the sense that the rites include rites similar to the *bare chyuyegu* and the tantric initiations of a Vajracarya.

Nepali the ceremony is called *gupha rakhne* "placing in the cave."[27] Though this ceremony is considered to be part of the *dasa karma*, it is really an eleventh rite, and the period of confinement is considered to have taken place while the image was shut up in the room on the east side of the temple.

B) The *Ratha Jatra*

While the painting and replastering of the image is being done, the *ratha* is being prepared over in Pulcowk on the road between the Fire Brigade and the western Asoka Stupa. The chariot consists of a heavy wooden frame on four large wheels, above which is a square wooden platform containing the shrine for the deity. The shrine stands about seven feet high, and around it is a sort of balcony providing enough room for the attendant priests to move.

Above the shrine rises a gigantic spire of wooden beams and poles bound together with vines, ropes and cane. Over this are tied green juniper boughs. At the top of the spire rests a copper disk representing a lotus. Above this rests a large cane basket resembling the crow's nest on a ship. On this is placed an image of Amitabha, the Dhyani Buddha of Avalokitesvara, an image of Vajrasattva brought from Kwa Baha, and an image of Svayambhu, the self-existent one (identified with the Adi Buddha). This image is first taken to Swayambhunath by the *panjus* who perform a sort of consecration rite there to "bring Svayambhu" to the *ratha*. Svayambhu is then brought in procession and placed on the *ratha*.

The various parts of the *ratha* are personified as various deities. The four large wheels, about six feet in diameter, are each painted with three eyes. These wheels represent four Bhairavas from four different places in the Valley: Harisiddhi Bhairava, Hayagriva Bhairava (of Bungamati), Lubtasanhara Bhairava (of Luta Baha in Bungamati), Nandakunda Bhairava (also called Lhonde Konde). These are supposed to be the four Bhairavas who carried Matsyendranath into the Valley. The main beam of the *ratha*, which rests on the two axles, extends several feet in front and back of the *ratha*. The beam is Karko-

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27. See Gopal Singh Nepali, *The Newars* (Bombay, 1965), p. 111–3.

taka Nagaraja and the mask placed on the front of it is Hayagriva.[28] The streamers which hang down from the top of the spire represent *nagas* as do the ropes used to pull the *ratha*. Underneath the platform, between the wheels, a god called Caksukamuni is said to reside. He is identified by some with Kubera, and from time to time liquor and blood sacrifices must be offered to propitiate him. The image of Bunga-dya: is placed in the centre of the shrine. Behind him and facing out the back door of the shrine is a red *bodhisattva* image almost identical to Bunga-dya: himself. This is Bhimesvara Tathagata, a future incarnation of Mahadeva or Siva.[29] The following images are also placed on the chariot: a horse (as symbol of Surya), a bull (as symbol of Siva),

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28. Karkotaka is a snake deity who is said to reside in a pond south of Cobhar. In Hindu iconography Hayagriva is a horse-headed form of Visnu. As mentioned above, the Buddhists consider him to be a Bhairava. However, he is also a titular or protective deity of the family of Amitabha, the family to which Avalokitesvara belongs. He is pictured as a fierce deity who wears the scalp of a horse on his head and carries chains and fetters. In Tibet Hayagriva is sometimes considered as the wrathful aspect of Avalokitesvara himself. See W. Y. Evans-Wentz, *The Tibetan Book of the Great Liberation*, (Oxford, 1969), p. 160.

29. The identification comes from the Gunakarandavyuha, where Siva comes to worship Avalokitesvara and asks to be granted the favour of becoming a Buddha. Avalokitesvara responds that the favour will be granted and in a future age he will become Bhasmesvara Tathagata. एवं महेश्वरो देवपुत्रो गत्वा अवलोकितेश्वरस्य स्तोत्रविशेषं कृत्वा तूष्णणींभावेन व्यवस्तिः । अथ अवशोकिश्वरस्तमेतदवोचन्-किं कारणं त्वं कुलपुत्र तूष्णींभावेन व्यवस्थिः ? अथ महेश्वरो देपुत्रस्तमेतदवोचत्-ददस्व मे व्याकरणमनुत्तरायां सम्यक्संवोधौ । अवलोकितेश्वरस्तमेतदवोचत्-भविष्यसि त्वं कुलपुत्र विवृतायां लोकधातौ भस्मेश्वरो नाम तथागतो ऽर्हन् सम्यक्संबुद्धो विद्याचरणसंपन्न : सुगतो लोकविदनुत्तरः पुरुषदम्यासारथिः शास्ता देवानां च मनुष्याणां च बुद्धो भगवान् । P. L. Vaidya, *Mahayana-Sutra-Sangraha*, Part I (Darbhanga, 1961), p. 304. The name Bhimesvara given by my informants is evidently a corruption of Bhasmesvara; the same informants were conversant with the incident related in this *sutra*. It may well be this section of the Gunakarandavyuha which gave rise to the custom of placing the Buddha crown on the *linga* of Pasupatinath.

a Garuda (as symbol of Visnu), and a swan (as symbol of Brahma).[30]

In addition to the *panjus* of Bungamati who are the priests and temple attendants during the entire festival, other groups of people are involved in the *ratha jatra*. The principal ones are the following:

1. *The Bisats*—these seem to have been court officials in the days of the Malla kings who were given charge of the *guthi* lands belonging to Bunga-dya: and had the further task of making all the physical arrangements for the festival, such as seeing that the carpenters and other labourers did their work. They had charge of policing the crowds during the festival, and two of their number rode the *ratha* to wave the yak tail fans in front of the deity. The charge of the *guthi* lands was taken away from them in the time of King Girvanyuddha because of misappropriation of funds.[31] In more recent times the supervision of all *guthi* lands has been given over to the government Guthi Samsthan, and it is the Guthi Samsthan officials who now let contracts for wood, vines, carpentry work, etc. Hence the Bistas have been reduced to the largely ceremonial office of waving the yak tail fans and controlling the crowd. On the principal days of the festival, this work of controlling the crowd has been taken over by the police.

2. The *Lusa Guthi* of Mahabouddha Baha in Patan—the fixtures of the *ratha*-shrine (gilded side panels, *toranas*, etc.) are stored at Mahabauddha Baha whose members originally donated them. They have a *guthi* whose function it is to safeguard these fixtures and have them put on the *ratha*. On the day they are to be placed on the *ratha* they summon a clan of Jyapus who have the traditional right to do this. pay them

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30. These are variously interpreted. Some say all of these gods come onto the *ratha* to worship Avalokitesvara. Some say they are placed there because some people recognize Avalokitesvara to be Siva, some Visnu, etc. Hemaraja Sakya gives a fuller account of the identification of the various parts of the *ratha* with various deities and with various aspects of Buddhist philosophy. The fuller account is rather academic though. What I have given here is current popular belief. See Hemaraj Sakya, *Nepal Samskritya Mulakha* (Lalitpur, 1089 N. S.), p. 58–60.

31. See "Regmi Research Series" Year 6 no. 7, p. 129. The earliest occurance of the term *bisat* is in the inscription of Srinivasa Malla dated 793 N. S., where it is spelled *beseta*. See following chapter.

a fee in grain and have them transport the fixtures to the *ratha*. At the end of the *jatra* the same men bring them back to Mahabauddha.

3. The *Badhais*—these are a group of twenty-four carpenters, by caste Jyapus, who are assigned to provide the necessary wood for the construction of the chariot and to do the carpentry work. A contract is let each year for this by the Guthi Samsthan, but the carpenters are always drawn from the same clan of Jyapus.

3. The *Yanwans*—these are also drawn from a clan of Jyapus and are assigned to provide the ropes, vines, and cane needed for assembling the spire. Thirty are appointed each year. A contract is let by the Guthi Samsthan and then they are given a special Mahankal *diksa*. They alone are permitted to climb to the top of the *ratha* to assemble it, to direct the rope pullers, and to make any necessary repairs during the festival.

5. The *ghakus*—these are the attendants of the wheels and the brakemen. Twelve are assigned each year, and it is their task to protect the wheels, prevent them from dashing against buildings, etc., and to stop the vehicle. They are given a Bhairava *diksa*. Their "brakes" consist of a block of wood on a long pole which they shove under the wheels when they want to stop the *ratha* or change its direction.

6. The *"Sese Brahmans"*—two Brahmans, descendants of the Brahman priests to the Malla kings of Patan, are appointed to serve by turn as the "starters" of the *ratha*. They wear a white *jama* and sash, and their function is purely ceremonial; they simply say "start" and the Jyapu who sits in front of them actually directs the rope pullers. They have nothing to do with the worship of the deity.

7. The rope pullers—in former times groups of people from various castes were assigned to pull the chariot on each stage of the journey. Today it is done by people from the area of Patan to which the *ratha* is going, plus anybody else who wants to join in. The pullers are directed by a Jyapu who sits or stands on the main beam just behind the mask of Hayagriva.

Traditionally certain restrictions are laid on all of the people assigned some official function for the festival. For example, they are not permitted to eat outside of their own homes during the entire period

of the festival. For the duration of the festival they also receive a daily wage from the *guthi* fund.

On the first day of the bright half of the month of Baisakh the image is placed on the *ratha* at the auspicious moment determined by the astrologers. In 1976 this took place on the evening of 30 April. The image is carried from Ta: Baha on a *khat* by the *panjus*, accompanied by the Raj Guru's guard and the king's sword. Two of the *panjus* are assigned by rotation each year to ride the *ratha*, and throughout the long two month festival they must remain on duty in the shrine observing the same restrictions as a *deo pala* in the temple.

The *ratha* remains in Pulcowk for the next three days so that people from that area can make offerings. On the fourth day the *ratha* makes its first move. The *ratha* of Minnath is brought up to Pulcowk to greet Matsyendranath and preceeds his *ratha* to Patan. On this day the two *rathas* are pulled as far as Ga Baha. They remain there for one day to enable people from that area to make their offerings. On the following day they are pulled from Ga Baha, past the Patan Darbar to Sundhara. From this day on Matsyendranath's *ratha* precedes that of Minnath. On the way to Sundhara the *ratha* makes a brief halt near the *darbar* and people make offerings.[32] It spends one day at Sundhara for the people in that area to make their offerings. Among the offerings made at Sundhara are three images made of cooked rice. The rice is cooked by Jyapus in a building at Nag Baha, directly behind Kwa Baha (the "Golden Temple"). When the cooking is finished, one man each from three traditional image casting families (Sakyas) are called to mould the images from the cooked rice. They consist of a *stupa*, a *garuda* and a tantric deity. As a reward the three men get twenty-one *manas* of rice beer and beans for their services.[33]

32. This stop, which is made near the old *darbar* in front of the present Nagar Panchayat Office,is explained by a curious bit of folklore. According to the tradition there used to be a small stream there. The halt was made so that Bunga-dya: could change his loin cloth (*dhoti*) after crossing the stream. A clean *dhoti* is still offered to him at this halt.
33. It seems that two of the Sakya families have now moved away from Patan and all three of these are made by the same man. For this information I am indebted to Miss Annamarie Spahr.

From Sundhara the *ratha* is taken south on the next day towards Mahabauddha Baha and from there west to the main road and on to Lagankhel. Theoretically this trip is made in one day as there are only three official stops or *"jatras"* within the city of Patan: Ga Baha, Sundhara, and Lagankhel. However, it most frequently spends a day at Mahabauddha. Moreover, the various stages of the journey are frequently interrupted by breakdowns and delays of various kinds, despite the imporved condition of the roads.

Upon arrival at Lagankhel the *ratha* is pulled once round the shrine of Matsyendranath's mother next to the bathing platform, in order that Matsyendranath may pay his respects to his mother.[34] After going round the shrine the *ratha* is left for a day south of the shirne on the open field. The following morning a goat is sacrificed and the blood put on the wheels of the chariot. The sacrifice, which is performed by Jyapus with the actual cutting being done by a man of the butcher caste, is made to propitiate the four Bhairavas symbolized by the wheels. If they are not given blood they will take it by running over someone.[35]

Towards evening on this day the *ratha* is drawn twice more round the shrine of Matsyenranath's mother and then brought back the main road toward the north a short distance where it is left at Po-

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34. According to the legends associated with the bringing of Avalokitesvara to Nepal, his mother and a host of *yaksas,* ghosts and goblins followed the procession back to Nepal in order to capture him and return him to Kamarupa. She was discovered and fixed in a tree at Lagankhel by means of a *mantra.* There she has remained ever since. The tree is long since gone, but a small enclosure called *dolan maju* marks the spot and his mother is still considered to reside there.

35. Some have explained this sacrifice as a propitation of the *yaksas,* etc. who came with Avalokitesvara's mother, but this hardly fits with what actually happens; and there is another ceremony in Jawalakhel to take care of the *yaksas.* Propitation of the Bhairavas reflects the very real danger of people being caught under the wheels of the *ratha.* Accidents resulting in the death of people crushed under the wheels of this *ratha,* as well as the ones in Kathmandu and Bhaktapur, are a frequent but little publicized fact.

de Tole (also called Thatti Tole). The *ratha* remains in Pode Tole until it is time to take it to Jawalakhel, usually about a month. The day after the arrival at Pode Tole is the day of the Lagankhel festival, when people from the southern part of Patan come to make their offerings. On the evening of this day the "dropping of the coconut." An official of the Guthi Samsthan climbs to the top of the spire and tosses down parched rice, flowers, red powder, two types of sweets made from flour, a few coins and finally a coconut. These are offered as part of an *asta mangala* ceremony conducted in thanksgiving for the successful progress of the *ratha jatra* thus far. Popular folk lore holds that whoever catches the coconut is assured of the birth of a son within the year. It is the men, not the women, who try to catch the coconut which they must then return to the Guthi officials.

Six days after the dropping of the coconut, Matsyenranath has his Dewali Puja. The Dewali Puja or worship of the family deity (*digu dya:*) is a ceremony which each Newar family must perform at this time of the year. Each joint family or clan has its own *digu dya:*, and each of the principal deities is also considered to have its own family deity. The *digu dya*: of Matsyenranath is located in a small temple at the edge of a pond south of Ga Baha. At one time, before the city was extended by Siddhinarasimha to include the area to the west which is still called "New Tole," this pond lay just outside the city of Patan. The temple contains no image but only a few shapeless stones, as is common for all such clan deities. The thrity-two *panjus*, i. e., the thirty-one plus Matsyenranath, are considered to be a family or clan, and it is the *panjus* who go to the pond to perfom the *dewali puja*. The *digu dya:* is identified as Yogambara who, according to legend, predicted the coming of Avalokitesvara to Nepal.[36]

About eight days after the *dewali puja*, four astrologers assemble at the platform (*mani mandapa*) near the Patan Darbar to determine the auspicious date for pulling the *ratha* to Jawalakhel. There is no fixed date for this *jatra* as there is for the other events in the long festival; the auspicious date must be determined each year. It usually occurs

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36. See note 25 above.

sometime within the following two weeks.[37]

The long stay of the *ratha* in Pode Tole has given rise to a number of interesting bits of folklore. Bunga-dya: gets lonely during this long stay away from home, and local folklore says he leaves the *ratha* at night to spend the night with one or other of the sweeper women from Pode Tole.[38] At one time he is supposed to have gone all the way to Kirtipur to spend the night, and this is commemorated by a ritual which takes place sometime within the week before the *ratha* is pulled to Jawalkalhel. On the appointed day a procession of *panjus* goes from Pode Tole to Kirtipur with the Thakli carrying flowers as *prasada* from Budnga-dya:. The procession goes up to the old fort at Kirtipur and then down a bit to the northwest where there is a small courtyard. In this courtyard there are some stones which look like the remnants of an old temple. There they arrange a seat and the Thakali sits down. There are some ten to twleve families living round this courtyard. The eldest unmarried girl from among these families comes up to the

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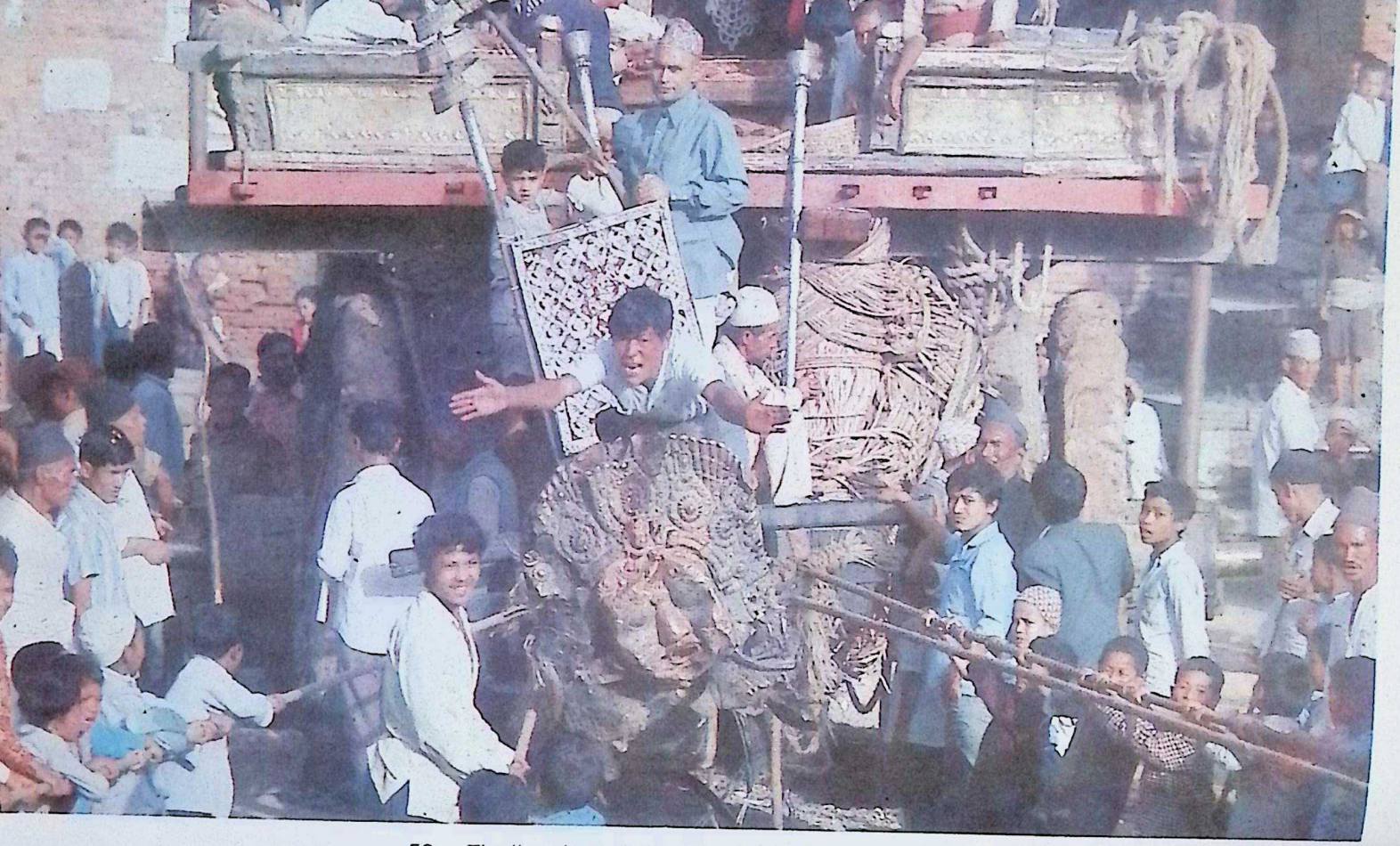
37. Sometimes, however, the stay is much longer. In 1976 the *ratha* was moved from Pode Tole only on 11 September due to a long series of inauspicious periods. The long delay brought to light another little-known custom. On 11 September when they finally moved the *ratha*, they got only a few yards when it became stuck in a drainage ditch and had to be left there. The next day there was feverish activity to get it out and over to Jawalakhel. The explanation given for the hurry was that if Bunga-dya: did not get to Jawalakhel on that day he would have to be taken to Bhaktapur. Informants in Bhaktapur confirmed this. If he stays on the *ratha* beyond the eighth day of the dark half of Asvin, the people of Bhaktapur have the right to take him to Bhaktapur and keep him there until it is time to bring him back to Ta: Baha in Patan. He is taken on a *khat* to Bhaktapur, kept there in a temple: and the *panjus* from Bungamati have to go there to perform his daily worship, This last happened about 100 years ago. The reason given by informants in Bhaktapur relates to the legend of bringing Avalokitesvara to Nepal. Since Narenradeva was from Bhaktapur the temple should by rights have been put in Bhaktapur, not in Bungamati or Patan. So if the *panjus* delay beyond this date, "Narenradeva" has the right to take him to Bhaktapur.

38. Still in 1976 it was reported to me that sweeper women from Pode Tole would leave their houses in the middle of the night and spend a few hours sleeping naked under the *ratha*.

49. Pulling *rathas* of Matsyendranath and Minnath round the shrine of Matsyendra's mother



50. The "conductor" directing the pulling of the *ratha*.

51. The *ratha* of Matsyendranath being pulled towards Jawalakhel

52. Devotee covered with burning lamps

Thakali and takes the flowers form the *prasada* vessel. He must give her the flowers without touching them himself. The flowers are then sent to each of the houses in the area. The families, who have been fasting since dawn, then come bringing grain as a welcome offering. This concludes the ceremony, and the *panjus* return to Patan. The stones are supposed to mark the spot where Bunga-dya: slept with the Kirtipur girl; and each year Bunga-dya: sends his *prasada* to the family of the girl with whom he spent the night.

**The Jawalakhel Festival and the "Showing of the Bhoto"**

When the auspicious day for pulling the *ratha* to Jawalakhel arrives the astrologers come to Pode Tole to determine the exact moment with their water clock. At the exact moment a five-stranded string of five different colours, representing the five Dhyani Buddhas, is attached to the *ratha* and pulled. This satisfies the rubric of pulling the *ratha* at the exact auspicious moment. Later in the day, when the farmers have finished their work in the fields, people gather to pull the *ratha* to Jawalakhel. The Patan Kumari is enthroned in a rest house about half way along the road to Jawalakhel, and the *ratha* pauses there for her to pay her respects.

The next three days people come from outlying areas to make their offerings: on the first day from Jawalakhel and Pulcowk, on the second day from the "seven villages", i. e., Pulcowk, Kirtipur, Panga, Baubahal, Bhaktapur, Thimi and Naro Bhare near Thimi. These are the traditional groups that come, but people come from all over the Valley on these days. It is during the last three days of the festival, and especially on the day of the "Bhoto Jatra," that the festival assumes a national or Valley-wide importance. Few people outside of Patan come for the earlier events of the festival.[39]

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39. There is a tradition which says that the Ga Baha Jatra is for the people of Kathmandu, the Sundhara Jatra for the people of Bhaktapur, the Langankhel Jatra for the people of Patan, and the Jawalakhel Jatra for the whole world. However, at present at least, each of the *jatras* within Patan is considered to be for the people living in that area, and the people in the various toles of Patan all know which day is supposed to be theirs.

On the last night that the *ratha* stays at Jawalakhel there are two ceremonies to propitiate the *yaksas,* ghosts and goblins (*bhut-pret*) who are supposed to have come with Matsyendranath's mother and are waiting for an opportune moment to take him back to Kamarupa. The first is the scattering of a *mandala* made of rice to the four winds. This is evidently a *bali* offering and there is a *guthi* whose task it is to cook rice for this at the Patan Darbar. When the rice has been cooked one of the traditional image casters from Nag Baha comes to the *darbar* to shape the rice into a large *mandala* on a portable carrier (*khat*). At about ten at night this is carried in procession to Jawalakhel, taken once round the *ratha* and then scattered to the winds to feed and propitiate the ghosts and goblins.[40]

This is followed by another ceremony involving fifteen or sixteen of the wives of the *panjus.* The women, dressed in red saris, come to the large shed at the edge of the field where the wheels of the *ratha* are stored. One by one they are given a blessing by one of the *panjus.* They then leave the shed with hands joined and shaking all over. They are led up to the *ratha* of Minnath and then to that of Matsyendranath where they offer *puja* and are sprinkled with water and rice grains by the *panju* on duty. They are then led, still shaking all over and with hands clasped, back to an open space which has been cleared for them between the *rathas.* They are seated in a row, a basket is placed in front of each of them; and their husbands come and sit opposite them. They continue to sit there shaking and trembling while people come up and make offerings to them. This ceremony which is evidently the remnant of a tantric ritual is known in Newari as *Panju-naki-kaygu.* The short

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40. According to Hemaraj Sakya one derivation given for the name Jawalakhel is connected with this rite. In Newari the word is often spelled *ja-hwola-khel. Ja* means "cooked rice" and *hwola,* "scattering." *Khel* means a commons or pasture land. Another explanation derives the word from the Sanskrit name of the place which is found in some manuscripts, namely Jayavarasiddhi-khel. At the time when Bunga-dya: takes his leave of the people of Patan he pronounces a blessing over them: *jaya* "hail to all", *vara-siddhi,* "I grant to you the boon (*vara*) of success (*siddhi*) in all your undertakings." The earliest spellings of the name I have found, however, are *jyawala* (in a *thyasaphu* reference of 784 N. S.) and *jyawara* (in a *thyasaphu* reference of 825 N. S.).

ceremony in the shed, which at present consists in placing flowers in the hair of the women and reciting a *mantra,* was a *diksa* by which these women were initiated as *yoginis* and given the power to bind or frighten away the evil sprits. According to informants, they must be women, as the power of a woman is needed to frighten away these evil spirits.

On the morning of the last day there is a *puja* to the goddess Ajima who is also said to reside under the *ratha.* It is said that whoever is the first to offer *puja* on this day will have good luck in his trade with Tibet in the year to come.

On this last day is also the grand finale of the long festival, the "Showing of the Bhoto of Matsyendranath," which usually takes place about five in the evening. The Patan Kumari, or living goddess, is brought on a protable carrier and enshrined in a rest house near the *ratha.* The Raj Guru's guard arrive escorting the king's sword which is presented to the two deities and then placed on the *ratha* of Matsyendranath. A group of porters arrive carrying a number of strong-boxes which are placed next to the *ratha.* These contain all the ornaments and the treasure of Matsyendranath and will be taken back to Bungamati with him. The ministers and courtiers arrive and are seated in a long house in front of the *ratha.* Finally the King himself arrives. The national anthem is played and immediately an official of the government Guthi Samsthan takes the *bhoto* from inside the sanctum, where it is kept rolled up next to the image, and shows it to the crowd from each side of the *ratha.*[41] Once this is completed, His Majesty goes up to each of the two *rathas* and throws a handful of coins up to the deity. With this the ceremony ends, His Majesty leaves, and the *panjus* prepare

41. The *bhoto* is called *pwakulan* or *pakwulan* in Newari, (*patilan* in the old texts). It is a sort of padded, sleeveless vest, which is sewed up the sides, and then put on over the head and tied with strings at the shoulders. It was a common garment worn by Newars until recent times and a thing frequently offered to deities. The *bhoto* does not belong to Bunga-dya: (see the account of the legend below) and hence is never put on the image. It used to be kept rolled up alongside the image wherever he was. It is now kept in the Guthi office for safekeeping and brought out once a year for the festival.

to remove the image and take it back to Bungamati.

The *panjus* first bid farewell to Minnath in Matsyendranath's name by offering him sweets.[42] He returns the greeting by sending sweets back to Matsyendranath. An official of the Guthi Samsthan removes the silver foot ornaments from the image and places them in a box about the size of a cigar box, which he then ties to the top of his head and carries back to Bungamati. The *panjus* then remove the image from the *ratha* and place it on the portable carrier (*khat*). A procession accompanied by musical instruments and torches forms up to escort the deity back to Bungamati. The procession heads straight south and across the Nakhu River. When it reaches the high ground above the river, it is met by a large group from Bungamati, carrying torches of burning straw, who spout reproaches and abuse at the deity for remaining so long away from home and for dallying with the sweeper women in Pore Tole. When they get to Bungamati the chorus of abuse reaches deafening proportions. When he enters the village the deity is greeted with a key from one of those large Nepali locks, a traditional Newar form of greeting for someone returning home. Upon arrival at the temple the image is put to one side and shut up inside the temple. Before he can be installed in his usual place Bunga-dya: must undergo rites to restore his caste. Because of his dallying with the sweeper women at Pode Tole and because he has taken food from people of all castes, he has lost caste, and is put through the same ceremony that Newar traders used to undergo upon returning from Tibet where they had lost caste by associating with people who were considered to be low caste.[43]

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42. The order of this farewell ceremony and the fact that Minnath precedes Bunga-dya: into Patan on the first day of the festival are supposed to indicate the antiquity of the cult of Minnath. Minnath is Bunga-dya:'s senior, and hence Bunga-dya: comes to ask leave of him. See Chapter Twelve.

43. The conception is quite different from the similar *puja* performed at Jana Baha. At Jana Baha a *santi svasti* is performed to pacify the deity. Since people of low caste may have touched him or the *ratha,* or offered food to him during the festival, he may be angry. The rite is performed to pacify him. In Bungamati he is

Four days later, after these rites have been completed and the image has been properly installed in the temple, the temple is opened for worship and there is a day-long festival at Bungamati when hundreds of people from Patan, Kathmandu and the surrounding villages come to see that Bunga-dya: is safely back in his home temple. This is one of the the few days of the year when the Bungamati Kumari (living gooddess) is enthroned for worship. She is dressed in her finery and seated in the rest house at the entrance to the temple compound where people pay their respects to her as they leave the temple. For most of the year she has no functions to perform and lives the life of an ordinary child, playing with the other children and going to school.[44]

This concludes the long annual festival of Rato Matsyendranath or Bunga-dya:. It is an expansion of the annual festival of the *kwapa dya* of the *sangha* of Bungamati, but has grown into something much more than the family festival of the *baha sangha*. Historical records show that it has been one of the principal religious festivals of the Valley at least since the time of the early Malla kings and probably much longer. During the days of the separate Malla kingdom of Patan, Bunga-dya: became the national deity, and his festival seems to have been the principal religious event of the year. There is still a popular belief that it is he who provides the monsoon rain, and we see this belief attested to in the legends associated with the arrival of Matsyendranath. This belief may account for the importance and popularity of his festival. Historically we can trace the belief at least back to the time of Srinivasa Malla and the Sanskrit poem which will be described in the following

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considered to have freely associated with people of low caste and thereby polluted himself and lost caste.

44. She is offered a daily *puja* and always expected to wear her hair in a bun, *kumari* fashion, but except for a few occasions she is in no way different from other children. Her cult is closely associated with that of Bunga-dya:. She is elected from one of the families of the seven Vajracarya *panjus* and is said to have first come to Nepal with Bunga-dya; as one of the many deities who accompanied him. At the time of the twelve year festival she accompanies the *ratha* as far as the Nikhu River where the *ratha* is met by the Patan Kumari. See Michael Allen, *The Cult of Kumari* (Kathmandu, 1975), p. 45–6.

chapter.[45]

**Other Annual Festivals of Bunga-dya:**

Most of the other annual events associated with the cult of Bunga-dya: are identical to those at Jana Baha, i. e., the *guthi* feasts, observances during the sacred month of Gunla, etc. However, there are four annual events which do not have a parallel at Jana Baha.

The first of these is the fast observed in the month of Kartik (the Kartik Brata). The month of Kartik is considered to be an especially auspicious month for fast and religious observances, and people go to various religious shrines to observe a fast, which at present usually lasts four of five days. The shrine of Bunga-dya: at Bungamati is one of the most popular places to observe this fast, and large numbers of people still go there to observe the fast. It is mainly women who observe the fast, and their husbands are expected to come to fetch them on the final day. If they do not come the woman is considered to be rejected and they are divorced. The fast has no direct connection with Bunga-dya: or Avalokitesvara, but historical records testify that Bungamati has always been one of the best places to observe the fast. In the time of Srinivasa Malla the fast was observed at Bungamati for a whole month by people from Patan, including courtiers; and Srinivasa set up *guthis* to provide for *pujas* and physical amenities. He also laid down regulations to ensure the smooth functioning of arrangements.[46]

The second of these events takes place on the first day of the month of Marga (Marga-sankranti). This day is observed as the death anniversary of Matsyendranath. On this day the Bungamati Kumari is enthroned near the Bhairava temple in Bungamati, and the Vajracarya *panjus* first worship Matsyendranath, then Bhairava and finally offer meat, bread and flattened rice to the Kumari. During the rest of the day offerings are made to her by the general populace.[47]

The third event is the transferal of the deity from Bungamati to his other temple at Ta: Baha in Patan. Theoretically he should remain

45. See historical section below.
46. See historical section below.
47. See Michael Allen, p. 45–6.

in Bungamati throughout the period of the sun's journey south and in Patan during its journey north. So he should be moved on the solstice, i. e., 21 or 22 December. However, the auspicious date has to be determined each year according to the lunar calendar, and it usually falls between the middle and the end of November. On the auspicious day farewell rites are performed, he is removed from the temple in Bungamati, placed on a *khat* and taken in procession to Patan. The strong-boxes containing his treasure are taken with him, and the *panju* on duty in the temple goes along to continue his service of the deity in the temple at Ta: Baha. Bunga-dya: remains in the Patan temple until the time of the next bathing ceremony. As mentioned above, every twelfth year this is omitted and he remains in Bungamati until the next *ratha jatra* which then begins at Bungamati.

The last of these four events occurs on the day of Siva Ratri. On this day a tantric bone ornament is placed on the image of Matsyendranath and one is also placed on the image of Minnath.[48] The bone ornament is a tantric symbol used by both Hindu and Buddhist tantrics in secret initiations. There are no *pujas* or ceremonies to be performed other than placing the ornament on the deity. The only reason for the ceremony that informants could give is that on this day Matsyendranath (or Avalokitesvara) is Siva and Siva is Matsyendranath. Devotees of different castes and from different places in Patan come to offer worship and light lamps on this day. The custom seems to be quite old and one inscription of Srinivasa Malla at Ta: Baha notes a *guthi* set up for the performance of rituals on the day of Siva Ratri, but gives no description of the ceremonies.[49]

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48. These bone ornaments are kept by the Guthi Samsthan. The ornament placed on Minnath is very ancient; that placed on Bunga-dya: is a recent copy of the original. The original was "lost" about thirty years ago. It is supposed to be in the British Museum at present but I have not been able to verify this. In the course of my research I was repeatedly told that the *bhoto* shown during the *bhoto jatra* is a recent copy and that the original is in the British Museum. This is entirely erroneous; it is the bone ornament that has been "lost". The *bhoto* is the original.
49. See historical section below.

This then is the cult of Rato Matsyendranath or Bunga-dya: as it has survived to modern times, a mixture of Vajrayana Buddhist worship of Avalokitesvara, popular folklore and folk cults, plus some sort of an influence of the Nath cult. There are a number of legends associated with the origins of the cult and a wealth of historical material stretching back to the earliest days of the Malla kings and beyond which give us some help in tracing the history and development of this cult.

## CHAPTER NINE

# Chronology of the Cult of Bunga-dya:

### Legendary Accounts of the Beginning of the Cult

There is a constant tradition found in the chronicles of Nepal, the stories recited at the time of the *astami vrata,* and in hymns recited at the temples of Avalokitesvara--Matsyendranath that links the cult of Bunga-dya: with the reign of one King Narendradeva. The oldest chronicle, the Gopalaraja Vamsavali, whose final redaction was completed during the reign of Jayasthiti Malla (1381–95), merely notes that Narendradeva and his *acarya,* Bandhudatta were jointly responsible for inaugurating the festival (*Jatra*) of Bugma Lokesvara.[1] The name Matsyendranath is not used, and Bandhudatta is identified merely as an "*acarya*".

One of the longer versions of the *Svayambhupurana,* which must have been composed after the beginning of Yaksa Malla's reign (1428–82) and may be later, merely notes that Narendradeva, the king of Bhatgaon, was a disciple of Bandhudatta Acarya and brought Aryavalokitesvara from Mount Putalaka (or in another version, Mt. Kalpa). The reason for bringing the deity was a severe drought which lasted for twelve years.[2] The deity is called Lokesvara and Avalokitesvara with no mention of the name Matsyendranath.

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1. D. R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal,* 4 vols. (Calcutta, 1966), 3: 18.
2. B. H. Hodgson, *Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet* (Varanasi, 1971), p. 120; and Rajendralal Mitra, *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature* of Nepal (Calcutta, 1971), p. 254. There are several versions of the Svayambhupurana. The short Sanskrit version, which may be the oldest, makes no mention of Bunga-dya:.The longer Sanskrit versions in eight and ten chapters, as well as the much longer Newari versions in ten chapters contain the reference cited. Neither Hodgson nor Mitra were able to date the manuscripts which they used, but in Mitra's manuscript there is a reference to Jayayaksa Malla and White Matsyendranath (the "Lokanatha of Yamalesvara") immediately before this section.

The next dateable document to mention the legend is the *Matsyendrapadyasatakam*, a Sanksrit poem in 100 slokas in praise of Matsyendranath written by Nilakantha, a Brahman from Varanasi.[3] The poem was evidently written at the behest of Srinivasa and is entirely Hindu in conception. The manuscript bears the date 797 N. S. (1677). The poem begins with a salutation to Mahayogi Matsyendranath, Adinath, Lokesvara and Goraksa. Throughout the poem the deity is referred to as Mahayogi Matsyendranath with a few references to the name Lokanatha, and one to the name Minnatha. The names Avalokitesvara, Karunamaya, and Bunga-dya: do not appear at all in the body of the work.

*Slokas* one through forty-one are in praise of Matsyendranath. *Slokas* forty-one through forty-nine treat of his coming to Nepal. For twelve years there was a famine in Nepal and the people were sorely afflicted. Bandhudatta went to Kamarupa by the power of a *mantra* and worshipped Matsyendranath by repeating a *mantra*. Matsyendranath was touched by his devotion and in a dream granted Bandhudatta a boon. He would accompany Bandhudatta back to Nepal in the guise of a man. When he arrived in Nepal, Bhandhudatta went to Narendra, the king, and announced the arrival of Matsyendranath. Narendradeva was amazed. Then Matsyendranath left his human form and

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Hence this redaction cannot be dated earlier than Yaksa Malla. The oldest dated copy of the long Sanskrit version in ten chapters of which I am aware is the one in the Government Archives dated 678 N. S. (1558). See Buddhisagar Sharma, *Brhatsucipatram*, 3 Khanda (Kathmandu, 2034), p. 134, Ms. No. ca 951. Internal evidence would seem to indicate that the Svayambhupurana was composed by Buddhists from Kathmandu and at a time after Kathmandu was a separate kingdom, hence in the late Malla period.

3. There are two published editions of the Sanskirt text, one with a Hindu and one with a Nepali translation: Yogi Sankarnath, *Matsyendrapadyasatakam* (Kathmandu, 2006 B. S.) with Hindi translation, and Yogi Narharinath, *Matsyendrapadyasatakam* (Kathmandu, 2018 B. S.) with Nepali translation. The translations of both authors tend to be interpretations and go beyond the Sanskrit text into flights of fancy which contradict historical facts and interpret the poem in the light of later events or later legends. The Nepali translation is far more accurate than the Hindi.

disappeared with the promise that he would return in the form of a bumble-bee. Narendra tells Bandhudatta that when the bumble-bee comes he is to capture it. The bee comes at night, Bandhudatta captures, it, and immediately it rains. The people were released from their affliction and rejoiced. Then Bandhudatta constructed an image of Matsyendranath by the force of his tantric *mantra*. He taught the people the rites of worship and freed the country from trouble. Finally, Narendra and his *acarya* Bandhudatta vanished into the image.[4]

The poem mentions both the bathing ceremony and the *ratha jatra*. As an example to his devotees who should bathe before celebrating the *ratha jatra*, Matsyendranath himself bathes. According to Matsyendranath's command his bathing ceremony is performed each year on the first day of the bright half of the month of Caitra as a great festival with drums and musical instruments.[5] On the first day of the

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4. अनावृष्टिरासीत्पुरा द्वादशाब्दा वधि श्रेष्ठनेपालपीठे यदातु । तदा पीडिताः पीनताभावहेतो : स्वकाये जनाः क्लिष्टचित्ता बभूवु : ।।४१।।
तदा बान्धवाद्येन दत्तेन मन्त्र प्रभावातितेजस्विना कामरूपे ।।महामन्त्रेजापेन मत्स्येन्द्र गत्वा समाराधित स्वभक्ते दयालु : ।।।४२।।
स आचायवर्यस्ततः स्वप्नलब्धं वरं प्राप्य भावत्ककारुण्यदत्तम् ।। त्वया विभ्रता मानुषं रूपमच्छं सहायात्पुन : पीठनेपालमेव ।।४३।।
नरेन्द्राय भूपालवयार्य सर्वं त्वदायातवृत्तान्तमाहाप्यखर्वम् ।।
नरेन्द्रस्तदाचा-र्यवाक्यं निशम्य क्षणात्तोषयुक्तोऽ भवद्विस्मितश्च ।।४४।।
तदाभ्यन्तरे मानुषं रूपमाशु त्वया त्यक्तमन्तर्हित स्त्वं क्षणेन ।।
द्विरेफो हि भूत्वा गमिष्यामि चेति त्वदाज्ञामवाप्याथ राज्ञेऽ ब्रवीत्सः ।।४५।।
यदा भ्रामरं रूपमाप्तः सरात्रै त्वया दृश्यते चेत्तदा धारणीय : ।।
निशम्येति तद्वाक्यमेवं प्रचक्रे नरेन्द्रोऽपि तस्मिन् क्षणे वृष्टिरासीत् ।।४६।।
सुवष्ट्या तया तत्प्रजा स्तुष्टचिता गतक्लेशताः पीनाकाय बभूवुः ।।
ततो बान्धवाद्येन दत्तेन दत्तां सुमूर्त्ति प्रतिष्ठाप्यं तन्त्रोक्तमन्त्रै : ।।४७।।
सपर्याविधि शिक्षयित्वा जनेभ्यः कृतं विघ्नशून्यं सदा पीठमेतत् ।।
नरेन्द्रावनीशः स आचार्यवर्यः सुलीनत्वमाप्तौ सुमूर्त्तावथास्याम् ।।४८।।
यदर्तुर्वसन्तः समायात्प्रियाणां परीरम्भजानन्दवार्त्तासु सन्तः ।।
प्रसक्ता विरक्ता अपि स्वीयधैर्यं विहायावलाङ्गे बलादेव पेतुः ।।४९।।
Yogi Narharinath, ed. trans, *Matsyendrapadyasatakam*, p. 11–13. The Nepali translation for verse 41 speaks of Gorkhahath binding the *nagas* at Mrgasthali, but there is no mention of this in the Sanskrit text.

5. विहारातियोग्यं प्रकर्त्तुं स्वकीयं शरीरं नरीरंजनं दशंनेन ।।

bright half of Baisakh according to the instructions of Narendra, Matsyendranath is placed on the *ratha* so that he may show himself to the people and bring rain.[6] In the following stanza the author gives a poetic description of the *ratha* with its four wheels and lofty spire. The Buddhists, those who follow the Vedas, the Saivite tantrics, the worshippers of Ganesa, etc. all worship Matsyendranath, and he gives his favours to all of them.[7]

These brief accounts contained in the *Gopalaraja Vamsavali*, the *Svayambhupurana,* and the Sanskrit poem, are the only accounts of the legends relating to Avalokitesvara—Matsyendranath which can be definitely dated to the Malla perod, i. e., prior to the Gorkhali conquest of the Valley in 1769. None of these early accounts makes any mention of Gorkhanath. The later accounts, whether in Newari or Nepali, all date to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and, as will be shown in Chapter Thirteen, show an interweaving of the standard legends of Matsyendranath and Gorkhanath from Bengal and other parts of India with the Buddhist traditions of the Valley.

The fullest account of the later legends is contained in a modern Newari work by Sri Asakaji Vajracarya of Patan entitled *Bungadya: Nepali Ha:gu Khan.*[8] As I have treated this legend at length elsewhere,

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निजोपासकेभ्यो महास्नानयात्रां समाज्ञाप्य सस्नौ स मत्स्येन्द्रमनाथः ॥५३॥
तत श्चत्रैमासस्य कृष्णेदले या भवेत्पक्षतिस्तत्र पंचामृताद्यैः ॥
मृदंगादिवाद्यैर्महोत्साहपूर्वं प्रकुर्वन्ति सर्वं तव स्नानकृत्यम् ॥५४॥
Ibid,, p. 14.

6. अतो माघवे पक्षतौ शुक्लपक्षे नरेन्द्रावनीशाज्ञया लोकनाथ ॥
रथारोहणं मोहनं लोकदृष्टेः सुवृष्टे : परं दोहनं त्वं करोषि ॥५९॥
Ibid., p 15

7. परे बौद्धमार्गैः परे श्रोतमार्गैः परे शैवशाक्तार्कवैनायकाद्यैः ॥
भ्वन्तं भजन्तेऽयनै : किन्तु तेषां प्रसादं करोष्येव मत्स्येन्द्रनाथ ॥६७॥
Ibid., p 17

8. Asakaji Vajracarya, *Bungadya: Nepali Ha: gu Khan* (Patan, 2024). To write this work the author worked from two old texts. The first was a Newari manuscript written in Newari script on Nepali paper and entitled *Mani Ratna Mala Avadana Katha.* The manuscript is not his own and the author copied the stories pertaining to Matsyendranath into a copy book about twenty years go. Unfortunately the owner of the manuscrpit has since died and it is impossible to

a brief summary will suffice here.[9] The story begins with a prophecy uttered by the god Narayana in the time of King Gunakamadeva. According to the prophecy Padma Arya Avalokitesvara Karunamaya will come to Nepal during the reign of the king's son Narendradeva. The story then recounts the birth of Gorakhanath from a heap of cow dung and his initiation into the tantric practices of the *kanphata* Yogis by Karunamaya himself. This Gorakhanath is really the god Narayana, and remembering his prophecy and promise to bring Karunamaya to Nepal he sets off for Nepal. After his arrival he binds the nine *nagas* (snake gods) who provide the rain for the country and sits down upon them at Mrigasthali above Pasupatinath. In this version of the story he binds the *nagas* in anger because they have helped a young girl

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locate the manuscript now. Mr. Vajracarya very kindly lent me his own copy of the stories which he assures me he copied exactly as in the original, changing only the script from Newari to Devanagri. He says that the original manuscript contains the following colo:-phon: नाग वसुरस मिते चुकं महाविहार निवास पं धर्मराज वज्रचार्य्यन लिखितं। ६८९ समवत् स चुकवहाले चोंस पं धर्मराज चोंगुभापौ स्वया थुगु सफु चोयागु। "Written by Pandit Dharmaraja Vajracarya of Cakra Mahavihara in 689 N. S. (1569). However the date is surely wrong. I have had the text examined by Dhanavajra Vajracarya and he assures me that, though the style is somewhat archaic, judging from the grammatical forms and the choice of vocabulary the text cannot be more than a hundred years old at the very most. Furthermore, I have compared the text with the *Madaryavalokitesvara Aavadana Katha* mentioned below. The stories are the same and for large sections the two texts are word for word identical. The *Madaryavalokitesvara Avadana Katha* is dated 1052 N. S. (1932). Whatever the explanation of the colophon, the stories as they stand cannot be more than a hundred years old. The second text he used was a modern chronicle written in Nepali by one Mani Lal in the year "Nepali Sambat 1801)" and entitled *Maniratna Mala Vamsavali.* It is a cognate work of the *Bhasa Vamsavali,* written on thin Nepali paper in a headless script and bound into book form. The total length of the *vamsavali* is seventy-one pages. The *vamsavali* ends with the period of Jang Bahadur Rana, with a few much later notations in another hand. Hence the "Nepali Sambat" must be Sake Sambat and hence A. D. 1879.

9. John K. Locke, *Rato Matsyendranath of Patan and Bungamati* (Kathmandu, 1973), p. 39–60.

trick him and win a bet from him. With the *nagas* bound at Mirgasthali no rain falls for twelve years and there is a famine.

After much consultation, the king's pandits and astrologers advise him of the cause for the drought and tell him that the only way to get Gorakhnath to rise from his seat is to bring his *guru* Karunamaya Loknath to Nepal. Karunamaya is living in Kamuni (in Assam) as the youngest son of the king of the region. Narendradeva sets off for Kamuni to fetch Loknath with Bandhudatta, a learned Vajracarya and pupil of the great Santikar Vajracarya, and a Jyapu by the name of Ratna Cakra from Patan. They trick the king of Assam into letting them take his youngest son, but the boy's mother prevents him from leaving the house. Narendradeva and his party finally retire from the palace and go to the city of Kamarupa. From there Bandhudatta casts a spell on the boy, and he sneaks out of the house passing over the sleeping form of his mother who is blocking the doorway. The *yaksas* discern what has happened and snatch the boy away. Finally Bandhudatta summons four Bhairavas and sends them into the city to threaten the king and queen. In the end they give their consent and the boy leaves with Narendradeva and his party. The four Bhairavas carry him on a *khat*.

As the party approaches Nepal the four Bhairavas set the carrier down to rest. When they try to lift it again, they discover that the *yaksas* have cast a spell and put the weight of four mountains on the carrier. Bandhudatta casts a spell in response, and the spirit of the boy leaves his body, enters a bumble-bee and flies into a *kalasa* which the king covers. The party sets off again with the four Bhairavas carrying the *kalasa*. When they reach Bunga (Bungamati), the four Bhairavas set the *kalasa* down and vanish. At that moment the gods all come from Amarapur in heaven to greet Loknath and worship him. Gorakhnath at Mrigasthali hears of the arrival of his *guru* and rises from his seat to go and greet him. With this the *nagas* are released and rain falls once again.

According to this version of the story, the party then carries on to Patan. As they approach Patan Bandhudatta realizes that the mother of Loknath and 30 *yaksas*, ghosts and goblins are hiding in the top

of a tree waiting for an opportune moment to snatch the boy away. Bandhudatta casts a spell that binds her to the spot where she has remained ever since.[10]

A dispute then arises about where to keep the deity. Narendradeva wants a temple erected in his capital city of Bhaktapur. Bandhudatta claims that since he is the king's *guru,* it should be built where he wants it, i. e., in his city of Kantipur. Ratna Cakra, the Jyapu, wants it built in Patan. Finally an old man from Patan is summoned to decide the issue. He is tricked by the king of Patan into opting for Patan despite his own feeling that it should be built in Bhaktapur. When he pronounces judgement the old man drops dead because of his dishonesty, but the bargain has been struck and the shrine is built in Patan.

The *kalasa* is taken to a *vihara* in Patan, an image maker is summoned to make an image; and, when the image is ready, it is consecrated and installed in a temple built for it in the centre of a *vihara.* Narendradeva then decides to inaugurate an annual chariot festival for Lokesvara. However, there are already seven other such festivals in Patan. This is felt to be too many, so they decide to summon all the other deities and get them to agree to the suspension of their festivals in favour of Lokesvara's. Only six come to express their agreement. The seventh, Jatadhari Lokesvara (the present Minnath), appears to Bandhudatta in a dream and orders that his festival be kept according to custom. So it is decided to keep his festival along with that of Loknath.

The account then describes the *ratha* and the *ratha jatra* just as it is celebrated today. At the end of the story the account notes that because of the difficulty of pulling the chariot from Bungamati, it was decided by King Baladeva (the son of Narendradeva) that this should be done only every twelfth year.[11]

The story uses several names for the deity: Bunga-dya:, Sri Karunamaya, Loknath, and Avalokitesvara, but never uses the name

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10. This is the small shrine in Lagankhel next to the bathing platform.
11. This does not quite follow as the story says his temple was built in Patan. Why should the *ratha* be pulled from Bungamati? This version of the story gives no answer.

Matsyendranath. As do all the later legends, it links Gorakhnath to the story of bringing Matsyendranath to Nepal. The first dateable acount to link Gorakhanath with Matsyendranath is the short account given by Kirkpatrick who visited Nepal in 1793. He gives a brief summary of the story of Narendradeva bringing Matsyendranath to Nepal in order to get Gorakhnath to rise from his seat and release the *nagas*.[12]

There are a number of chronicles, or *vamsavalis,* written in Nepali in the last century, and all of them have an account of the legend. Seven of these have been published either in Nepali or English. The first to appear was the English translation of a chronicle composed by a Vajracarya of Mahabauddha Baha in Patan and edited by Daniel Wright.[13] Though the main part of the story is substantially the same as that told by Asakaji Vajravcarya, there are some significant differences and additions. The deity is referred to as Matsyendranath—Avalokitesvara, and the account begins with an explanation of his name.

The fourth Buddha was the son of Amitabha. He was named Lokesvara and given the task of creating the world. He first created Brahma and the other gods, and then to ensure their protection, he assumed the name of Aryavalokitesvara Padmapani Bodhisattva.[14] He instructed Siva in *yoga-jnana* which Siva then taught to Parvati one night as they dallied by the sea shore. Parvati fell asleep during the explanation, and Lokesvara, in the form of a fish, took the role of listener making answers and remarks at suitable intervals. When he finished Siva realized that Parvati was asleep and that someone else

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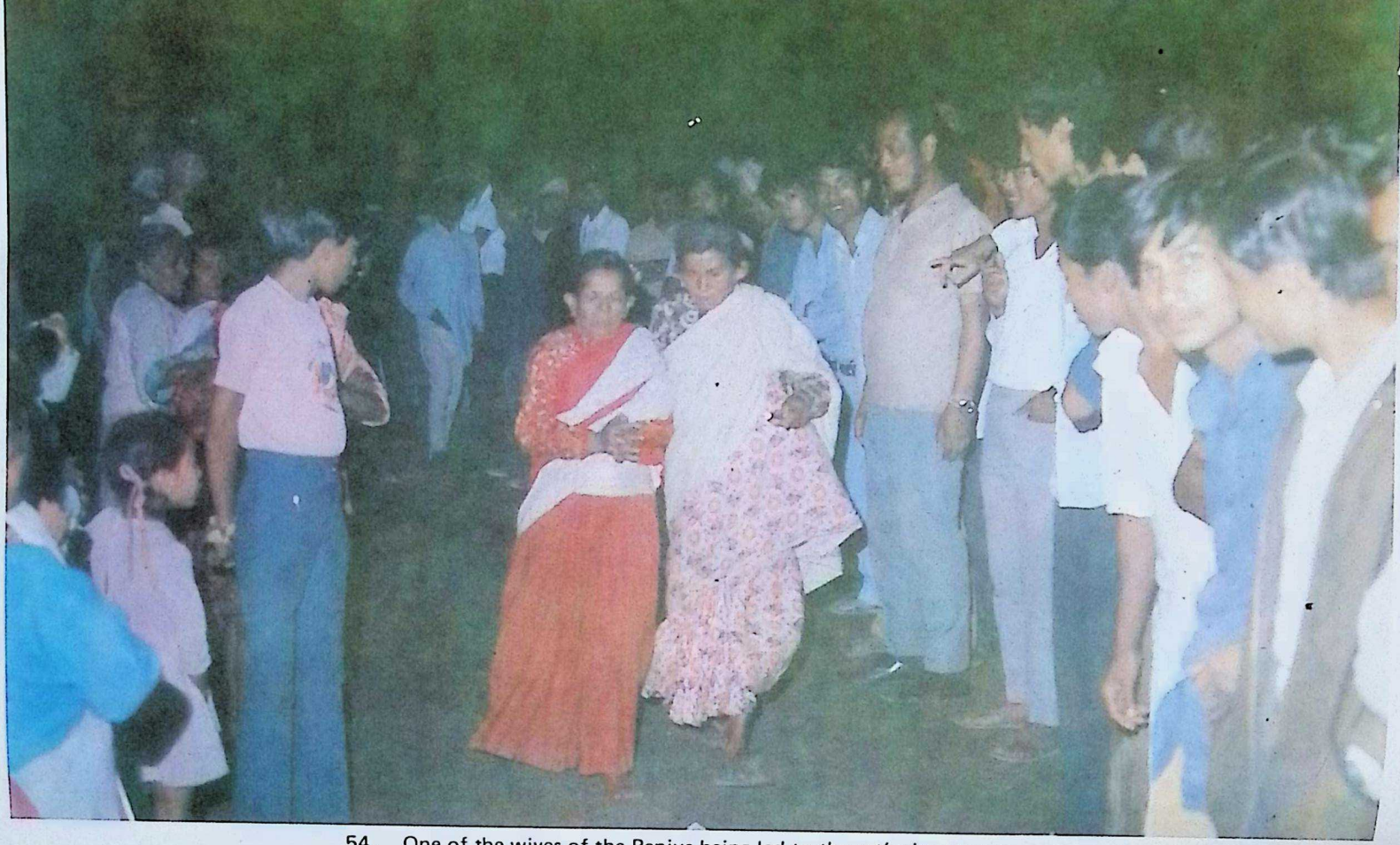
12. Colonel Kirkpatrick, *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul,* (New Delhi, 1969), p. 190–91. The chronicle which Kirkpatrick used for his historical section seems to be a cognate work of the *Gopalaraja Vamsavali,* but there is no evidence that he took the data on the festival from the chronicle. All of his data on festivals and deities was obtained from contemporary informants.
13. Daniel Wright, *History of Nepal* (Kathmandu, 1972), p. 14–52.
14. This is not in accord with Mahayana tradition Padmapani Lokesvara is a spiritual son of the Dhyani Buddha Amitabha, but a *bodhisattva* and not a buddha.

53. Blessing or initiation of one of the wives of the Panjus



54. One of the wives of the Panjus being led to the *ratha* in a trance

55. The solemn moment of the showing of the *bhoto*

56. One of the attendants carries the "feet" of Matsyendranath back to Bungamati in a silver box tied to his head

had actually been listening and responding. He was angry and threatened to curse the interloper until Lokesvara revealed himself. Siva fell at his feet and begged forgiveness. From this incident Lokesvara became known as Matsyendranath—"the Lord of the Fishes."

The account then shifts to the arrival of Gorkhanath in Nepal without any mention of his origins. Gorakhnath binds the snakes merely as a device to lure his *guru* Matsyendranath to Nepal, because it is too difficult for him to go to Kamarupa to visit him. The reigning king of Nepal is Baladeva, son of Narendradeva who has abdicated and gone to spend his last days in retirement. When Baladeva discovers the reason for the drought he asks Bandhudatta, the *guru* of his father, to go in search of Matsyendranath. Bandhudatta agrees on the condition that old Narendradeva accompany him. In this version of the story they are unable to get Matsyendranath out of his father's palace at all, so they proceed some distance from the city and Bandhudatta summons him by incantations. Matsyendranath leaves his body, takes the form of a bumble-bee and they capture him in a *kalasa*.

As the group enters Nepal a great procession is formed. Four Bhairavas from four nearby villagers carry the *kalasa* and all the gods come to do homage. "Brahma swept the road, reciting Vedas as he did so, Visnu blew the sankha; Mahadeva sprinkled kalas-water on the road; Indra held an umbrella; Yamaraja lighted incense. Varuna sprinkled water from a sankha, and rain fell;Kubera scattered riches; Agni displayed light. Nairitya removed the obstacles; Vayu held the flag, and Ishan scared away the devils.[15] These gods, however, were visible only to Bandhudatta and Narendradeva; the common people saw only a great concourse of birds and beasts.

They stop along the road where the procession met them and the Bhairava of Harisiddhi, in the shape of a dog, barked. The sound of "bu", Bandhudatta explained, signifies that the place where they have halted is to be considered the birth place of Matsyendranath. The king decides to build a city there and it is called Amarapur in honour

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15. Wright, p. 146.

of all the gods who came on that day.[16] In this city they enshrine the *kalasa* containing the bumble-bee.

The story of the dispute follows, but since it has been decided to put the shrine in Amarapur (Bungamati), they dispute about where to hold the annual festival. The headman of Patan is summoned to decide and he decides in favour of Patan because King Baladeva is currently residing there.

Then, having decided to make an image of Matsyendranath they take over part of the *baha* where Sunaya Sri Misra used to live and call image makers to make the image and place the *kalasa* inside of it. To make the image, earth is brought from Mhyapi. When the image is finished it is enshrined in a temple in Amarapur (Bungamati). After the consecration of the image, the offerings are given to the descendants of Sunaya Sri Misra.[17]

Sylvain Levi published extracts from a chronicle wittten in 1834 by one Siddhi Narayan of Deo Patan. Though this chronicle is of brahminical origin, it gives the Buddhist version of a number of things including this story. The story is essentially the same as that contained in Wright's chronicle.[18] Again Gorakhnath binds the *nagas* as a subterfuge, not in anger. Old Bandhudatta's residence is given as Triratna Vihara in Patan. This is contrary to the version of Asakaji Vajracarya and to the still current tradition of his residence having been Te Baha in Kathmandu. Levi's account omits the introductory account of the origins of Lokesvara as the creator of the world, but includes the story of Siva and the fish.

The legend contained in all of the other chronicles shows a definite Brahminical or Saivite influence, which gives a different twist to many

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16. Ibid.
17. Wright, P. 149. According to Wright's chronicle Sunaya Sri Misra was a Brahman from Kapalivastu who came to Patan in search of a spiritual guide and eventually went on to Lhasa. Later he returned to Patan and founded a *vihara*. Wright, p. 115. His name occurs in several Buddhist legends connected with Patan, and current tradition in Patan credits him with the foundation of three of Patan's *bahis*: I Bahi (Yampiyanta Vihara), Ini Bahi (Yampinama Ipi Vihara), and Ipi Bahi (Karunacakra Vihara).
18. Sylvain Levi, *Le Nepal*, 3 vols., (Paris, 1904), 1: 347–57.

parts of the story. There are five of these chronicles, and though some of the accounts are abbreviated, the story is the same in all of them.[19] The longest account is found in the *Bhasa Vamsavali.* The account begins with the coming of Gorakhnath to Nepal. He comes to get alms, but the people fail to recognize him and consequently give him no alms. In retaliation he binds the *nagas.* The king, Narendradeva, summons a council to find out the reason for the ensuing drought. Bandhudatta, whom some accounts call a Bauddhacarya equally learned in the ways of Buddhism and Hinduism, and others identify as a learned Brahman, explains the mystery. He begins by explaining the origin on Matsyendranath and Gorakhnath, Matsyendranath was born from a fish who had eaten the semen of Siva which Visnu had washed from his hand. After washing his hand Visnu took some cow dung to wipe the rest of the semen from his hand. Gorakhnath was born from the cow dung he used. Bandhudatta explains that Matsyendranath is the *guru* of Gorakhnath, and that Gorakhnath can be induced to rise from the *nagas* only if his *guru* comes.

Bandhudatta, Narandradeva and one servant set off for Kamaruppitha (in Assam) to fetch Matsyendranath. They trick the king into promising to give one of his sons to them, but when they choose Matsyendranath from his 500 sons, both the king and the queen refuse to let him go. Finally Mastyendranath himself comes to Narendradeva and Bandhudatta secretly and explains that it is impossible for him to leave because of the opposition of his parents. He advises them that to bring rain to Nepal they should worship Pasupatinath as he is the Lord of the three worlds and the sea, and all the gods are at his command. A Brahman should be appointed to perform *arya tirthako jalabhiseka*(bathing with water from a sacred bathing place) in the month of Baisakh at Pasupatinath. Only then will rain fall in due measure. He then tells them to go on their way and he will come to join them in

19. (1) Deviprasad Lansal, *Bhasa Vamsavali,* Part Two (Kathmandu, 2023 B. S.), p. 4–18. (2) "Padmagiri's Chronicle," in Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *History of Nepal* (Hosiarpur, 1970), p. 44–45. (3)"Rajbhog Mala," *Ancient Nepal,* 8: 22–24; 9: 1–3. (4) "Kathmandu-Upatyako Ek Rajvamsavali," *Ancient Nepal,* 4: 12–13. (5) "Nepal Desko Itihas," *Ancient Nepal.* 14: 19–14 and 16:1–2.

another form. Later he comes into the *kalasa* in the form of a bumblebee as in the Buddhist recension of the story. Upon arrival in Nepal a temple is made for Matsyendanath in Patan. A Brahman by the name of Subhesvara Misra enters into the Bauddhacarya, makes a metal image of Lokesvara and consecrates it according to the prescribed rites. This is all done, the account says, to show that henceforth this god should be equally worshipped by Hindus and Buddhists.

Hearing that his *guru* has arrived in Nepal, Gorakhnath rises to go and greet him. The *nagas* are released and rain falls. It is then decided to conduct an annual chariot festival in honour of Matsyendranath, and a town called Matsyendrapur is erected in his honour. Some accounts identify this city as Amarapur (Bungamati) and add that it was decided to keep the image for six months here and six months in Patan.

In all of the accounts of these "modern chronicles" the deity is consistently called Matsyendranath with only an occasional reference to the fact that he is also called Lokesvara or Avalokitesvara. The name Bunga-dya: is never used.

In addition to these chronicle accounts there exists a Newari work entitled *Sri Madaryavalokitesvara Avadhana Katha,* a collection of stories concerning Avalokitesvara which are read at religious festivals and on days of the *astami vrata.* Among other stories it contains the account of the bringing of Matsyendranath to Nepal. I have seen two manuscript copies of this work, both copied about 1930.[20] Several informants have told me that there must exist a Sanskrit original of this work, but no one has admitted seeing such a text. Furthermore, the vocabulary and grammar of the text indicates that the work as it

20. Ms. (1) *"Srimadaryavalokitesvara Avadana Ratha,"* in 90 folios, in the collection of Manavajra Vajracarya, Mahabaudha, Kathmandu. The manuscript written in Newari script on Nepali paper is not dated but copied at the same time as another mansucript which is dated 1051 N. S. (1931).

Ms. (2) *"Srimadaryyavalokitesvara Avadana Ratha,"* in 306 folios, copied by Harsamuni Vajracarya of Taramula Mahavihara (in Kathmandu) in 1052 N. S. (1932). The manuscript in a private collection in Kathmandu is written on Nepali paper in the devanagri script.

stands is a twentieth century composition. The story presented in this work is identical with that contained in Asakaji Vajracarya's published account, and the section of the showing of the *bhoto* is entitled "Maniratna Mala Vastra Mahatmya."[21] "Maniratna Malla" is the title of the principal source used by Asakaji Vajracarya.

The account given in this work has a few details worthy of note. The stories are presented in the style of many Mahayana *sutras* with the Emperor Asoka asking questions of Upagupta Bhiksu, who then replies with the story and its explanation. The section entitled "Matsyendranath Prasidha Mahatmya," recounts the story of Siva and Parvati as told in the chronicles. The story is told in response to the question: "How did Avalokitesvara become Matsyendranath."[22] In the author's mind then what needs explaining is how Avalokitesvara came to be called Matsyendranath and not vice versa.

One account calls the King Narendradeva Malla and says that the temple built for Matsyendranath was the temple at Ta: Baha in Patan.[23] It also gives several details linking Rato Matsyendranath and his cult with different groups of people in different parts of the Valley. When the king determines the rites for the annual chariot festival, he assigns the task of the annual painting of the image to Nyekhus from Bhaktapur; the consecration ceremonies are to be arranged by Sakya Bhiksus from Nala. The priest for these ceremonies is to be one of the descendants of Bandhudatta Acarya from Kathmandu. The wood for the chariot is to be supplied by one Moti Maharajan from Magala Desa (Patan, Mangal Bazaar?). Arrangements for food to be offered to the deity are to be made by the descendants of Ratna Cakra.

All of the above accounts agree on certain points while those of Brahminical origin diverge from those of Buddhist origin on certain other points. All agree on linking the incident with King Narendradeva. The Sanskrit poem and the "modern chronicles" agree on the Indian or Assamese origin of Matsyendranath. The Sanskrit poem and the Svayambhupurana speak of a drought and famine but give no

21. Ibid., Ms. (1) folio 68b–75b; Ms. (2) folio 230a–253a.
22. Ibid., Ms. (1) folio 67a–68b; Ms. (2) folio 215–230a.
23. Ibid., Ms. (1) folio 59–b63b.

reason for this; in all of the "modern chronicles" the bringing of Matsyendranath follows upon a drought caused by Gorakhnath's capture of the *nagas*. The *Gopalaraja Vamsavali* knows only of Bugma Lokesvara, and the *Syayambhupurana* speaks only of Avalokitesvara. The account of Asakaji Vajracarya uses the Buddhist names and does not mention Matsyendranath. The *avadana* stories speak of Avalokitesvara or Karunamaya, who in this case is called Matsyendranath. On the other hand, the Sanskrit poem speaks only of Matsyendranath, and the "modern chronicles" written in Nepali in the last century, speak of Matsyendranath whom the Buddhists also call Avalokitesvara. All the "modern chronicles" speak of Gorakhnath and this is the only name ever used for him. All accounts agree on the main details of the bringing of Matsyendranath, his coming in the *kalasa*, the opposition of his parents, and the four Bhairavas who carry him. Wright's chronicle places the temple in Bungamati. Asakaji Vajracarya's account gives Bungamati as his birth place but puts the temple in Patan. The other "modern chronicles" imply that the main residence is in Patan, and some do not even mention Bungamati. All agree on the establishment of the the custom of the annual chariot festival in his honour and the importance of the Acarya Bandhudatta, who is credited in all accounts with being a powerful *siddha*.

The two groups of accounts differ on the question of the origin of Gorakhnath and Matsyendranath. They differ on the attitude of Gorakhnath. In the Buddhist rescensions he binds the *nagas* to lure his guru to Nepal or in retaliation for the trick played on him. In the Brahminical accounts he is angered because the people in general do not show him proper respect. They differ in their treatment of the other gods. Whereas the Buddhist accounts have the whole concourse of the gods coming to pay their respects to Matsyendranath, in the Brahminical accounts Matsyendranath defers to Pasupati, and the other gods appear only in one account where they merely come to witness the spectacle, not to pay homage to Matsyendranath. In the Brahminical accounts the people are asked to perform a rite annually to Pasupatinath to ensure ample rainfall, and the annual rainfall is attributed to this rite rather than to the good offices of Matsyendranath. In the Buddhist accounts Bandhudatta is a Vajracarya or Bauddhacar-

ya; in the Brahminical accounts he is variously simply Acarya (and hence presumably a Brahman), a Bauddhacarya equally learned in the lore of the way of Siva, or a Bauddhacarya who is possessed by the spirit of a Brahman at the crucial moment when he must perform the consecration of the image.

The chronicle accounts make no mention of one important feature of the annual *ratha jatra,* the showing of the *bhoto,* which in the eyes of most people today is the main fature of the long festival. When people outside of Patan speak of the annual festival of Rato Matsyendranath they are usually speaking of the *bhoto jatra,* and at the present time it is only at the *bhoto jatra* that the King makes an appearance. None of the chronicle accounts make any mention of this part of the festival, nor is it mentioned in any of the historical records to be cited below. The earliest reference to the *bhoto jatra* that I have been able to find is contained in a summary account of Nepali festivals found in the Hodgson Papers at the India Office Library in London. On the last day of the Jawalakhel *jatra* "at four o'clock in the afternoon nearly one hundred thousand men used to assemble on every side of the cart of Machhundernath. On that time one of the Bhardars having stood at the cart shows to everyone there the Herunkutunck (a kind of cloth)... covered with diamonds and other precious stones which at one time had been given to the Machhundernath and says, 'look at this by which you will become sinless."[24]

The *Madaryavalokitesvara Avadana katha* recounts a legend which explains the *bhoto jatra.*[25] According to this story the *bhoto* originally belonged to Karkotaka Nag-raj, the chief of the *nagas* who lives at

24. "Hodgson Pagers", preserved in the India Office Library, London, Vol 20, folio 269. This account of the festivals of the Valley is written on Nepaii paper in letters about one inch high. It is obviously the work of a scribe or informant which accounts for the quaint English, in some places quite unintelligible. The same account is contained in a ledger marked Vol. 21, which bears the date 1178 The Vol. 20 account is a copy made from the ledger with marginal numbers referring to the ledger account. The ledger account is very hard to read.

25. *Srimadaryavalokitesvara Avadana Katha,* Ms. (1) folio 68b–75b; Ms. (2) folio 230–253a.

Taudah, a pond south of Cobhar. He gave the *bhoto* to a farmer *vaidya* from Bhaktapur who cured his wife of an eye disease. Later the shirt was stolen by a spirit (*bhuta*). At the time of the Jawalakhel *jatra* the farmer spotted this *bhuta* wearing his shirt and accosted him. An argument ensued as the *bhuta* refused to return the shirt to the owner. It was finally decided to give the shirt to Matsyendranath, and since that time it has been shown annually to the crowds to show that it is still in safe keeping, waiting to be claimed by the rightful owner. The same story with slight variations has been published in several recent works.[26]

Most of the chronicles give a date for the bringing of Matsyendranath to Nepal and the beginning of his festival. The dates range from 3548 to 3705 of the Kali Yuga era.[27] The Kali Yuga era is calculated from 3101 B. C., hence 3600 Kali Yuga corresponds to A. D. 497. This is an impossible date for any cult associated with Matsyendranth or Gorakhnath. As will be shown in Chapter Thirteen, the Nath cult cannot be dated earlier than the ninth century A. D. It is not an impossible date for the introduction of the cult of Avalokitesvara at Bungamati. The earliest dated inscription we have from the Licchavi period is that of Manadeva at Changu Narayan which is dated *sambat* 386 (A. D. 464.)[28] There is an inscription at Cabahil which surely predates this

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26. For a fuller account of this legend see Locke, Rato Matsyendranath, p. 67–7. Other published accounts of the legend are: Manavajra Vajracarya, "Bhoto Dekhaune Yatra," *Gorkhapatra,* 2 Sravan 2022 B. S., p. 9; Lalitjung Sijapati, *Nepali Aitihasik Katha Sangraha* (Kathmandu, 2011 B. S.), p. 42; Lila Bhakta Munakarmi, *Malla Nepal* (Kathmandu, 2025 B. S.), p. 153–4; D. B. Shrestha and C. B. Singh, *Festivals in Nepal* (Kathmandu, 1968), p. 18; Mary Anderson, The *Festivals of Nepal* (London, 1971), p. 59.

27. "Padmagiri's Chronicle,": Kali Yug 3548 (Hasrat, p. 45); "Mani Ratna Mala":3600 Kali Yug(Asakaji Vajracarya, p. 84); Kathmandu Upatyakako Ek Vamsavali"; Kali Yug 3600—the date given for the reign of Narendradeva (*Ancient Nepal,* 4: 12); "Wright's Chronicle": Kali Yug 3623 (Wright, p. 152); *Bhasa Vamsavali:* Kali Yug 3676 (*Bhasa Vamsavali* Part Two, p. 12); "Rajbhogmala": Kali Yug 3705 (*Ancient Nepal* 9: 3).

28. Dhanavajra Vajracarya, *Licchavikalka Abhilekh* (Kathmandu, 2030 B. S.), p. 18.

by perhaps as much as a hundred years.[29] It is Buddhist in character and describes a *guthi* set up for feeding members of the *sangha*. So Buddhism was flourishing in the Valley before 497. The first mention of Avalokitesvara himself is in an undated inscription in Kathmandu which can most probably be placed in the reign of Ramadeva who was definitely ruling in *sambat* 479 (A.D. 557).[30] Avalokitesvara is mentioned again in an inscription at Brahma Tole in Kathmandu which is dated *sambat* 479 (A. D. 557).[31] Hence the inauguration of a cult of Avalokitesvara at Bungamati, or the starting of a festival in his honour, in or about A. D. 497 is not impossible.

The date 497, however, does not coincide with the reign of any king by the name of Narendradeva. In *sambat* 427 (A. D. 505) Manadeva was still ruling and appears to have died in that year.[32] Hence he was the ruler in 497. The chronicles list several Narendradevas and from inscriptions and colophon records we know for certain of three Narendradevas: one who ruled from c. 644–80, one from c. 997–99, and one from c. 1140–47. The chronicles, including the *Gopalaraja Vamsavali* and Kirkpatrick's source, are unanimous in placing the Narendradeva who is connected with Bunga-dya: after Amsuvarma, either fourth, fifth, or sixth in line of succession. From the evidence of inscriptions the fourth king to follow Amsuvarma was, in fact, Narendradeva, the first one mentioned above. There can be no doubt that this is the Narendradeva intended by the chronicles. This is the same Narendradeva whom the Chinese ambassador met in A. D. 643 and described as wearing an image of the Buddha on his belt.[33] It is quite possible that this Narendradeva and his *acarya* Bandhudatta were jointly responsible for inaugurating the festival of Bugma Lokesvara as the *Gopalaraja Vamsavali* states. This would place the inauguration of the festival around A. D. 644–80. It is impossible that Narendradeva be associated with any cult connected with Matsyndranath or Gorakh-

29. Ibid., p. 2–3.
30. Ibid., p. 178 and 175.
31. Ibid., p. 185.
32. Ibid., p. 67 and p. 82–3.
33. Hit Narayan Jha, *The Licchavis* (Varanasi, 1970), p. 125.

nath; he lived at least two hundred years too early.

**Historical Data Pertaining to the Cult of Bunga-dya:-Matsyendranath**

In addition to the legend about the bringing of Matsyendranath to Nepal, we have a wealth of more reliable information on the cult from other sources, most of it dating from the sixteenth century onwards. The information comes from inscriptions, manuscript colophons, and chronicles of various kinds. Among the chronicles are the "modern chronicles" mentioned above, all written in the last century and in Nepali. Another type of chronicle which provides the most detailed and most reliable information is the *thyasaphu* (from Newari *saphu*= book). The name indicates a manuscript written on a long, continuous strip of heavy Nepali paper of the consistency of thin cardboard, which is then folded into sections so that it opens like an accordian. In the Malla period various types of records were kept on *thyasaphus*, the most important of which for our purposes are those kept by *guthiyars* who recorded the dates of various festivals and a few important political events. All of these were composed in the Malla period, and they seem to have been written as diaries, so the authors were writing about contemporary events. Akin to the *thyasaphus* are similar diary type accounts kept on separate sheets of paper. Some of these have been published under the title "Aitihasik Ghatanavali," i. e., a list of historical events. The information provided by these records and by the inscriptions is contemporary and therefore reliable. The "modern chronicles" are notoriously unreliable, especially for the early Malla period and the period immediately preceding it. Nearly all of the references to our purpose come from the late Malla period, and the information given must have been drawn from a source like the *thyasaphus*. However, some of the data in the chronicles, even for this period, is contradictory. Hence it is precarious to base any argument or theory on a "modern chronicle" reference which is not corroborated by other evidence. The *Gopalaraja Vamsavali*, on the other hand, has proved time and again to be reliable especially for cultural and religious data.[34]

34. See Mary S. Slusser and Gautamavajra Vajracarya, "Some Nepalese Stone Sculptures: "A Reappraisal within their Cultural and Histo-

Below are all of the references from these sources pertaining to Bunga-dya:—Rato Matsyendranath which I have been able to find. To facilitate an analysis of the data I have marked every entry which uses the name Matsyendranath, or a variation of it, with an asterisk. In all cases I have given the name of the deity exactly as found in the original source. This is important, because secondary sources in Nepali or English invariably cloud the issue by giving the name Matsyendranath for the deity irrespective of the name given in the primary source. A reading of secondary sources gives the impression that the deity was invariably known as Matsyendranath from the earliest references down to the present. Since nearly all of the dated references are given in the Nepal era, I give this date followed by the equavalent of the Christian era.

The only reference prior to the beginning of the Nepal era in A. D. 879 is the reference cited above from the *Gopalaraja Vamsavali* noting that King Narendradeva and his *acarya* Bandhudatta were jointly responsible for the initiation of the *jatra* of Sri Bugma Lokesvara.[35] The next reference, also in the *Gopalaraja Vamsavali* states that King Balarjunadeva gave his crown to Bugma Lokesvara.[36] We have no

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rical Context," *Artibus Asiae* 35 (1973) 1/2: 79–138. Starting from the data of the "*Gopalaraja Vamsavali*," Slusser and Vajracarya have located and identified a number of forgotten Licchavi sculptures, most of which had been previously assigned to a much later date because they are in modern temples and clothed in gaudy drapery which obscures the features. The images were found in exactly the places where the chronicle placed them and they correspond exactly to the descritptions given in the chronicle. Most of the pieces thus identified date to the middle of the seventh century. Their work has not only recovered some valuable and unrecognized ancient art works, it has also established the general credibility of the "*Gopalaraja Vamsavali*" for such cultural and religious data. The "*Gopalaraja Vamsavali*" is divided into three sections, the first in Sanskrit and the remaining two in Newari. The last section ends in 508 N. S. (1388) during the reign of Jayasthiti Malla and judging from the wealth of detail about his reign is generally thought to have been composed at that time. The first part may be considerably earlier.

35. "Gopalaraja Vamsavali," Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 3: 118.

36. Ibid.

confirmation of Balarajunadeva's reign from colophons or inscriptions, but all of the chronicles list him as ruling either second, third or fourth before Gunakamadeva whom we know was ruling in 104 N. S. (984) and 110 N. S. (990).[37]

120–220 N. S. (Eleventh century) A Sanskrit manuscript preserved in Paris and dated to the eleventh century contains a miniature painting of "Bugama Lokesvara." The colour of the deity is red and it is a figure of the standard Padmapani Lokesvara.[38]

347–355 N. S. (1226–34) Dharmasvamin, a Tibetan monk, came to Nepal in 1226 and stayed for eight years studying under an Acarya at Swayambhunath. His biography contains the following data:

> In Nepala, in the Vihara of Bu-kham, there is a miraculous image of Avalokitesvara made of sandal wood of red colour, in the aspect of a five-year old boy. This Arya Bu-kham was very famous throughout India. In Tibet (on the contrary) the Svayambhu-chaitya was very famous. On the eighth day of the middle autumn month this image of Arya of Bu-kham is taken out and offerings are made to it, and a great spectacle takes place. In general people make offerings to the image and especially the king and the wealthy people, and all invite the image to their homes and present offerings to it, which consist of the five sacrificial substances, such as curds, milk, raw-sugar, honey and sugar. They pour these substances over the head of the image and then bathe it, the water and victuals are then consumed (by the people). Thus they worship for half a month. Through these ablutions, the bright vermillion red paint (of the image) is washed away. Then on the seventh day of the next month, young Tantrics called *han-du,* holding in their hands fly-whisks and muscial instruments, invite the image back to the temple amidst a great spectacle. On the eighth day (of the month) they again paint the image with red dye, said the Dharmasvamin. The Dharmasvamin explained that these were the offerings (*dana*) of the five essences mentioned in the third chapter of the Madhyamika-Ratnavali.[39]

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37. See Regmi, 1: 110 and Ramji Tewari et al., eds. *Abhilekh Sanghraha,* 12 vols. (Kathmandu, n. d.) : 14.

38. Noted in P.C. Bagchi, *Kaulajnana-niranyah* (Calcutta, 1934), p. 13 and Sylvain Levi, *Le Nepal* (Paris, 1905), 1: 353.

39. George Roerich, ed. and trans., *Biography of Dharmasvamin* (Patna, 1959), p. 54–5.

408 N. S. (1287–88) In Paus of this year Jitari Malla invaded the Valley. He returned in Phalgun, burned several villages and then went to pay this respects to Swayambhunath and Bugmalokesvara.[40]

410 N. A. (1290) In this year the Khasya King Jitari Malla took Nuwakot and later offered some treasure to the temple of Bunga (Bungadevala).[41]

433 N. S. (Feb. 1313) On the first day of the dark half of the month of Phalgun, the Khasya King Ripu Malla made several offerings at the bathing ceremony in Buga (Bungamati). On the ninth day of the bright half of Baisakh, Sri Jayari Malla came for the great festival (*mahajatra*).[42]

457 N. S. (1337) A drama entitled *Mahiravanavadhopakyanahatakam* was composed and written down in this year by one Jaya Simha at the request of Jagat Simha, minister of Jayari Malla. The drama begins with a salutation to many gods including "Sri Bungesa." The colophon notes that the drama was dedicated to the twice-born assembled on the occasion of the celebration of the festival of Bungesvara (Bungesvara *Jatra*).[43]

502 N. S. (1382) An inscription at Itum Baha in Kathmandu, put up by Madanarama Varddhana to commemorate the donation of a statue of Dipankara Buddha mentions that his wife had offered a beautiful golden *torana* to Sri Sri Bugama Aryavalokitesvara.[44]

507 N. S. (22 April 1387) On this day Jayasthiti Malla went to the festival at Bugam (Bugamayatra) with his three sons and remained there for fourteen days.[45]

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40. Regmi, 2: 241.
41. "Gopalaraja Vamsavali," Regmi, 3: 134.
42. Ibid., p. (137).
43. Buddhisagar Parajuli, ed. *Vrhatsucipatram*, Natak, Grantha visaya. Bhag 3 (Kathmandu, 2019 B. S.), p. 43 and Hara Prasad Sastri, *A Catalogue of Plam Leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts Belonging to the Darbar Library, Nepal*, 2 vols. (Calcutta, 1915), 2: 15–6.
44. Dhanavajra Vajracarya, "Saktisali Bhardar Ramavarddhanaharu ra Tatkalik Nepal," *Purnima*, 7: 34.
45. "Gopalaraja Vamsavali," Regmi, 3: 134.

*528 N. S. (1408) All of the "modern chronicles" report an earthquake in this year, as a result of which the temple of Matsyendranath in Bungamati fell to the ground. Most probably the reference is bogus and should be disregarded altogether. In any case it should be taken as referring to the temple in Bungamati, not Patan.[46]

619 N. S. (1499) A copperplate inscription of this year records land grants made to a man of the barber caste living in *devala cok* in Bungamadesa.[47]

678 N. S. (1558) A copperplate inscription of this year records land grants made by the king to the *guthi* for the performance of the bathing ceremony of Sri Sri Bugam. The grant also mentions the road taken by the *ratha*, the earliest specific mention of the *ratha*.[48]

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46. The reference is found in all the "modern chronicles" and some give the full specification of the lunar date: 528, *adhik bhadra sukla* 12 *uttaraṣadha naksatra, somvara.* See Wright, p. 180; Hasrat, p., 54; *Bhasa Vamsavali Part Two* p. 35; "Rajbhogmala Ancient Nepal 9: 10;"Kathmandu Upatyakako Ek Raj Vamsavali," *Ancient Nepal* 5: 3; "Nepaldesko Itihas," *Ancient Nepal* 16 : 17. only the most recently published chronicle, the "Nepaldesko Itihas" gives the place as Bungamati; all of the others simply say that the temple of Matsyendranath was destroyed. The date, however, is impossible, and this was first noted by Levi who, tried to remedy the situation by moving the event forward to 531 to make the data of the *tithi* fit. See Levi, 2:227. It is more serious than this, though. As Petech notes, an *adhik bhadra* is impossible in the system of calculation used at that time. The Bharadvaja system in use at that time never doubles the month of Bhadra. Furthermore, the details of the *tithi* fit exactly for Monday, 26 August 1833 when there was a disastrous earthquake and the temple of Matsyendranath in Patan was seriously damaged. That the reference is a forgery is further confirmed by the fact that the event is placed in the reign of one Syamasimha Deva who is himself a fabrication. See Luciano Petech, *Mediaeval History of Nepal* (Rome, 1958), p. 152–3. This whole section of the chronicles is a late fabrication attempting to trace the ancestry of the late Malla kings to Harisimha Deva of Simraungadh. The event is not confirmed by any reliable source. This date has been used by Landon and a host of subsequent writers, foreign as well as Nepali, to date the temple of Matsyendranath at Ta: Baha. See Percival Landon, *Nepal,* 2 vols. (London, 1928), 1:210.
47. Sankarman Rajvamsi, "Siddhinarasimha Malla bhanda agari Patanka Sasakharuka Kehi Tadpatra," *Purnima,* 12: 20.
48. Ibid., p. 18

686 N. S. (1566) A copperplate inscription of this year records land grants to the *guthi* of Sri Bugam.[49]

738 N. S. (1618) On the first day of the bright half of the month of Baisakh Sri Bugamlokesvara was placed on his *ratha*. The reference describes several breakdowns that occurred that year. Finally the *ratha* fell over on its side and the deity was removed and set up in a rest house until necessary repairs could be made to the *ratha*.[50]

*741 N. S. (1621) According to the modern chronicles Siddhinarasimha added a storey to the temple of Macchindranath in this year, gilded the roof and offered a golden *gajur* and a golden lotus for the top. The references do not state which temple of Macchindranath they intend. The chronicles also credit Siddhinarasimha with building a garden at the palace which he divided into three parts and dedicated to Taleju, Degutale, and Macchindranath.[51]

*751 N. S. (1631) In this year Siddhinarasimha is said to have started the custom of having two Brahmans ride the chariot of Macchindranath to start it. This is supposed to have been done at the request of a child who received a vision of Gopi Krisna and was told that if the Raj Guru rode the chariot, which had been mired down for several days, they could get it moving again.[52]

*772 N. S. (1652) In this year a Brahman from Patan by the name of Kunu Sarma composed a Sanskrit poem of 137 *slokas* describing the city of Patan and praising the King, Srinivasa Malla. In his description of of Khim Tole he mentions the temple of Minnath and gives a description of the temple of Matsyendranath (the only name he uses for the deity). The temple has three golden roofs and numerous artistically carved figures, presumably the roof supports. It has golden doors on all sides and extremely beautiful windows. Matsyendranath adorns

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48. Ibid., p. 19.
49. Ibid., p. 19
50. From a *thyasaphu* record, quoted in Regmi, 2: 905.
51. "Rajvamsavali," *Ancient Nepal,* 5: 13; Bhasavamsavali Part Two, p. 62; "Rabbhogmala," *Ancient Nepal,* 9: 24.
52. "Padmagiri's Chronicle," Hasrat, p. 69.

his temple like Visnu adorns Mount Sumeru.[53]

774 (1654) In this year the gilded copper fixtures for the *ratha* were donated by the people of Mahabauddha Vihara. One Pandit Jiva Raja Jayamuni from Mahabauddha went to Sikkim and offered to the Raja of Sikkim a plate of *prasada* from the Mahabuddha enshrined in his *vihara*. In gratitude the king filled the plate with gold. When Jayamuni returned with the gold, he called a meeting of the members of the *sangha* to determine what to do with the gold. It was decided to make fixtures for the *ratha* of Bunga-dya:. The Thyasaphu reference speaks of the side panels for the four sides, the *toranas*, and the decorations above the *toranas*. The fixtures were placed on the *ratha* for the first time in this year after the *ratha* reached Ga Baha. A *guthi* was then set up, known as the Lusa Guthi, to ensure the safe keeping and maintenance of the fixtures.[54]

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53. Kunu Sharma, *Kirtipataka*, ed. and trans., Yogi Narharinath (Patan, 2018) p. 5, p. 41.
यत्रासौ रुरुचे सुवर्णपटलो मत्स्येन्द्रनाथेन वै नानाकृत्तिमपुत्रिकै स्त्रिपटलैगोपांनसीभिस्समम् द्वारद्वारदशातोरणाररयुतः श्रीमद्गवाक्षौज्वलो भास्वत्स्वर्णशिलोच्चयोत्तमइव श्रीविष्जुना सानुमान् ॥१५॥
तुंगघ्राणाकपोलर्णसुजटा विद्यो त्तमाताननो वन्धूकारुणं वन्धुराधरपटो विस्तार्ण नेत्रत्रय : ॥
भास्वद्भानुविभावसुद्यु तितनुर्मत्स्येन्द्रनाथःप्रभु र्भाति द्यौपतिरन्तमौलिकिरणैर्विभ्राजपादाब्जकः ॥१६॥

54. For this information I am indebted to Mr. Hemaraj Sakya who gave it to me from the manuscript copy of his forthcoming book on the history of Mahabauddha Baha. The information is contained in a *thyasaphu* kept by the *guthiyars* of Mahabauddha Baha. It is further confirmed by a *lal mohar* of King Ranabahadur Shah dated Sambat 1847 (1790) also in the possession of the *guthiyars*. In this year a dispute arose about the use of the *guthi* lands and the *lal mohar* was given to settle the dispute and confirm the rights of the *guthi* over these lands. The *lal mohar* identifies the petitioner as one Ram Ananda Banda, a descendant of Jiva Raj Banda who offered golden ornaments for the *ratha* of Sri 5 Macchendranath and set up a *guthi*. The document allows him and his descendants to retain the lands and to use the income to keep these fixtures in good repair etc. They are not to appropriate this income for themselves. These are the fixtures still in use. They are in very poor shape, except for the central figures on the *toranas*, which were renewed in

*Wright's chronicle gives a long description of the festival of this same year which begins with the note that the painters from Bhatgaon did not come and the image had to be taken out by local people and was bathed by two instead of the customary four people. The rest of the passage is a long description of a number of breakdowns that occurred during the festival. The deity is called Macchindranatha.[55]

776 N. S. (1656) Early one morning in Phalgun the *gajur* of the temple of Buga-devata at Tava Bahal was struck by lightning and the flag fell down. This year during the *ratha jatra* of Buga-devata, a child who had just had his rice feeding ceremony came and sat on the *ratha*. The god took possession of him and he spoke declaring his displeasure, "Come, Raja Siddhi-Narasimha! I am not at all pleased at thy building this high temple." The king did not appear to answer and the god left the boy saying, "I will never come to speak any more."[56]

*777 N. S. (1657) This year again there were ill omens and when the image was taken back to Bungamati it was discovered that a jewel from its coat was missing. Accusations of theft were made against one of the priests, and the king, Srinivasa Malla, investigated the matter when the priest handed over his office to the next man. The jewel was discovered in the folds of the garments; the king had it mounted with twelve diamonds round it and presented it to Macchindranath.[57]

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1975. The rest of the fixtures are badly damaged and neglected. If they contained inscriptions they are now obliterated. The fixtures are still kept at Mahabauddha Baha and the *guthi* set up for their care still functions, though what little income there is now seems to be used to pay those who carry the fixtures to the *ratha* and back, and a *bhoj* for the *guthi*.

55. Wright, p. 240–41.

56. Wright, p. 242. The point of this admonition seems to be that he had built the temple higher than the *ratha* of Matsyendranath. Up to that time it had been the rule in Patan that no building could be built higher than the *ratha*. Wright's chronicle invariably refers to the deity as Matsyendranath, except in this reference, which would indicate that the reference has been lifted bodily from a Newari source. The reference about the child, who would be only six months old, cannot be taken literally, but would indicate a dissatisfaction about the temple among the people.

57. Wright, p. 243.

*781 N. S. (1661) On the day of the Lagan Jatra of Matsyendranath, Siddhinarasimha offered ornaments to Pasupatinath and Macchindranath, and left the country for retirement and to attain religious merit.[58]

*782 N. S. (1662) In this year Srinivasa Malla set up a *guthi* for *arati puja* in the Matsyendranath temple and made a golden water tap at Bungamati. In this year, since the queen of Pratap Malla of Kathmandu had died, the festival of Matsyendranath was held without musical instruments. A great wind blew down many trees, and took the roofs off of houses. The prince, Chatranarasimha Malla died and there were later fires in the city. The king came to the conclusion that the reason for all of these disasters was that the instruments had not been played during the festival, so he went to Taudah (the pond south of Cobhar) to recite prayers on the day of the solar eclipse.[59]

*783 N. S. (1663) In Baisakh Pratap Malla offered four *gajurs* for Om Baha in Patan, and at the same time the king of Patan, Srinivasa Malla, made offerings to Sri Sri Macchendranath. (This is the only occurrence of the name Macchendranath in a *thyasaphu* record.)[60]

784 N. S. (1664) The bathing ceremony of Sri Bunga Deva was celebrated this year on the first day of the dark half of the month of Caitra. On the first of the bright half of the month of Baisakh Sri Sri Sri Bungadeva was put on the *ratha*. The *thyasaphu* then goes on to say that by order of the king the following is the schedule of events for the festival: four days after the deity is put on the *ratha* it is to be moved to the pond (i. e., the pond south of Ga Baha). After the *jatra* and feast at Lagan the *ratha* is to be taken to Thanti (Pode Tole). Then after having determined the auspicious time, it is to be taken to

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58. *Bhasa Vamsavali Part Two*, p. 65. "Padmagiri's Chronicle" gives the date as 744 (Hasrat, p. 69), and the "Rajbhogmala" gives the date as 789 (*Ancient Nepal* 10 : 2). It is not certain when Siddhinarasimbha abdicated, and his abdication was preceded by a period of joint rule with Srinivasa when the son actually carried on the business of government. This explains some of the contradictions in the references cited. Confer the following chapter.

59. "Rajbhogmala, " *Ancient Nepal,* 10 : 3; *Bhasa Vamsavali Part Two* p. 65.

60. Thyasaphu F, Regmi, 3: 101.

Jyavala (khel). There rites are to be held for three nights, and then Sri Sri Sri Deva is taken down from the *ratha,* put on a portable carrier and taken back to Bunga.[61]

*786 N. S. (1666) This date plus the name Sri Nivasa and the word Matsyendranath are inscribed on the second roof of the temple at Ta: Baha.[62]

786 N. S. On the full moon day of the month of Asvin, the younger sister of one Deva Das went to Bungamati to spend a month fasting. Previous to this, one Locani had gone to Bungamati to spend a month in fasting.[63]

788 N. S. (1668) On Tila Sankranti, during the dark half of the month of Paus, when Bungadeva was brought to Tava Vahara, tears fell from the eyes of the god during the day. That night the sound of crying was heard.[64]

—In this year Srinivasa Malla made a golden *torana* for the temple of Runda Kunda Bhairava in Bungamati. Previous to this he had made a golden face for the image of Bhairava.[65]

*792 N. S. (1672) According to the modern chronicles Srinivasa Malla offered a golden *torana* and a door to Macchendranath in this year. Above the door was a Sanskrit inscription which said that the yogis call the deity Matsyendra, the Saktas call him Sakti, the Buddhists call him Lokesvara and his true form is Brahma. The chronicles do not say which temple the inscription was placed on, and the inscription seems to be lost.[66]

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61. Thyasaphu H, Regmi, 3: 119.
62. The *Bhasa Vamsavali* gives the date as 785 and says that a golden umbrella was also offered. *Bhasa Vamsavali Part Two,* p. 66.
63. Sankarman Rajvamsi, *Aitihasik Ghatanavali* (Kathmandu, 2020 B. S.), p. 2.
64. Rajvamsi, *Aitihasik Ghatanavali,* p. 3.
65. *Bhasa Vamsavali Part Two,* p. 69; the "Kathmandu Upatyakako Ek Vamsavali" gives the date as 800 N. S., *Ancient Nepal,* 5: 14.
66. *Bhasa Vamsavali Part Two,* p. 70.
मत्स्येन्द्र योगिनो मुख्यः शक्ता शक्ति वदन्ति यम् बौद्धा लोकेश्वरं तस्मै नमो ब्रह्मण्यरूपिणे ॥१

793 N. S. (1672) During the bright half of the month of Paus, twenty days before the death of the king of Bhaktapur, Bungadeva cried.[67]

793 N. S. (16 February 1673) On this day Srinivasa Malla put up a long inscription at the temple at Ta: Baha in Patan regulating arrangements for the cult of the deity.[68] Following is a synopisis of this important document. Several names are used for the deity in this inscription: Aryavalokitesvara, Lokesvara, Sri Sri Bunga-ista-devata, Trailokyanath, and Karunamaya. The name Matsyendranath does not occur at all in the inscription.

After a salutation to Sri Sri Sri Madaryavalokitesvara the inscription goes on to say that Jaya Srinivasa Malla has written down in this inscription all the arrangements for the cult of the deity as far as he knows them. He notes that he has already written this down in (Sanskrit) *slokas;* but since some cannot understand this it is all written here

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नेपालाब्दे लोचनमछिन्स्रप्तौ श्रीपंचम्याम् श्रीनिवासेनराज्ञा स्वर्णद्वारे स्थापित तोरणेन सार्ध श्रीमल्लोकनाथस्य गेहे ।

*Bhasa Vamsavali Part Two*, p. 70.

मत्स्येन्द्र योगिनः प्राहूः शक्ता क्तिं वदन्ति यम् बौद्धा लोकेश्वरं तम्मै नमो ब्रह्‌यण्यरूपिणे।१

नेपालाब्दे लोचनच्छिद्रसप्ते ७९२ श्री पंचम्यं श्रीनिवासेनराज्ञा स्वर्णद्वारे स्थापितं तोरणं च सार्ध श्रीमल्लोकगाथस्य गेहे ।।२

67. *Aitihasik Ghatanavali*, p. 5.

68. Ramji Tewari et al., eds., *Abhilekh Sangraha*, 10: 7–11. From the number of inscriptions put up by him and the other references in chronicles it is evident that Srinivasa made Lokesvara the national deity and his own *istadevata*. It gained for him the reputation of a great devotee of Lokesvara-Karunamaya. In addition to the historical data there are a number of still current legends linking Srinivasa to the deity. One legend claims that he is the son of Karumaya. According to the story his mother, the senior queen of Siddhinarasimha, was rejected by the king in favour of a junior queen; and she was made pregnant by Karunamaya giving birth to Srinivasa. Another legend says that the queen of Srinivasa donated all her jewelry for the making of a golden window in the palace with a figure of Padmapani Lokesvara in the centre. See Druba Krishna Dip, "Karunamaya (Rato Macchendra) ka Bhakta Raja Srinivasa Malla," *Prajna*, 12: 65–69.

in Newari.[69] The king of Manigala (Patan) must take personal responsibility for the arrangements for the bathing ceremony, the *ratha jatra* and the bringing of Sri 3 Trailokyanath Bunga Istadevata to Tava Bahal in Patan. The king must lay aside all other work and personally oversee all these arrangements. Musical instruments must be played at the festival even though the royal family is observing a period of mourning.[70] The king notes that he has written down in a golden inscription (*suvarna patra*) the details of all the arrangements to be made for the *ratha;* these prescriptions must be followed. The *besetas* (i. e., the officials in charge of arrangements) must collect the rent from the lands assigned to the *guthi* and keep it safe. They must make arrangements for the *ratha jatra* and the bathing ceremony properly and without quarrelling. The king must notify beforehand all those who have some work to do; and they must complete their work on time. The wood, vines, and ropes needed for the *ratha* must be collected beforehand and kept ready. The carpenters and those in charge of stopping the *ratha* must be notified on time. The carpenters are bound to contribute their services; they may not refuse to come, and they must not delay. The king must also do his part according to custom. Those in charge of the wheels must see that old vines are not used for the *ratha.* The superintendents who supervise the pulling of the *ratha* and control the crowds must not use old, tattered ropes.

There follows a list of lands and a building to be used as a store house for supplies, all donated by the king for the daily performance of the *arati puja* (burning of the lamp). The prescriptions laid down in the copperplate inscription must be followed for assuring the continuation of this *puja.* The *arati* is to be performed each morning, noon and night. The Kusala Yogis from Yakhalakhu Tole and from Ko Baha Tole must come to play the conch shall at each of these *pujas.*[71] This

69. This Sanskrit *sloka* may well be the *Matsyendrapadyasatakam* written by Nilakantha Acarya, though the manuscript copy of this poem bears the date 797 N. S., four years after this inscription was put up.

70. Confer the reference above of 782 N. S. and what happened the year they did not play instruments.

71. The *kusales* or yogis are a low caste of instrument players who

is followed by a list of further lands donated for the continuance of this *puja*. All the arrangements that must be made for this *puja* have been detailed in the copperplate inscription. No excuses are to be made for failure to carry out the appointed tasks; nobody is to come to the king and ask to be excused from his duties. Not even the king can excuse himself from his duties toward the deity.

Srinivasa has offered a large silver banner to be hung on the *ratha* and set up a *guthi* to look after the ornament. The duties of all the *guthiyars* are written down in the copperplate inscription and the prescriptions are to be followed. There follows a list of lands donated to a *guthi* whose function it is to have a *homa* sacrifice performed before Sri 3 Bunga Istadevata on the first day of the bright half of the month of Kartik (the first day of the new year according to the Newar calendar) and to arrange for a feast at the end of the month for all those who have spent the month of Kartik fasting.[72]

On the first Sunday of the month a duck is to be offered to Sri 3 Lodowado (the Bhairava whose shrine is situated in the south-east corner of the temple compound at Bungamati). There is a copperplate inscription detailing the duties of the *guthiyars*.

Six *ropanis* of land are also given for performing an annual *puja* to Mahadeva at the Golden Dhara in front of Sri 3 Bunga Istadeva. The *guthiyars* should follow the prescriptions laid down for them in the copperplate inscription.[73]

Next follows a list of lands offered for the performance of the bathing ceremony. For this Ganges water must be brought each year, the five kinds of musical instruments must be played and the *arati puja* performed.[74] The *guthiyars* and the instrument players must arrange

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are most likely descendants of some true yogis.

72. Further arrangements for this month of fasting are detailed in an inscription at Bungamati described below. The custom of keeping the fast is still observed.

73. This *dhara* was built by Srinivasa; confer below. The water tap still exists but is in a sad state of disrepair and there are no signs of any gold.

74. *Ganga Jal* might better be translated as simply "sacred water." Ganges water is prescribed for many rituals, but water from the

everything according to the instructions given in the copperplate inscription. Seven *ropanis* of land have also been given for the rites to be performed on Sivaratri; these rites are to be performed as laid down in the respective copperplate inscription.

Again the king exhorts all concerned to follow the prescriptions laid down in the various copperplate inscriptions. No one, not even the king, nor the *guthiyars,* nor the officials, is to make trouble about these *guthis* nor quarrel over them. Whoever does so will be considered guilty of the five great sins of killing cows, Brahmans, etc. Nor are they to quarrel or make trouble at the time of the pulling of the *ratha.*

The section which follows details certain obligations which the king lays on the people. When it is necessary to repair the walls of the city and similar work, people must come to the work as assigned. Under his own roof a man's word is law; when he goes out of the house he is under the king's authority. So the people must not take offence at these prescriptions. The king, the courtiers, and the government officials must all do their part, and even the king cannot excuse them from their duty. However, the king must not trouble the people without cause. If he does so the people should come and lay their grievances before him. In fact, they must come, this is the duty of the courtiers.

Next follows a list of lands given for a *guthi* in the name of the king's mother, Sri Sri Bhanumati, to feed the yogis on the dark night of the month of Caitra at the temple of Sri Sri Sri Bunga Istadevata.[75]

This is followed by the date; the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Phalgun 793.

A few more prescriptions are contained on another slab of stone.

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Bagmati or Visnumati suffices. It is also true that all of the rivers of the Valley are ultimately tributaries of the Ganges. At present the water for the bathing of Matsyendranath is taken from the well in the compound and not brought from the river.

75. Informants tell me that the yogis in question are the Kanphata Yogis. This custom no longer exists. The recently discontinued custom of feeding the yogis at Bu Baha mentioned above was a different and private *guthi.* This was a royal *guthi.*

Arrangements for oil (for the *arati* lamp ?) must be made on the seventh day of the bright half of the month of Jestha. During the time of the *ratha jatra* money lenders and creditors must not press their debtors for payment.[76] A *guthi* has been set up for the presentation of flowers to Bungadea. If the *guthiyars* fail to bring the flowers they will be fined one gold *pla*.[77] They cannot get their friends to do this: they must do it themselves. Not even the king can give permission to omit this.[78] From the time the deity is put on the *ratha* until the end of the festival, no one is to wear shoes inside the city. This is an ancient custom and it must be maintained. The inscription ends with an exhortation for all to cooperate in carrying out these prescriptions. The crown prince and Bhagiratha Bhaiya are listed as witnesses to the document. The supervision of all these works is in the hands of Sri Sri Narasimha of the royal family.

Throughout the inscription, after each section, the crown prince Yognarendra Malla is listed as a witness and the king says he has made the arrangements and prescriptions with the advice of his minister Bhaghiratha Bhaiya. At one place he says that he has made him his minister and considers him to be an extension of himself, a part of his own flesh and blood.

793 N. S. (1673) An inscription put up at Guita Bahi in Patan in this same year speaks of arrangements made for the reading of the *Astasahasrika Prajnaparamita* each year while Srimadaryavalokitesvara is on the *ratha*.[79]

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76. This custom was continued until about twenty-five years ago. During the Rana period a crier went round the city of Patan the day before the beginning of the *ratha jatra* announcing that the festival would begin on the following day and money lenders, shop keepers, etc. must not press for payment until the festival is over.

77. The *guthi* still exists and there are thirty-six *ropanis* of land to finance the bringing of the flowers. The *guthiyars* are supposed to bring a sort of crown of 360 flowers.

78. This last line can also be interpreted to mean that no one, not even the king, may interfere with the land given for the *guthi*.

79. Hemaraj Sakya and T.R. Vaidya, eds. *Medieval Nepal* (Kathmandu, 1970), p. 137.

796 N. S. (23 October 1675) In this year Srinivasa put up an inscription at Bungamati to regulate the Kartik fast. The king identifies himself as "the lotus under the feet of Sri Loknath". There had been continual quarrels about Sri 3 Loknath–istadevata there. So that the lord would not be further troubled the king made the following arrangements: those who come to observe the month's fast must first be asked to what caste they belong before being admitted. Low caste people such as the *jugis* (*kusale*), *dobinas* (caste of instrument players), and *nayas* (butchers) are not to be admitted. Those who come for the fast ending on Kartik *purnima* must come on the appointed day; those who come on the following day or the day after that are not be to admitted even though they are of the proper caste. If someone of importance comes late for some special reason, the superintendent and his advisers must discuss the matter. It cannot be decided by consulting one or two people. In the end the matter is to be settled by lot. If the lot falls in favour of the man or women he or she can be admitted, otherwise not. Even this, however, is not to be done without consulting the king. There follows a list of lands donated for the *guthi* in charge of arrangements for the month's fast. A *homa* is to be performed before Sri Sri Sri Trailokyanath on the first day of the dark half of the month of Kartik and a feast is to be provided at the end of the month for those who have been fasting.[80]

*797 N. S. (1676) The long Sanskrit poem in praise of Matsyendranath, the *Matsyendrapadyasatakam*, described above, was composed in this year.

800 (1680) On the twelfth day of the dark half of the month of Baisakh the paint on the face of Sri Bungadeva blistered when he was in Thati Tole. He was taken down from the *ratha* and the ceremonies for painting the image were repeated.[81]

—In this year Sri Nripendra (King of Kathmandu) attended the three festivals of Sri Buga.[82]

801 (27 Nov. 1680) On this day Srinivasa Malla set up another

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80. Regmi, 4: 168.
81. Rajvamsi, *Aitihasik Ghatanavali*, p. 10.
82. Thyasaphu E, Regmi, 3: 90.

inscription in Bungamati, noting repairs done to a rest house there.[83]

801 N. S. (1681) Two sources give a number of details about the festival of this year. Srinivasa Malla made all the arrangements for the festival. Sri 3 Sri Sri Bunga was put on the *ratha* in Bungamati on the first day of the bright half of the month of Baisakh. One of the beams of the *ratha* broke before they got out of Bungamati and they had four days of *puja* before they were finally able to get the *ratha* moving again. There were several more serious breakdowns along the way. Srinivasa Malla accompanied the *ratha* from Bungamati to Patan. The kings of Kathmandu and two brothers of the king of Bhaktapur joined the procession one day on the way to Patan.[84]

802 N. S. (1682) Again this year the *ratha* of Bungadeva got stuck and a *bali puja* was performed three or four times, but they were still unable to move it. The priests of Bungamati had scriptures read and offered another *bali puja,* but it remained stuck. Finally a Brahman who reads scriptures in Patan was called and asked to read some scriptures. After this they were able to get the *ratha* to Lagan Khel.[85]

805 N. S. (1685) An inscription put up at the Yotalivi Caitya in Patan of this year lists arrangements made for certain annual *pujas,* among which is one to Sri Sri Sri the god of Bungabaha.[86]

808 N. S. (1688) A coin struck this year bears the legend "Sri Lokanath". This appears to be the first coin bearing the name of the deity. It was struck in the time of Yognarendra Malla and the custom was kept up by later kings of Patan.[87].

—An inscription put up on the third day of the bright half of Baisakh by Bamsidhar, a minister of Yognarendra Malla, mentions certain *pujas* that are to be offered when Sri Bunga gets to Sundhara.[88]

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83. Regmi, 4: 187.
84. Thyasaphu E, Regmi, 3: 92.
85. Thyasaphu D. Regmi, 3: 78.
86. Sakya and Vaidya, p. 165.
87. Surya Bikram Gyawali, *Nepal Upatyakako Madhyakalin Itihas* (Kathmandu, 2019 B. S.), p. 186.
88. Tewari, *Abhilekh Sanghraha.* 10: 14.

810 N. S. (1690) An inscription of this year mentions that when the procession reached Yampi Baha this year, the *ratha* fell over and the image had to be removed.[89]

*—The "modern chronicles" add that Macchindranath spoke through a *banda* (bare) who informed the king that a golden ornament must be offered to the deity. The chariot was righted with ropes, the deity replaced, the ornament offered and the festival was completed without further incident.[90]

—Another inscription of this year erected on the occasion of the consecration of an *agam* shrine in Patan lists arrangements for the annual *puja* for certain deities the first of whom is Sri Mat Sri Sri Bungamadaryyavalokitesvara Bhattaraka.[91]

811 N. S. (1691) This year the *ratha* collapsed at Bu Baha. The image of Bugadeva was removed with great difficulty, repairs made, and the festival concluded.[92]

812 N. S. (1692) This year there was a dance festival at Bungamati. While this festival is in progress it is forbidden to take Bungadeva from Patan back to Bungamati.[93]

813 N. S. (1693) This year the *ratha* was pulled from Bungamati. King Yognarendra Malla accompanied the procession from Bungamati to Patan and back again. There were several breakdowns, and at one point the *ratha* fell into a hole.[94]

814 N. S. (1694) This year when it was time for the king of Bhaktapur to bring the statue of Narendradev who brought Macchindranath to Nepal, he was not on good terms with the king of Patan, so he had to set up the statue without the king of Patan attending.[95]

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89. Ibid., 6: 20.
90. *Bhasa Vamsavali Part Two.* p. 72; "Rajbhogmala," *Ancient Nepal* 10: 7.
91. Sakya and Vaidya, p. 187.
92. Thyasaphu A, Regmi, 3: 35.
93. Thasaphu, H, Regmi, 3:117.
94. Thyasaphu E, Regmi, 3:97–8.
95. *Bhasa Vamsavali Part Two,* p. 72; the "Rajbhogmala" gives the date as 815 N S , *Ancient Nepal,* 10: 17

814 N. S. (1694) The consecration of the *manimandapa* at the Patan Darbar took place this year. This is a covered platform where the astrologers determine the auspicious time for pulling the *ratha* to Jawalakhel. The inscription begins with a salutation to Sri Loknath.[96]

*—The event is confirmed by Wright's chronicle which adds that Yognarendra Malla gave a copy of the *Karandavyuha,* containing the history of Macchindranath, written in golden letters, to one Dharmaraj Pandit to be recited at the *manimandapa*. Wright himself saw the manuscript and notes that it was still recited at the *manimandapa* yearly while he was in Nepal. Yognarendra is also credited with assigning further lands for the *guthis* of Macchindranatha[97].

820 N. S. (1700) An inscription put up this year at a rest house in Sundhara, Patan, lists arrangements for various *pujas* to be performed there throughout the year, including a great light (*mahadipa*) ceremony in honour of Sri Bungadeva at the time of the annual festival.[98]

824 N. S. (1703) on Saturday, the twelfth day of the bright half of the month of Paus, Sri Sri Sri Bugadeva was brought to Patan.[99]

824 N. S. (1704) on Wednesday the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Caitra an ornament was offered to Sri Sri Sri Bugadeva. Yognarendra Malla was present for the ceremony.[100] On Thursday the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Baisakh Yognarendra offered some golden ornaments made of three tolas of gold for the crown of Sri Sri Sri Buga.[101]

825 N, S. (1705) A medal struck by Indra Malla bearing this date has the legend Sri Sri Loknath.[102]

The festival of this year, a twelve year festival when the *ratha* of

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96. Regmi, 4: 234; confer also Wright, p 247
97. Wright, p. 247.
98. Sakya and Vaidya, p. 192.
99. Thyasaphu H, Regmi 3: 114.
100. Thyasaphu B, Regmi 3: 51.
101. Ibid.
102. Gyawali, p. 187.

Sri 3 Bugadeva was pulled from Bungamati and back again, was the last one in the life of Yognarendra and full of ill omens. The main beam broke several times, and the various ceremonies could not be performed at the proper times. When it came time to pull the *ratha* to Jawalakhel, Yognarendra had already died and Sri Sri Bhaskara Malla (King of Kathmandu) came in his place.[103]

827 N. S. (1707) A coin of Lokprakasa Malla struck in this year bears the legend Sri Sri Kalunamaya (Karunamaya) on the obverse.[104]

828 N. S. (1708) Saturday, the first day of the bright half of the month of Baisakh was a day of ill omen. On this day one of the men who had climbed to the top of the *ratha* of Bugadeva fell down and was killed.[105]

829 N. S. (1709) The king of Patan, Indra Malla, died shortly before the full moon day of Caitra, so the courtiers called Mahindra Malla, a son of Yognarendra, from Gorkha to officiate at the bathing ceremony of Bugadeva, since it cannot be performed unless the king is present. Bugadeva was put on the *ratha* on the first day of the bright half of the month of Baisakh.[106]

829 N. S. (1709) A coin of Mahindra Malla of this year bears the legend Sri Sri Lokhnatha-namah on the reverse.[107]

831 N. S. (1711) A manuscript copy of the Karandavyuha with this date preserved at Ta: Baha bears a salutation of Srimat Karunamaya.[108]

832 N. S. (1712) On the first day of the dark half of the month of Caitra when it was time for the bathing ceremony of Bugadeva the king, Mahindra Malla, was staying in Kathmandu. Finally the ceremony was held without him. He did not show up for the Bungamati

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103. Thyasaphu B. Regmi 3: 52.
104. Gyawali, p. 187.
105. Gautamvajra Vajracarya, "Aprakasit Thyasaphu, *Purnima,* 12 : 29.
106. Thyasaphu I, Regmi, 4: (345); Aprakasit Thyasaphu, *Purnima* 12: 31 and 36.
107. Gyawali, p. 188.
108. Regmi, 2: 347.

festival either, so the image was carried back without him.[109]

834 B. S. (1714) On the second day of the bright half of the month of Caitra the paint on the face of Bungadeva blistered.[110]

835 N. S. (1715) A coin struck in this year bears the legend Sri Sri Kalunamaya Namah on the reverse.[111]

837 N. S. (1717)This year Riddhinarasimha Deva brought Sri Sri Sri Bungadeva from Bunga. The beam of the *ratha* broke thirty-one times. The same year the *ratha* of Caku-baha deva (Minnath) was burned up. There was pestilence (*mahamari*) throughout the city and it was impossible to count the number of people who died. Shortly afterwards the king, Riddhinarasimha, died.[112]

837 N. S. (1717) A coin of Mahendra Malla (Mahendra Simha, alias Bhaskara Malla, of Kathmandu who succeeded Riddhinarasimha as king of Patan) bears the legend Sri Sri Kalunamaya on the reverse.[113]

838 N. S. (1718) The Buga-bathing ceremony took place on the first day of the dark half of the month of Caitra.[114].

*841 N. S. (1721)In this year the stone facing was set up round the temple of Machindra in the month of Baisakh. The chronicle does not say which temple of Machindra.[115]

842 N. S. (1722) A coin of Yogprakasa Malla of this year bears the legend Sri Sri Karunamaya on the reverse.[116]

844 N. S. (1724) The *ratha* of Sri Sri Sri Bungadeva was moved on the second day of the bright half of Baisakh.[117]

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109. "Aprakasit Thyasaphu," *Purnima,* 12 : 31 and 33,
110. Gautamvajra Vajracarya, "Aitihasik Ghatanavali," *Purnima* 18: 112; confirmed by *Bhasa Vamvsavali Part Two,* p. 74.
111. Gyawali, p. 18.
112. Regmi, 2: 352; quoted from a notation on the manuscript copy of *Meghadutakaya* (Government National Library no.3244); also Regmi 3: 127 and 129 from a fragment of a Newari Chronicle.
113. Gyawali, p. 189.
114. Thyasaphu I, Regmi, 4: (355).
115 *Bhasa Vamsavali Part Two,* p. 75; "Rajbhogmala," *Ancient Nepal* 10: 9.
116. Gyawali, p. 190.
117. "Aitihasik Ghatanavali," *Purnima,* 18: 114.

*844 N. S. (1724) The "modern chronicles" add that as the image of Machindranath was being taken down from the chariot a dog touched it. When it arrived at Bungamati a pig touched it, and *prayascit* had to be performed.[118]

*851 N. A. (1731) The modern chronicles say that in this year Visnu Malla offered a silver ornament called *brahmaput* to Machindranath.[119]

*857 N. S. (1737) Under this date Wright's chronicle has the following story of a Jyapu of Bhaktapur who had a prophetic dream during the time of Ranajit Malla (king of Bhaktapur) when Narbhupal Shah (father of Prithvinarayan) was king of Gorkha. A group of people came and spread carpets, and then sat down on the carpets. One seat was left vacant. The next night the dream was repeated and the vacant seat was occupied by Macchindranath. A *bhairava* came up and asked for food. Macchindranath told him to go to Gorkha and enjoy the sovereignty of the country where Gorakhnath resided. The *bhairava* said he would go if Macchindanath would give the sovereignty over Nepal to Gorkha. Macchindranath agreed to this. From this the Jyapu understood that henceforth the Gorkhas would rule over Nepal.[120]

861 N. S. (1741) A copperplate inscription attached to the *ratha* just below the doorway of the shrine bears this date. On the third day of the bright half of the month of Baisakh, Jayaprakash Malla (who later ruled both Patan and Kathmandu, but at this time was ruling only in Kathmandu) offered the metal fixtures which are put around the veranda surrounding the shrine. In addition to this he offered one umbrella and four metal flags (*dhvaja*).[121]

*—This year the chariot of Macchendranath fell to the ground twice. This was a bad omen and propitiatory rites were performed by Rajyaprakash Malla at the shrine of Pasupatinath. This was at the

118. *Bhasa Vamsavali Part Two,* p. 75: "Rojbhobmala," *Ancient Nepal* 10:8

119. *Bhasa Vamsavali Part Two,* p. 76: "Rajbhobmala," *Ancient Nepal* 10: 9.

120. Wright, p. 197–8.

121. Sakya and Vaidya, p. 226.

time when Jayaprakash Malla had left Kantipur and was roaming about the Valley.[122]

865 N. S.(1745) Rajyaprakash Malla donated a five tiered umbrella and started the custom of having the umbrella carried in procession behind the metal flag (*dhvaja*) which precedes the *ratha* of Karunamaya. (The umbrella and *dhvaja are* still carried in the procession.)[123]

*867 N. S (1747) In Baisakh after the *ratha* of Machendranath had been stuck for some time, a *devata* appeared, touched the *ratha*, paid his respects, and disappeared. Nobody could recognize or catch him. After this the festival carried on without incident. [124]

*868 N. S. (1748) A Newari inscription at the Visnu temple in Sundhara bearing this date states that one Sanga Bharo offered land for daily religious ceremonies, including the burning of a lamp at the time of the Nugalayatra of Sri Tin Machendranath. (This is the only occurrence of the name Machendranath in a Newari language inscription.)[125]

*871 N. S. (1751) On the last day of the dark half of the month of Jestha, the *ratha* of Macchindranath arrived at Nakhu. On this day there was a solar eclipse, so King Jayaprakash Malla and many citizens went down to have a ceremonial bath at the river. The king gave away many gifts. Never before had such a festival been heard of.[126]

*877 N. S. (1757) This year Prithvinarayan Shah had taken some of the villages of Patan and had forbidden the villagers to come to Patan or the inhabitants of Patan to go to the villages. The *kajis* of Patan gave some money to the Gorkhali king and he relaxed the restrictions so that the *guthiyars* of Bungamati could bring Macchendranath to Patan and the people from the villages south of Patan could come to Patan.[127]

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122. Regmi 2:190. Regmi does not give his source other than to say "according to the chronicle."
123. *Bhasa Vamsavali Part Two*, p. 76; "Rajbhogmala," *Ancient Nepal* 10: 9.
124. *Bhasa Vamsavali Part Two*, p. 78.
125. Sakya and Vaidya, p. 227–8.
126. *Bhasa Vamsavali Part Two*, p. 77; Rajbhogmala, *Ancient Nepal*, 10: 10.
127. *Bhasa Vamsavali Part Two*, p. 78.

880. N. S. (1760) In this year Visvajit Malla, the king of Patan, paid a visit to Machindranath. When he got to the temple he noticed that the god had his back turned to him. He inquired why the image had been turned round, but everyone else said that it was not turned round. The king took this as an ill omen. Later that night as he sat by the palace window, the son of the Kaji of Caku Baha (one of the *pramanas*) threw a rock at him. The king had taken this man's wife into the palace as a mistress. Men were sent off in pursuit to capture the man. A riot ensued and two of the Kaji's sons descended on the palace. Rather than fall into the hands of the mob, Visvajit took his own life.[128]

882 N. S. (1762) Ranajit Malla of Bhaktapur ruled Patan for two years from 1762–64. There is an inscription of his in the Mulcowk of the Patan Darbar detailing certain rules to be followed by the courtiers. Those who fail to do so will feel the wrath of Sri Sri Sri Karunamaya and several other deities whose name follow.[129]

888 N. S. (1768) A copperplate inscription of this year speaks of a *guthi* set up for the *pujas* to Srimat Sri Bungamalokesvara.[130]

The following references are all after the time of the conquest of the Valley by Prithwinarayan Shah and attest to the continuation of the cult and the patronage of the Shah dyanasty.

895 N. S. (1775) A recently published *guthi* document speaks of a *guthi* set up in this year to finance the annual bathing ceremony of Sri Bugamal-lokesvara. The document is dated 953 N. S. and was drawn up after the original document was lost in order to ensure the continuation of the *guthi* and its services.[131]

*926 N. S. (1806) A royal order of Bikram Sambat 1863 issued by King Girvanayuddha appointed one Sivanarasimha as Ditta in charge

128. "Rajbhogmala," *Ancient Nepal,* 10: 11. According to another account the two brothers killed the king. See Regmi, 2:362. He does not give his source other than to say "a modern chronicle."

129. Dhanavajra Vajracarya, ed. *Triratna Saundarya Gatha* (Kathmandu, 2029 B. S.), p. (237).

130. Sakya and Vaidya, p. 238.

131. Sankarman Rajvamsi, "Dharmik Abhilehk," *Ancient Nepal,* 26: 40 and 27: 57–8.

of the *guthi* lands of Macchindranath. The transfer was made because the old Ditta and the Bisets to whom the lands had been entrusted had misappropriated the property of the deity. The new man is enjoined to collect the rents and have the customary religious services performed.[132]

*—In the same year a chronicle reports that Ranabahadur Shah died on the day that Sri Machindranath was taken to Sundhara. The festivities were interrupted for the thirteen day period of mourning.[133]

*938 (1818) This year during the festival of Macchindranath the face of the deity wrinkled. Subsequently there was a great earthquake on Saturday the tenth day of the bright half of Jestha, the day Macchindranath was taken back to Bungamati.[134]

*953 N. S. (1833) There was a disastrous earthquake in August of this year. The temple of Matsyendranath in Patan was severely damaged at this time and repaired only in 999 N. S. (1897)[135].

*976 N. S. (1856) Another earthquake is reported in this year on the day when Macchendranath was brought from Jawalakhel to Bungamati.[136]

*982 (1862) This was the year of the twelve year *mela* of Macchindranath. While he was being taken from Bungamati the *ratha* fell over on its side. Fifteen days later another *ratha* had been prepared and the *jatra* continued. Later while the *ratha* was being taken round the tree in Lagankhel the *ratha* suddenly caught fire. The fire burned for two hours and everything, including the god, was damaged. Later the image was taken out, *santisvasti* performed, and the festival continued.[137]

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132. Quoted in "Regmi Research Series," Year 6, No. 7, p. 129.
133. "Kathmandu Upatyakako Ek Rajvamsavali," *Ancient Nepal*, 6: 18.
134. Ibid.
135. See Gen. Brahma Shamsher J. B. Rana, *Nepalko Mahabhukamp* (Kathmandu, 1992 B. S.), p. 116. Wright's chroncile, which was written shortly after the event, does not mention the temple of Matsyendranath, but states that seventeen temples in Patan were knocked down.
136. "Kathmandu Upatyakako Ek Rajvamsavali", *Ancient Nepal*, 6: 25.
137. Ibid.

*986 (1866) This year when the *ratha* of Sri Machindranath was being taken from Ga Baha, fire suddenly broke out on both the *ratha* of Machindranath and that of Minnath. Only the image of the deity was saved from damage. The image was taken out, *santi svasti* performed, another *ratha* prepared and the *jatra* completed.[138]

*995 N. S. (1875) This year the *ratha* broke in two near Patan Darbar. A new *ratha* was made, the deity put back on the *ratha* and the *jatra* continued. Then suddenly King Surendra died and the festivities were held up for thirteen days. Again while the *ratha* was in Lagankhel King Rajendra died and the festivities were held up for another thirteen days. Only after this could they determine the auspicious day for taking the *ratha* to Jawalakhel. The deity was taken back to Bungamati only on the fourth day of the bright half of the month of Sravana.[139]

*1010 (circa 1890) About this time a Vajracarya by the name of Sundarananda composed a Sanskrit poetical work entitled *Triratna Saundarya Gatha*. The work is primarily a eulogy of the "Three Jewels"– the King, the Prime Minister (Bhimsen Thapa) and the Queen, Tripurasundari. Though the work is written mostly in Sanskrit, the author provided his own Nepali translation, which in many instances is more of an explanation than a translation. He gives a brief description of the festival of Matsyendranath which is essentially the same as it is observed today. In the Sanskrit *slokas* he calls the deity Matsyendranath and then explains that the Vaisnavas call him Visnu, the Saivas call him Siva, the Saktas call him Sakti, some call him Bhaskara, the twice-born call him Brahma, the *munis* call him Matsyendra, the Buddhists call him Lokesvara. Everybody invokes him daily as the merciful (*karunamaya*) Lokesvara. In his Nepali translation he expands this: the Saktis call him the goddess Kali-tara, some call him Virancinarayana, some call him Karunamaya Bungadeva. He confirms the custom of the twelve year festival and the placing of the deity on the *ratha* on the first day of the bright half of Baisakh. He says that the two Brahmans who ride the *ratha* represent Brahma and Narad Rsi.[140]

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138. Ibid.

139. Ibid,. p. 28.

140. Dhanavajra Vajracarya, *Triratna Saundarya Gatha*, p. 138–40.

*1054 N. S. (1934) In the great earthquake of 1934 the temple at Bungamati suffered only slight damage but the temple of Matsyendranath at Ta: Baha in Patan was completely destroyed. Much of the material was salvaged and the temple was reconstructed just as it was before the earthquake, but the photo published by Gen. Brahma Shamsher leaves no doubt abut the completeness of the destruction.[141]

The few foreigners who visited Nepal before the end of the Rana regime and subsequently wrote accounts of their stay have mentioned the festival of Rato Matsyendranath.

The first of these was Fr. Giuseppe who lived in Patan next to the temple at Ta: Baha at the close of the Malla period. The only name he gives for the deity is Bhagero, evidently a corruption of Bunga-dya:. "In the city of Lelit Pattan the temple of Bhagero was contiguous to my habitation, and was more valuable, on account of the gold, silver and jewels it contained, than even the house of the king."[142] Commenting on the *ratha jatra* he says: "They observe also particular festivals, the principal of which is called Yatra in their language, and continues a month or longer, according to the pleasure of the king. The ceremony consists in drawing an idol, which at Lelit Pattan is called Bhagero, in a large and richly ornamented car, covered with gilt copper; round the idol stand the king and the principal Baryesus; and in this manner the vehicle is almost every day drawn through some one of the streets of the city by the inhabitants who run about beating and playing upon every kind of instrument their country affords."[143]

The next brief account of the festival was given by Kirkpatrick who visited the Valley in 1793.[144] The longest and most accurate acco-

141. Rana, p. 116 and p. 9. Gen. Brahma Shamsher has a photograph of the temple after the earthquake. It was completely demolished, the only things left standing were the guardian lions with their heads above the pile of rubble. Confer also Jagadish C. Regmi, *Saha Kalin Kala ra Bastukala* (Kathmandu, 2033 B. S.), p. 79. According to Regmi it was ten to fifteen days before they could clear away enough of the rubble to remove the image.

142. Fr. Giuseppe, "Account of the Kingdom of Nepal 1767–71," *Asiatick Researches,* 2 (1801): 312–13.

143. Ibid.

144. Kirkpatrick, p. 190.

unt by far is that given by Dr. Oldfield, who was attached to the British residency from 1850 to 1862. His description shows that the conduct of the festival has not changed in the last hundred years, nor indeed since the time of Srinivasa Malla. He gives the first detailed account of the "Showing of the Bhoto," and an account of the twelve year festival which took place in 1848. In his time the King, the Rana Prime Minister and principal sardars still rode in state in the procession on the day when the *ratha* was brought to Lagankhel.[145]

Dr. Wright who was in Nepal around 1877 has given a short account of the festival and the showing of the *bhoto*.[146] Sylvain Levi, who visited Nepal in 1898, gives a long description of the festival and a full account of the legends. He too notes that the most important stage of the procession was the part from Sundhara to Lagankhel, when the King, the Prime Minister, and the eminent people of the state took part mounted on elephants.[147] Percy Brown who published his book in 1912 gives a short but very colourful description of the festival. At that time the King and Prime Minister still accompanied the procession to Lagankhel on elephants.[148] By the time Perceval Landon attended the festival in 1924, this was no longer the custom. The Prime Minister and the King attended only the *bhoto* festival.[149]

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145. Henry Ambrose Oldfield, *Sketches trom Nepal* (Delhi, 1974), p. 331–7.
146. Wright, P. 140.
147. Levi, 2: 50.
148. Percy Brown, *Picturesque Nepal* (London, 1912), p. 106.
149. Landon, 2: 12–14.

## CHAPTER TEN

### Development of the Cult of Bunga-dya:—Matsyendranath

The historical data listed in the previous chapter gives a picture of an ancient and continuous cult of Bunga-Lokesvara, perhaps as ancient as the cult of Pasupatinath. From Licchavi times to the present Pasupatinath has been the patron deity of the kings of the Valley, Bunga-dya: has been the favourite of the common people of the valley. From the earliest references he is identified as the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara. The eleventh century manuscript painting of Bugama-lokesvara shows a two handed figure of Padmapani Lokesvara with a red complexion. Dharmasvamin describes the Aryavalokitesvara of Bu-kham as being made of sandalwood, of red colour in the aspect of a five year old boy.

The proper name of the deity is Bunga-dya:or Bunga-lokesvara. This name, or a variation of it, is the only name used in any source down to the time of Srinivasa Malla. It is during the time of Srinivasa Malla that we find the name Matsyendranath first used–in the Sanskrit poem of Kunu Sharma (1652), in the inscription on the roof of the temple (1666), in the alleged Sanskrit inscription on the door of the temple (1672), and in the Sanskrit poem entitled *Matsyendrapadyasatakam* (1676). With two exceptions, the name Matsyendranath is never used in any Newari language source, inscription or *thyasaphu* reference, either before or after the time of Srinivasa. The two exceptions are the single *thyasaphu* reference in the time of Srinivasa (1663) and the inscription at the Visnu temple (1748). The contrast is most striking when we compare the long Sanskrit poems written in 1652 and 1676 where the name Mastsyendranath is the only name used, and the two Newari inscriptions of Srinivasa put up at Ta: Baha in 1673 and at Bungamati in 1675 where Srinivasa uses the traditional name and several Buddhist synonyms but never uses the name Matsyendranath. The modern chronicles, all written in the last century and in Nepali, use the name Matsyendranath, and often this is the only name used. The modern

Newari accounts contained in the *avadana* stories and the published work of Asakaji Vajracarya speak of Matsyendranath only when they relate the story of "how Avalokitesvara became Matsyendranath." All of the other stories speak ony of Bunga-dya: and Avalokitesvara-Karunamaya.

It is entirely possible that the festival of Bugama Lokesvara was inaugurated by the Licchavi King Narendradeva (c. A. D. 644–680) as the *Gopalaraja Vamsavali* states. Given the proven reliability of the *Vamsavali* for cultural and religious data of this period and the presence of Mahayayana Buddhism in the Valley at this time, there is no reason to reject what the *vamsavali* says.[1] The eleventh century manuscript verifies the existence of the cult and the identity of the deity whom it calls Bugama—Lokesvara. In the thirteenth century Dharmasvamin gives the first description of the cult and festival.

The cult of Bunga-dya: was entirely Buddhist from its inception and has remained so down to the present time.[2] However, it is entirely possible that the cult is the result of a metamorphosis of a local animist god, Bunga-dya: into Avalokitesvara by Buddhist monks who settled in the area. As Mahayana Buddhism spread throughout Asia, the renaming of local gods by the Buddhist monks was a common practice; and Avalokitesvara, the Merciful One, was one of the most popular Mahayana deities. However, this is merely speculation; we have no data to confirm or deny such a theory. The use of the name Bunga-dya: does not prove the existence of a prior cult. The earliest form of the name is Bugma-lokesvara, and it is a common practice among the Newars to have such nicknames for their deities and shrines. All of the Bahas have an official Sanskrit title and a Newari nickname. It is equally possible that the cult began with Buddhist monks who settled in Bungamati and propagated the cult of Avalokitesvara to foster the devotion of the Buddhist laity. Bungamati lies some three miles to the south of Patan and would have been an ideal place to build a *vihara* in an age when the monks were celibate and would have preferred to

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1. Confer Chapter Nine note 34 above.
2. This should be evident from the description of the cult given above and especially from the more detailed analysis of the rituals performed at Jana Baha.

build their *vihara* outside the city. To the present time Bungamati is a relatively small village and there is no indication that it was ever anything more.

Though the cult surrounding the deity at the present time is Vajrayana, it was probably a standard Mahayana cult at its inception. By the middle of the thirteenth century when Dharmasvamin wrote, the priests in charge of the deity were "tantrics called *han-du*," but the bathing ceremony, in which the general populace seems to have taken part, is more like the exoteric Mahayana rites described by the Chinese travellers than the esoteric Vajrayana rites performed at the present time with the elaborate tantric ritual and the exclusion from the temple and the performance of rites of all but a small circle of initiated tantric adepts called *panjus*.

In the minds of the chronicle writers and of Dharmasvamin, the most important feature of the cult was the annual festival which seems to have been peculiar to the Lokesvara of Bungamati. There are other images of Padmapani-Lokesvara dating from the Licchavi period, but there is no mention of a popular cult or annual festival of these images. We have no description of the festival before Dharmasvamin's account in the thirteenth century and it is only in the late Malla period, i. e., from the seventeenth century onward, that we have any detailed descriptions of the festival from Newari sources. The two most important events of the annual festival are the bathing and the taking of the deity round the city. Dharmasvamin describes a bathing ceremony somewhat different from the present ceremony. The first mention of a bathing ceremony in Newari sources is the reference from the *Gopalaraja Vamsavali* which mentions that the Khasya Malla leader, Ripu Malla, attended the bathing ceremony (*nhawan*) in 1313. The copperplate inscription of 1458 speaks of land grants for the annual performance of the bathing ceremony (*mahasnana*). From the earliest references the annual festival is described as a procession (*jatra*). Dharmasvamin says that the image was taken out of the temple, and the king and wealthy people invited the image to their homes where they made offerings and bathed the image in curds, milk, raw sugar, honey and sugar. Though he does not mention a *ratha*, it is not excluded by his description. The first specific mention of a *ratha* is in the copperplate inscription of

1558 which mentions the route taken by the *ratha* (*rathamargena*) through the city of Patan.

The date of the festival is not mentioned in the earliest Newari sources. The first reference to a date is in the account of Dharmasvamin who places the festival in the "middle autumn month". He adds that on the seventh day of the next month the young tantrics invite the image back into the temple. The first reference to a date in a Newari source is in the *Gopalaraja Vamsavali* which states that Ripu Malla attended the bathing ceremony in Bungamati in February of 1313 (the first day of the dark half of the month of Phalgun). He attended the *mahajatra* on the ninth day of the bright half of Baisakh. Jayasthiti Malla attended the Bunga Jatra on 22 April 1387 (the fourth day of the bright half of Baisakh). In 1618 Bugamalokesvara was placed on the *ratha* on the first day of the bright half of the month of Baisakh. So from the fourteenth century on we have the *ratha jatra* celebrated, as now, in the month of Baisakh. If Dharmasvamin is correct in placing the festival in the middle autumn month eighty years previous to this, a rather important change took place within those years. From the late Malla period down to the present, popular folklore has associated the festival with prayers for abundant rain during the monsoon. If it was celebrated in the autumn prior to the thirteenth century, this would indicate a change in the popular meaning of the festival, perhaps as a result of a prolonged drought.

The one part of the festival not mentioned in any of the Newari sources dating to the Malla period is the *bhoto jatra,* or "showing of the shirt of Matsyendranath." We have to come to the time of the modern legends before we find any mention of it even in Newari sources. However, this does not exclude the *bhoto jatra;* none of the Newari accounts is a detailed description of the ceremonies of the festival, and from 1664 onwards we have occasional references to the Jawara (Jawalakhel) *jatra.* The showing of the shirt is certainly a relatively late addition to the festival, but we do not have enough information to give any date to this innovation.

To give a definite date to the two temple complexes of Bungadya: is difficult. There can be no question about the original and proper

home of the deity, it is Bungamati. He is the god of Bungamati and has been known as such from the earliest references down to the present. The present temple at Bungamati, however, must date from the late Malla period or later. The most notable feature of the temple in Bungamati is the *sikhara* style. No important Buddhist shirine in the Valley, except for the Mahabauddha temple in Patan, which is a copy of the Bauddha-Gaya temple, is built in this style. The rest are all either stupas or the multiple-roofed, "pagoda", style. This type of temple was standard in the late Malla period, and most of the temples in the Valley, whether Hindu or Buddhist, built during this period are of the multiple–roofed style. *Sikhara* type temples, built of brick and plastered with lime, as is the entire superstructure of the temple in Bungamati, became popular in the Valley only in the Shah period from the early part of the nineteenth century onward.

The oldest extant temples of the Valley date from the fourteenth century, and most of the old temples date to the late Malla period. Though many sites are ancient, such as Pasupatinath which has a number of inscriptions and images dating back to the Licchavi period, none of the ancient temples have survived. What type of temple was built in the earlier period ? Descriptions given by the Chinese travellers seem to indicate that the multiple-roofed building was known even in the Licchavi period.[3] However, there are indications that the *sikhara* type temple existed even in Buddhist shrines.[4] The question then arises as to whether the Bungamati temple was rebuilt in recent times and the style changed to that of a *sikhara* temple. Or, does it represent the preservation of an earlier style through successive rebuildings ? I think the latter. If the temple had been rebuilt in an entirely new style within the past hundred and fifty years, there would be some recollection of this among the people and some sort of inscription commemorating the rebuilding. There is no reference to the reconstruction of the Bungamati temple in chronicles or inscriptions over the

3. See D. R. Regmi, *Ancient Nepal* (Calcutta, 1969), p. 300.
4. Though I have not been able to locate such references myself, several informants have told me that old manuscripts and inscriptions speak of such *sikhara* type Buddhist temples. One of these is supposed to have been the temple of Vajrayogini at Sankhu.

past two hundred years. The temple was only slightly damaged in the earthquake of 1934, and there is no recollection of, or reference to, extensive damage in the earthquake of 1833. Furthermore, given the extremely conservative character of the Newar Buddhist community and their tendency to preserve traditional forms, it is highly unlikely that they would have completely changed the style of such an important temple. It is much more likely that the present style of the temple reproduces the original. I would conclude that the present structure may have been renovated and replastered, and perhaps somewhat streamlined, over the past two hundred years, but that the structure itself dates from the late Malla period, when it was perhaps rebuilt or repaired but in such a way that the traditional style was preserved rather than changed to the more popular multiple-roofed style of the age.

The date of the present temple at Ta: Baha is no problem at all. It was built in 1935 after the old structure was completely destroyed in the earthquake of 1934. It was rebuilt, though, in exactly the same style as the old temple and using the old materials as much as possible When was the pre-1934 temple built, though, and how long has Bungadya: had a temple in Patan at all ? Many modern writers speak as though the two temples have existed from the beginning of the cult. Some of them ignore Bungamati altogether or imply that the question to be answered is—when was a second temple built in Bungamati ?[5] Some of this is a result of ignorance of the fact that he is, and has always been known as the god of Bungamati, and that his cult is the exclusive prerogative of the *panjus* of Bungamati. Some have based their speculation on the modern chronicle accounts of the legends which speak of a temple being built in Patan at the time Matsyendranath was brought

5. Even a Nepal Government publication has the following statement when speaking of Bungamati: "Prior to the shifting of Red Macchendranath to it present location, Bungamati is presumed to have been a rather small agricultural village. Along with the religious and cultural importance that this deity brought, it is thought that extensive areas of Guthi lands (devoted to the maintenance of the deity) were thus brought within the village boundaries." *The Physical Development Plan for the Kathmandu Valley*. HMG Department of Housing and Physical Planning (Kathmandu, 1969), p. 68.

in the reign of Narendradeva. However, none of these accounts is more than a hundred and fifty years old; and they all speak of the bringing of Matsyendranath, a name not even used before the seventeenth century. Some writers, such as Landon, have dated the temple from the alleged earthquake of 1408, but as shown above, this reference should probably be disregarded altogehter. In any case, it refers to the temple in Bungamati, not the one at Ta: Baha. Another source for an early date is the inscription of Yaksa Malla which D.R. Regmi puts at the temple in Ta: Baha.[6] It is not there; it is across the street at the temple of Minnath. It is entirely possible, of course, that two similar inscriptions were put up at the same time, but there is no trace of an inscription from Yaksa Malla's time at Ta: Baha, nor is there any evidence that there ever was one.

The earliest reference to the existence of Ta: Baha is found in an inscription at I Baha-bahi in Patan dated 547 N. S. (1427).[7] The inscription commemorates a *laksyahuti* sacrifice performed at I Baha-bahi in that year. The main priest at the sacrifice was Sri Manju Vajracarya from Bu Baha and his assistant was Sri Lokarama Vajracarya from Tava Baha. (Tava Baha is the spelling found in a number of later inscriptions definitely referring to Ta: Baha.) The reference points to the existence of the *baha* at this time, but tells us nothing about Bunga-dya: and his temple. The first reference to a temple for Matsyendranath or Bunga-dya: at Ta: Baha is found in some of the "modern chronicles" which credit Siddhinarasimha with adding a storey to the temple of Matsyendranath in the year 1621. It does not say which temple, but since the temple in Bungamati does not have roofs, it can be taken for granted that the chronicle writers intend the temple at Ta: Baha. This is not corroborated by any contemporary or Newari source. The first contemporary reference is in the Sanskrit poem of Kunu Sharma written in 1652 which describes the temple of Matsyendranath in Khim Tole in Patan. The first mention of the temple at Ta: Baha in a Newari language source is the *thyasaphu* note of 1656 which says that the *gajur* of the temple of Buga-devata at Tava -bahal

6. Confer the treatment of Minnath in Chapter Twelve.
7. D. R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 4 vols. (Calcutta, 1966), 3: 57.

was struck by lightning in that year. In 1658 there is a reference to bringing Bunga-dya: to Tava Bahara in the month of Paus. The second roof of the temple bears an inscription with the name Srinivasa and the date 1666. After this time there are several references to the two-fold residence of the deity and to the twelve year festival when the *ratha* is pulled from Bungamati and back again. This occurred in 801, 813, 825, and 837. Hence there is no reliable reference to a temple of Bunga-dya:—Matsyendranath in Patan before the emergence of the separate Malla kingdom of Patan in the time of Siddhinarasimha Malla. I conclude then, that the present temple, reconstructed after the earthquake of 1934, dates from the time of Srinivasa Malla or possibly his father Siddhinarasimha. Before that time Bunga-dya: had only one temple, his original home in Bungamati. I think the old Vajracarya from Ta: Baha was quite correct when he told me that the temple of Matsyendranath is about 300 years old, and that his *baha* predates it by a hundred years or more. Before that time Bunga-dya: resided in Bungamati throughout the year and was brought to Patan only during the time of the annual *ratha jatra*. After the construction of the temple at Ta: Baha the annual festival began in Patan except for every twelve years when the original custom of the year-round residence in Bungamati was observed and the festival would begin there.

The stories cited above show a gradual growth of the legends concerning Bunga-dya: and his coming to Nepal. The *Gopalaraja Vamsavali*, whose final redaction was written in the fourteenth century or earlier, merely states that Narendradeva and Bandudatta started the festival. There is no mention of them bringing him to Nepal, and no mention of the reason for the festival. The longer Svayambhupurana, which must have been written in the time of Yaksa Malla or later (late fifteenth century), says that Narendradeva brought Aryavalokitesvara from Mount Putalaka (Potala) because of a severe drought which had lasted for twelve years. The *Matsyendrapadyasatakam*, written in 1677, is the first account of the legend to use the name Matsyendranath for the deity and to speak of him being brought from Kamarupa. The reason for bringing him is again given as a twelve year drought, but the poem makes no mention of Gorarkhnath and the

reason for the drought. The account is entirely Hindu in inspiration, it never uses the name Avalokitesvara or Bunga-dya:, and the only reference to Buddhism is the statement that he is worshipped by the Buddhists also. The modern chronicles written in Nepali and the Newari *avadana* stories, all written within the past hundred and fifty years, after the Gorkhali conquest of the Valley, give the full account of the legend. They bring in Gorakhnath for the first time and recount the story of Siva and Parvati by the sea- shore to explain "how Avalokitesvara came to be known as Matsyendranath."

To understand the importance of the cult in the late Malla Kingdom of Patan and the changes introduced at that time, it is important to take a quick look at the historical setting in which this took place.

Though Patan was the capital of the early Mallas, Jayastithi Malla ruled the Valley from Bhaktapur, and thereafter Bhaktapur became the official capital. Long before this, though, it seems that the Malla kings had lost effective control of their capital city of Patan.[8] There were seven feudatory families in Patan, referred to in earlier sources as the *pradhanangas* or the *mahapatras* and in the later inscriptions as the *pramanas*. As early as 1383, in the reign of Ananta Malla, we find two of these feudatories, Anantapala Varman and Ujotpala Varman, administering Patan. They recognized the sovereignty of the Malla king, but were strong enough to maintain effective control of the city. The kings who followed Ananta Malla were weak, and there was political confusion throughout the Valley. It was during this period that the Khasya Malla "invasions" took place and that Samsuddin raided the Valley on the way back from his conquests in Bengal. During this period of confusion the *pramanas* strengthened their position. Political stability returned with the reign of Jayasthiti Malla, but throughout his reign Patan continued to be controlled by three of the *pramanas* from these seven feudatory families. This is perhaps one of the principal

8. For a fuller treatment of this period in Patan see Dhanavajra Vajracarya, "Cautara Bhagiratha Bhaiya, " *Purnima,* 5: 21–31; Dhanavajra Vajracarya, "Yognarendra Mallako Rajyabhisek," *Purnima,* 9: 17–22: Sankarman Rajvamsi, "Yognarendra Mallaka Uttaradhikari," *Purnima* 6: 37–44; and D. R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal,* 2: 268–376.

reasons why Jayastithi Malla never attempted to rule the Valley from the old capital, and after his death Bhaktapur became the official capital. The situation remained the same right through the reign of Yaksa Malla; and by the time of the joint reign of his sons, one of the *pramanas*, Visnusimha, emerges in 1530 (650 N. S.) as the sole ruler of Patan, a *de facto* if not *de iure* independent kingdom. He passed the rule of Patan on to his descendants and they continued to rule it until Patan was conquered by Sivasimha Malla of Kathmandu (1578–1619) and incorporated into his kingdom. He appointed his son Hariharasimha governor of Patan, but when Hariharisimha died, Sivasimha took over the rule of Patan himself. On his death the kingdom was divided. Siddhinarasimha, the son of Hariharasimha, became the first of Jayasthiti's dynasty to rule over the separate and independent Malla kingdom of Patan.

The exact date of Siddhinarasimha's accession to the throne is not known, but it must be placed somewhere between 1618 (738 N.S.) and 1620 (740 N. S.), at which time Siddhinarasimha was twelve to fourteen years old. Until he attained his majority his mother acted as regent.

Siddhinarasimha's son, Srinivasa, was born in 1627 (747 N. S.) and as soon as the boy approached adolescence his father involved him in the administration of the state. This seems to have been partly a scheme to train the boy for the tasks of ruling and partly the result of a desire to withdraw gradually from the business of government to devote himself to religious exercixses of which he was very fond. Already in 1641 (761 N. S.) Srinivasa is sharing administrative responsibilities. By 1649 (769 N.S.) he is listed as joint ruler with his father. In 1652 (772 N. S.) Siddhinarasimha set off on a two year pilgrimage to India, and it is during this year that Kunu Sharma wrote his Kirtipataka, the Sanskrit poem describing Patan. Nearly a third of it is in praise of King Srinivasa; Siddhinarasimha is mentioned only once when he is praised for his generosity to religious foundations. Siddhinarasimha finally abdicated to go and spend his remaining days in religious retirement. Most probably this took place in 1661 (781 N. S.) the date of a medal of Srinivasa which may commemorate his coronation. The date of Siddhinarasimha's death is not known, but his name appears

again on an inscription of 1676 (796 N. S.); so it was some time after that date.

For sixteen years Bhagiratha Bhaiya served as Srinivasa's chief minister; and, as seen above, Srinivasa considered him to be his alter ego. We have no information on who Bhagiratha was or where he came from, but it is clear that he was not from the seven noble families, and he was probably an outsider.[9]

Srinivasa's son Yognarendra was born in 1667 (787 N. S.) and like his father before him, was brought into the administration at an early age. In this case, though, it was not so much the father's doing as the son's impatience and intrigue. He bagan to spend money independently and to play off the *pramanas* against this father' s advisers, especially Bhagiratha Bhaiya, a dangerous and risky game that eventually gave the *pramanas* their chance and put an end to the effective control of Patan which his father and grandfather had enjoyed. To put an end to this intrigue and save his kingdom, Srinivasa abdicated in 1685 (805 N. S.) in favour of his son. He died two years later in 1680.

One of Yognarendra's first acts was to remove Bhagiratha Bhaiya, and eventually he had him killed or killed him by his own hand. In his place he substituted one Bhamsidhar, a member of one of the seven families. Yognarendra's control of the kingdom was effective and he seems to have remained on top, but he had opened the pandora's box by intriguing with the *pramanas* and bringing women from their families into the palace as his concubines. He changed ministers frequently, favouring now one, now another family. And affairs of state were not his only interest, a fact well attested to by the fact that thirty-three wives and concubines went *sati* with him when he died at the age of thirty-nine in 1796 (826 N.S.), having been poisoned, evidently by people from Bhaktapur whose territory he had under seige at the time.

The reigns of these three kings constitute the golden age of the independent Malla kingdom of Patan. It was a time of political stability within the kingdom under kings who were able to effectively control the city and the *pramanas*. After the death of Pratap Malla in Kathmandu and Jagat Prakash in Bhaktapur, Srinivasa was the senior of the three

9. D. Vajracarya, "Cautara Bhagiratha Bhaiya," *Purnima*, 5:30.

kings, and he enjoyed a valley -wide prestige that enabled him to maintain peace, to interfere in the administration of Kathmandu, and which eventually won for him the title Nepalesvara (Lord of Nepal). His son Yognarendra shared in this same influence due mainly to a succession of minors in Kathmandu. It was a time of economic growth as Patan's trade flourished, and the improved economic condition enabled the kings to pursue ambitious building plans. Most of Patan's great temples and the greater part of the palace complex were built during this period.

The golden age of Malla rule in Patan, however, ended with Yognarendra. He was succeeded by Lok Prakash, a minor, and the *pramanas* once again emerge as the real ruling power, seating and unseating kings at will. Between 1705 when Yognarendra died and 1768 when the city was taken by Prithwinarayan Shah, Patan had fourteen kings, several of whom were minors, four of whom were outsiders called in by the *pramanas* and driven out by them when they became dissatisfied. One, Visvajit, was either murdered by the sons of a *pramana* or committted suicide to avoid being killed. The economy deteriorated as stronger kings in Kathmandu and Bhaktapur gained control of the exits of the Valley and interfered with Patan's trade. It is into this context that we must place the developments in the cult of Bunga-dya: during the time of the late Malla Kingdom of Patan.

Another factor that must be taken note of is the religious history of the Valley. Though all of the kings in the history of Nepal have been Hindus and have taken Pasupatinath as their national deity, the Licchavis, the "Thakuri" kings and the early Malla kings seem to have been more tolerant and understanding towards the Buddhist community in the Valley than were the kings of Jayasthiti Malla's dynasty. Jayasthiti's dynasty continued to patronize Pasupatinath, but they took Taleju Bhavani as their *istadevata* and were strongly influenced by the Maithila Brahmans from the court of Simraungadh, who had settled in Bhaktapur toward the end of the early Malla period and had brought the cult of Taleju with them. Maithili became the language of literature written for the court; and religion, art and literature were strongly influenced by the Hindu tantric cults brought from Simraungadh.

There is a still living oral tradition among Buddhist Newars, which I have heard from almost every informant I have talked with, that after the time of Jayasthiti Malla the Buddhist community was under continual pressure to conform to standard Hindu practices. As proof of this they cite such incidents as the alleged "imposition" of caste rules on them by Jayasthiti Malla, the overwhelming Hindu character of Bhaktapur and the poverty of the *bahas* there, the regulation that all initiated Sakyas and Vajracaryas had to register at the *darbar* in Kathmandu, the reorganisation of the *bahas* in Patan by Siddhinarasimha, the imposition by him of priests who could perform the *homa* sacrifice on Buddhist groups that had not previously observed such rites, and Srinivasa's regulation against low caste people observing the Kartik fast at Bungamati. Some of these incidents are attested to by the modern chronicles, and though some of the details can certainly be questioned, the existence of pressure on the Buddhist community cannot.

Siddhinarasimha and his son Srinivasa faced a very delicate political situation in Patan. The city of Patan was overwhelmingly Buddhist, and for over three hundred years the *pramanas* had controlled the internal affairs of the city. It would take a strong man to effectively rule the city, and it could not be done by brute force. The *pramanas* had to be controlled but they could not be alienated; they controlled the trade and were the chief landholders. The prosperity of the kingdom depended on their cooperation. The Sakyas and Vajracrayas who inhabited the innumerable *bahas* of Patan, as well as their lay followers, which included the *pramanas* as well as the farmer and artisan folk, were devout Buddhists, and Bunga-dya: was their favourite deity. To interfere directly with their Buddhist customs and practices would be to court their displeasure and make the task of government that much more difficult. The policy of Siddhinarasimha and Srinivasa was one of tolerance and patronage, mixed with an attempt at assimilation similar to the process which took place in India whereby the Buddha was recognized as an incarnation of Visnu, and the remnants of Indian Buddhism reabsorbed into Hinduism.

A temple was constructed for Bunga-dya: in Patan where he would

reside for half of the year so that the people could have more ready access to him. The temple was later enlarged, golden roofs and pinnacles were added. The inscription of Srinivasa at the temple of Ta: Baha attests to the lavish grants of land to various *guthis* whose function it was to see to the cult of the deity and the conduct of his annual festival. Srinivasa referred to Bunga-dya: as his *istadevata* and took upon himself the personal supervision of the details of the bathing ceremony and the *ratha jatra*. The bathing ceremony could not be performed without the king and the *thyasaphu* records describe Srinivasa and Yognarendra accompanying the *ratha jatra* from Bungamati and back again during the twelve year festivals. Srinivasa made Bunga-dya: the national deity of the kingdom of Patan, and this must have gone a long ways to win the support and cooperation of the people. There is an interesting passage in the long inscription at Ta: Baha about the obligation of the people to help in repairing the walls of the city, etc., which on first reading seems totally out of place. It is not. What he is saying is, "I have done all of this for you to support your traditional customs and religion; I expect your support and cooperation in return."

At the same time he began a process of making the cult acceptable to non-Buddhists. Saivite yogis of various schools had flourished in the Valley from early times; and, at least since the time of Jayasthiti Malla, the Nath Yogis had flourished in the Valley with royal patronage.[10] These yogis performed their own *pujas* at many of the principal *jatras,* and we have seen that Srinivasa set up a *guthi* for their annual *puja* and feast at the temple of Bunga-dya: in Patan. It was perhaps these yogis who first "recognized" Avalokitesvara to be Matsyendranath their *guru*. Whatever the origin of this renaming, Srinivasa had a Brahman from Varanasi write a Sanskrit poem which calls the deity Matsyendranath and describes his cult and origins in terms of the Saivite yogis. Over the door of the temple he erected a Sanskrit inscription which said that "the yogis call the deity Matsyendra, the Saktas call him Sakti, the Buddhists call him Lokesvara, and his true form is Brahma." The Brahmans and the other strictly Hindu members of the court

10. We will return to a more detailed consideration of this question in Chapter Thirteen.

would worship him as a Hindu god, yet the cult carried on under the direction of the Buddhist priests, and the people of Patan continued to worship Bunga-dya:—Lokesvara. The name Matsyendranath was used only in Sanskrit inscriptions and writings; in Newari, the language of the people of Patan, their god remained Bunga-dya:, Avalokitesvara, Karunamaya, Lokanath. If all of this was done, as the inscription at Ta: Baha says, with the advice of Bhagiratha Bhaiya, he was a shrewd counsellor indeed. It won for Srinivasa the support of the people of Patan and a reputation as a great devotee of their god Karunamaya. To this day the Buddhist community of Patan recount old stories of Srinivasa's great devotion to Karunamaya, some calling him the son of Karunamaya. When the sword of the king is brought before the bathing platform people still mutter "Srinivasa has come."

From the time of Srinivasa Malla until the end of the Malla kingdom of Patan, Bunga-dya:—Matsyendranath remained the national deity. But once the kings lost effective control of the city there were no more lavish grants of land to the *guthis* of Matsyendranath. Mahindra Malla failed to show up one year for the bathing ceremony, and thereafter we have few references to the participation of the king of Patan in the festivities. The cult of Bunga-dya: seems to have suffered some of the same fate of the political and economic deterioration of the kingdom.

When the Gorkhalis came to the Valley in 1768, the deity already had the double indentity of Avalokitesvara—Matsyendranath. They were Hindus, and as they settled into the Valley they took up the local Hindu cults such as that of Pasupatinath and made them their own. In general they took no part in the strictly Buddhist festivals and cults, but found no difficulty in worshipping Matsyendranath, the guru of Gorakhnath who was a patron deity of the kingdom of Gorkha. The legends were expanded to include Gorakhnath and the story of his binding the *nagas* at Mrigasthali. The chronicles written in Nepali for a Nepali-speaking and largely Hindu audience speak only of Matsyendranath. The Shah kings continued to patronize the cult and festival of Matsyendranath, making new arrangements for the *guthis* to ensure that the rituals were performed as customary. The kings, and later the Rana Prime Ministers, took part in the procession to Lagankhel

until about fifty years ago, and the King of Nepal is still present for the final ceremony of the "showing of the shirt" of Matsyendanath. Though the deity itself and its cult have remained entirely Buddhist under the direction of Vajracarya priests, most non-Newars in Nepal know only of Matsyendranath, and worship him (as Sundara Ananda says in the *Triratna Saundarya Gatha*) as Visnu, Siva, Sakti, Bhaskara, Brahma, Matsyendra, Kali-tara, Virincinarayana. Foreigners writing about the deity and festival have mistakenly identified the deity and cult as entirely Hindu and under the care of Hindu priests.[11]

With the disappearance of the independent kingdom of Patan over 200 years ago the cult of Bunga-dya: has nevertheless declined. Though the *ratha jatra* is still something of a national, or better, Valley-wide, festival, it is definitely losing its appeal and its splendour. The temple complexes, especially that in Bungamati, and the fixtures of the *ratha* are in a sad state of neglect. The rituals are perfunctorily performed by priests who seem to be more and more out of touch with their traditions with each passing generation. A generation ago there were *panjus* who knew some Sanskrit, now there are none. To a man the *panjus* are simple village folk, most of whom can barely read and write and who have no training in the yogic, ritual or scholastic traditon of Vajrayana Buddhism, other than the round of rituals they have learned by rote from their elders. This situation contrasts sharply with that of Jana Baha in Kathmandu where generous lay devotees, mostly from the wealthy trading class of Kathmandu, have kept the temple and its fixtures in good repair, and where the members of the *sangha* are much more skilled in the performance of the ritual. Some of them are mas-

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11. See Amita Ray, *Art of Nepal* (New Delhi, 1973), p. 25: "The Matsyendranatha or Machchhendranatha temple at Patan...was originally a Buddhist temple dedicated to Padmapani, but was at a later date converted to a Brahmanical one." Also—George W. Briggs, *Gorakhnath and the Kanphata Yogis* (Delhi, 1973), p. 232: "In Patan (Kathmandu) in Nepal is held an annual ceremony in Matsyendra's name, during which an idol is carried in procession. The idol, which formerly belonged to the Buddhist cult is very old. It was taken over into Saivism when Buddhism was superceded. Then a temple was built in honour of Matsyendra and the festival in his honour was introuduced."

ters of Sanskrit and of the Vajrayana texts. The annual *ratha jatra* of Bunga-dya: is observed with the same verve and festivity as ever by the Jyapus of Patan for whom the festival is still a very meaningful event. Their livelihood depends on good rainfall, and it is from Bunga-dya: that they expect this boon. On the last three nights of the festival, though, when the *ratha* is kept in Jawalakhel and the general populace come, there is each year a noticeable decline in the numbers of worshippers. Among those who do come there is less and less devotion. For the most part it has become a fair, and not the religious event or experience it was even ten years ago.

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11. See Amita Ray, *Art of Nepal* (New Delhi, 1973), p. 25: "The Matsyendranatha or Machchhendranatha temple at Patan...was originally a Buddhist temple dedicated to Padmapani, but was at a later date converted to a Brahmanical one." Also—George W. Briggs, *Gorakhnath and the Kanphata Yogis* (Delhi, 1973), p. 232: "In Patan (Kathmandu) in Nepal is held an annual ceremony in Matsyendra's name, during which an idol is carried in procession. The idol, which formerly belonged to the Buddhist cult is very old. It was taken over into Saivism when Buddhism was superceded. Then a temple was built in honour of Matsyendra and the festival in his honour was introuduced."

ters of Sanskrit and of the Vajrayana texts. The annual *ratha jatra* of Bunga-dya: is observed with the same verve and festivity as ever by the Jyapus of Patan for whom the festival is still a very meaningful event. Their livelihood depends on good rainfall, and it is from Bunga-dya: that they expect this boon. On the last three nights of the festival, though, when the *ratha* is kept in Jawalakhel and the general populace come, there is each year a noticeable decline in the numbers of worshippers. Among those who do come there is less and less devotion. For the most part it has become a fair, and not the religious event or experience it was even ten years ago.

## Chapter Eleven

## The Cobhar and Nala Shrines of Avalokitesvara

There are four principal shrines of Avalokitesvara-Matsyendranath known as the four "sisters." The principal one and the prototype for the others is that of Bungamati—Patan. Next in importance is the shrine at Jana Baha in Kathmandu treated in the second section of this work. Two of the "sisters" remain: the Lokesvaras of Cobhar and Nala.

### Anandadi Lokesvara of Cobhar

On a hill which rises above the gorge where the Bagmati River leaves the Valley, is the village of Cobhar, an entirely Newar settlement encircled by a few Brahman and Chetri families of recent origin. In the centre of the village, at the very crown of the hill, is the *baha* known as Co Baha in Newari and as Kacchapala Giri Mahavihara in Sanskrit. The *kwapa-dya:* of this *baha* is Adinath or Anandadi Lokesvara, the third of the four "sister" Lokesvaras. The deity is most commonly referred to as Adinath Lokesvara, though is seems that the older and more proper name is Anandadi Lokesvara. Informants at Cobhar say that the name Anandadi is the Newar name and that Adinath is the name used by Nepali speakers and by the yogis. They recognize the deity as one of the four Lokesvaras and hence as Matsyendranath, though they never use the name Matsyendranath themselves.

The *baha* is an entirely enclosed courtyard, though the shrine of the *kwapa-dya:* is clearly an older building than the rest of the complex. The *baha,* whose *sangha* is made up entirely of Sakyas, is counted as one of the eighteen principal *bahas* of Patan.

The shrine of Anandadi Lokesvara is a three-storied, multiple-roofed temple, the uppermost roof being of gilded copper and the two lower roofs tiled. The uppermost roof is surmounted by a golden *gajur* and a triple umbrella on a triangular support. From the upper roof hangs one *pataka* or banner which extends down over the lowest roof.

The entire ground floor facade is covered with imitation brick work done in brass repousse which was put up in the time of King Tribhuvan. There are two late Malla stone inscriptions near the main door of the temple and ten small copperplate inscriptions posted on either side of the main door. There is a single doorway into the sanctum surmounted by a gilded copper *torana*. The *torana* contains six raised figures set against a plain background. The three lower figures are, right to left, Aksobhya, Vairocana, Amitabha, with Ratnasambhava and Amoghasiddhi above these and a small figure of Vajrasattva at the very top. On the door post immediately below the *torana* is a figure of Amitabha, the Dhyani Buddha of Avalokitesvara. A chain of sixteen bells hangs over the doorway. Two large oil lamps hang from the lowest roof down over the entryway. Three steps lead up to the narrow veranda in front of the shrine, at the top of which are two guardian lions flanked by two metal banners depicting the sun and moon. To the side of each of these banners are two large temple bells. Above the brass repousse facade can be seen the faces of the *yamaduata* carved on the ends of the floor joists. The struts supporting the lowest roof are a series of unpainted, eight-armed figures. The struts supporting the second and third roofs are unadorned with plain lattice-work grills set between them. Metal banners (*halampo*) depicting the *chatur maharaja* hang from the four corners of the lowest roof. From the corners of the second roof hang four wooden vases and from those of the uppermost roof hang four brass vases.

The most striking feature of the temple is the great array of pots, pans, and household utensils nailed to almost very open space on the surface of the temple above the ground floor. Though these are a common feature on many temples around the Valley, the shrine of Anandadi Lokesvara is certainly one of the most profusely decorated ones, so much so that it has been nicknamed the "pots and pans temple" by foreign residents of the Valley. Horizontal boards have been added between the struts to accomodate more of these, and there is hardly any space left to hang more. No infomants could give any reason why there are so many of these at Cobhar, but since they are connected with the commemoration of the dead and Avalokitesvara is

commonly invoked by the Buddhists to interecede for their deceased relatives one would expect to find them on temples dedicated to Avalokitesvara.[1] At Jana Baha in Kathmandu such offerings are made, but the pots and pans are not nailed to the temple. Instead they are offered to the deity and stored in the temple above the ground floor.

The image of Anandadi or Adinath Lokesvara stands about three and a half feet high and, except for the face, is completely covered with garments and varous ornaments. The face is of clay and repainted annually at the time of the bathing ceremony with red colour and wide, staring eyes. According to informants the upper part of the image is metal (gold according to some), but opinions differ about the lower part. Some say it is also metal, others say it is all clay. It is impossible to check this as the image is always kept covered. Even for the bathing ceremony, though the ornaments are rmoved, the image is kept covered with a sort of loin cloth.

The courtyard in front of the temple is faced with limestone. Immediately in front of the main shrine is a recess for the *homa* fire and to the right of that a raised platform with a pedestal where the image of Anandadi is placed during the annual *dasa karma* ceremonies. (See the accompanying diagram.) In the centre of the courtyard is a stone *sikhara* temple dedicated to Gandarvesvara, whom almost all informants identified with Siva. One informant, though, said it was dedicated to Vidyaraja, one of the eight Tathagatas. The shrine is kept closed at all times, and it is impossible to see into the sanctum, but informants say it does contain a Siva *linga*. All informants agreed that it was indeed unusual to find a shrine containing a Siva *linga* in a *baha* compound,

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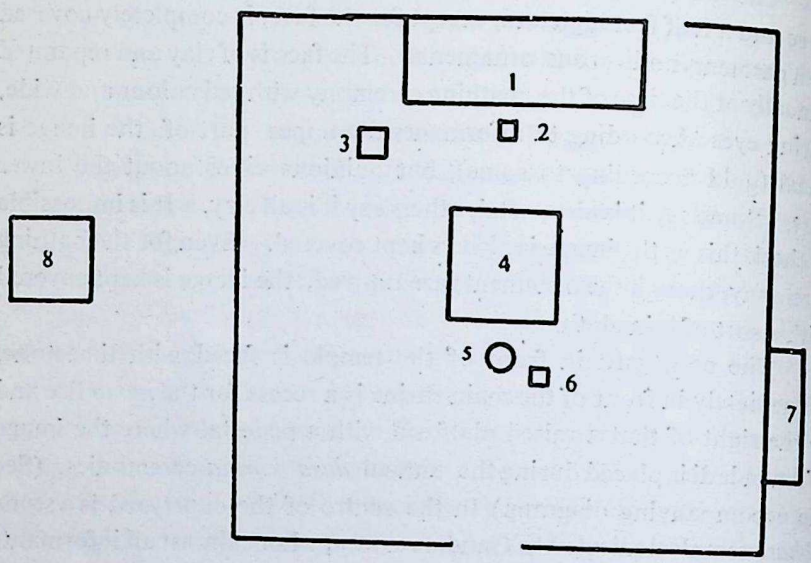
1. Informants have given different explanations for nailing pots and pans to a temple. The most common explanation I have received is that they are put up in memory of a woman to petition the deity for her prosperity in the next life. The utensils are taken from the dowry of things she brought from her paternal home. Some say that they are put up only in the case of a woman who has died without offspring who can perform the proper funeral rites. Others say they are put up in memory of a woman who had no daughters to whom she could pass on these utensils as part of the daughter's dowry. Others say they are put up in honour of any deceased person, man or woman, as a purely votive offering.

Diagram of the Temple Complex of Anandadi Lokesvara, Cobhar




1. Temple of Anandadi Lokesvara—the Kwapa-dya: of the *baha.*
2. Recess for the *homa* fire.
3. Platform for the *dasa karma* rituals.
4. *Sikhara* temple
5. *Mandala* of Manjusri.
6. Recess for *homa* fire.
7. Shrine for the recitation of *bhajans.*
8. Bathing platform.

but none could offer an explanation for its presence. The sanctum of this temple is supposed to open onto an underground passage or cave. The passageway leads away from the compound and is supposed to come out in a cave near the Cobhar gorge at the temple of Ganesa (Jalavinayaka). Informants say that it used to be common for people to crawl through the underground passageway from Jalavinayaka to the *baha,* but this was stopped some years ago when the passage became too narrow and dangerous. According to local legend the passage was made by Ganesa one time when the other gods held a meeting at the *baha* without inviting him. In a rage he cut a passage from his temple down by the river and came out in the midst of their meeting to demand an explanaton for their failure to invite him.[2] Near the steps leading into the sanctum is a hole which is supposed to go directly into the passage. There is a local superstition that if one placs his ear over this hole he will be cured of any ear ailments.

Three racks of three prayer wheels each are set into the limestone pavement between the *sikhara* temple and the main shrine, and below the central rack is a stone image of two devotees. On the opposite side of the *sikhara* temple is a brass repousse *mandala* of Manjusri on a raised pedestal. The *mandala* itself is of rather recent origin and good workmanship. To the side of this is another recess for the *homa* fire.

The remaining buildings of the courtyard comprise storage rooms, a primary school, and, in the north-east corner, a room where *bhajans* are sung morning and evening by local devotees and people from the city. The *bhajan* room houses three recent and gaudily painted images of Buddha, Ram and Krisna. In the south-east corner of the courtyard is a stone inscription commemorating donors who paid for the renovation of the *baha* buildings in the time of King Tribhuvan and Prime Minister Juddha Shamsher.

The various legends connected with the cult of Anandadi Lokesvara and his cult at Cobhar have been collected and woven into a con-

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2. Daniel Wright, *History of Nepal* (Kathmandu, 1972), p. 103. The story is a local adaptation of a common Hindu legend about Ganesa.

tinuous narrative by Varnavajra Vajracarya.[3] The book relates the shrine at Cobhar to various other shrines and legendary events in the history of the Valley of Nepal as told by the legends of the Buddhist Newar tradition. The story begins with the coming of Manjusri to the valley to drain the lake and make the Valley habitable. Manjusri, who has taken the name of Manjudeva for his sojourn, comes to the Valley and cuts the rim of the hills near a low hill called Kacchapala Giri, the hill of Cobhar. The deity inhabiting the hill is angry because he is being cut by Manjudeva, but Manju retorts that he should be glad as once the lake has been drained away, the Valley will become the seat of a great civilization, and one day Sri Tin Lokesvara will come to take up residence on the hill of Cobhar.

Many eons later, when the Valley had become a centre of civilization and was being ruled by a king called Dharmakara, Manjusri decided to return to the Valley as Manjudeva to pay a visit to Sri Tin Jyotirupa Svayambhu. He brought with him Kasyapa Tathagata. The two of them decided to set up a *vihara* in the Valley to teach and advise the people. They set up a *vihara* called Pim Baha, located in a place thereafter called Manjupattana.[4] In order that the proper worship of himself and Kasyapa Tathaagta might be insured he selected a certain *acarya,* instructed him in the ritual and appointed him and his descendants as official *deo palas.* Manjudeva became known to the people there as Adinath.

After several generations disputes arose among the descendants of this *acarya* about who had the right to serve as *deo palas* in the temple. It was finally decided that the descendants would serve in the temple by turn. By this time it was the Kali Yuga and the two deities decided that if they continued to remain in the temple and

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3. Varnavajra Vajracarya, *Cwabaha Karunamaya Bakhan* (Banepa, 1088 N. S.).

4. Pim Baha (Mahapintha Vihara) is in Patan. It has an inscription dated 477 N. S. (1375) commemorating repairs made to the *caitya* at the *baha* after it was damaged in the raid of Samsuddin. The foundation of this *baha* is therefore prior to this time. Some informants have identified Manju Pattana as the present city of Patan, others place it in the north of the Valley between Pasupatinath and Sankhu.

converse openly and freely with men as they had been doing, the people would eventually give them a lot of trouble. So they decided to disappear into their images and communicate no more with the people except by works, i. e., they would continue to grant favours to the people but would no longer speak and converse with them. The next morning when the *deo pala* came to perform the customary worship he found only dumb statues. He began to cry and plead with the gods to speak as usual. People gathered when they heard the commotion and joined in the entreaties. Finally, the relatives of the *deo palas* held a council and decided that this disaster must be due to some failing of the *deo palas* in their performance of the ritual. A heated discussion followed and finally the people fell on the *deo palas* and killed them all, except for one old man. The old man went up to the temple and rebuked the gods: "What is the use of doing *puja* to gods like you; my whole family has been destroyed. Henceforth I will not worship you." In a rage he took out the images and all the ornaments and threw the image of Kasyapa Tathagata into the river at Shanti Tirtha,and that of Adinath he cast into the river at Arya Tirtha. One Hem Acarya, while he was meditating down by the river, saw these articles floating down the river and by the force of his *sadhana* removed the image of Kasyapa from the river, took it to Patan and installed it in a *baha* which he called Hemavarna Mahavihara or Kwa Baha.[5]

The image of Adinath carried on down the river to a place called Jaya Tirtha where a man called Suval Acarya was meditating. Seeing this thing washed along by the river, he realized it was a deity and by means of his *sadhana* and a *mantra*, he removed the life of Adinath Karunamaya and put it into a *kalasa*.[6] The life came floating to him in the form of

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5. The author seems to have confused two different *bahas* here. There is, as far as I know, no *baha* called Hemavarna in Patan; there is one extant *baha* with this name in Kathmandu, and historical evidence indicates there was a second there. Kwa Baha is Hiranyavarna Mahavihara, the famous "Golden Temple" of Patan.

6. At this point in the narrative the identity of the deity changes. Up to this point Adinath was Manjudeva, the human form of the Bodhisattva Manjusri. From this point on the narrative speaks of Adinath Karunamaya, i. e., Lokesvara.

a jasmine flower. Taking the *kalasa* to the Kacchapala Hill at Cobhar, he transferred it into an image and called it Anandadi Lokesvara. At the end of a year he decided to have an annual bathing ceremony for the image and set the date as the first day of the bright half of the month of Caitra, the anniversary of the day on which he had removed the life of the god from the image in the river.

Later a *ratha jatra* was organized to begin on the ninth day of the bright half of the month of Caitra. The image was placed on a *ratha* and drawn through the city of Kantipur where they performed the *jyawala puja.*[7] One year the *ratha* got stuck in the river as they were bringing it back to Cobhar and remained there for eight days. At that time there was enmity between Nepal and Tibet. Bands of Tibetans from Kerung roamed the lanes of the city at night looking for victims they could carry off to Tibet. One night Lokesvara changed himself into a beautiful, sixteen-year old girl and came down from the *ratha* for a stroll. The Tibetans captured him (or her) and whisked her off to Sankhu before morning. When morning came they realized that they had captured a deity and named her Lokesvara. At Sankhu they took the life from the girl and placed it in an image of Adinath Karunamaya whom they called Sangu Dhunjya Lokesvara. They took the image to Kerung, explained to their king what had happened and set up the image there with all the usual rites. At the conclusion of this they bound the deity in place with *mantras* so that she (or he) would not return to Nepal

Meanwhile back in Nepal when the people awoke in the morning and went to perform the accustomed *puja* of Lokesvara they found that he was gone. Hence there were no more rites performed in his honour and no more *ratha jatras* of Anandadi Lokesvara. For some time the people continued to come to the temple each day, but finally abandoned this when it became evident there was no hope of getting he image back. This is supposed to have taken place in Kaligat

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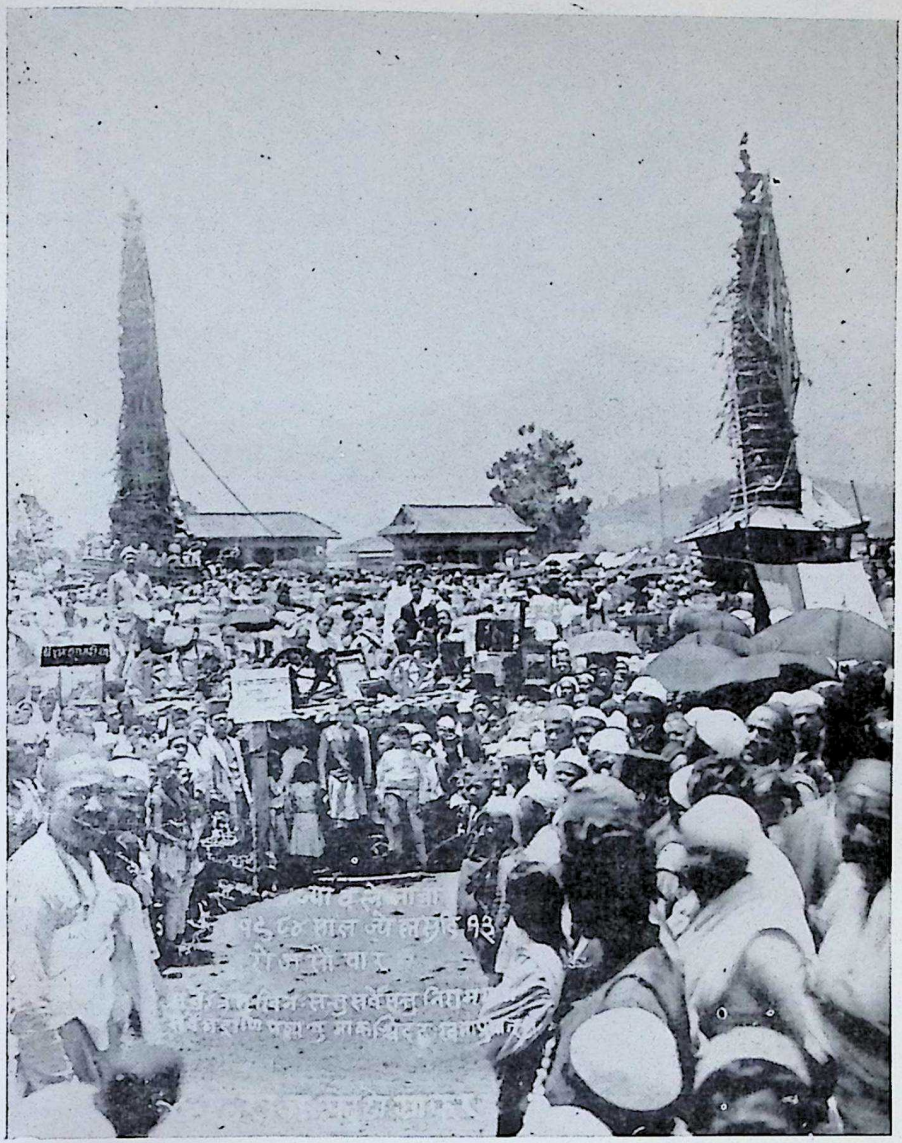
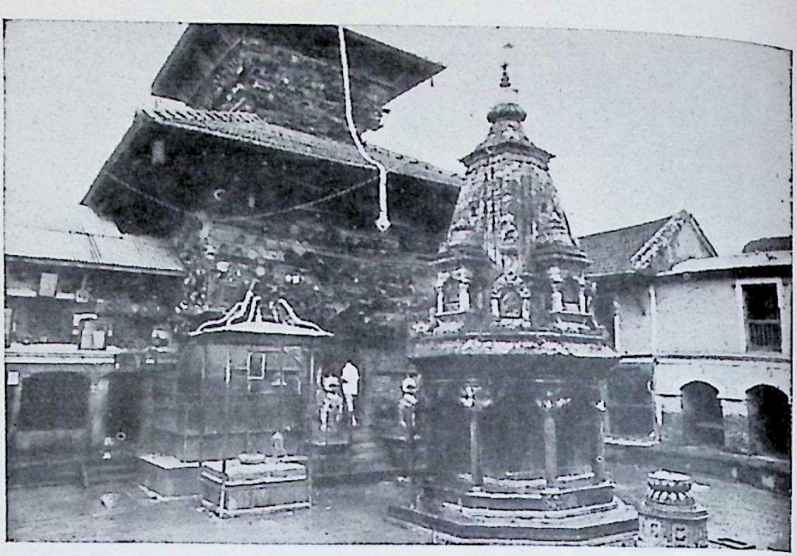
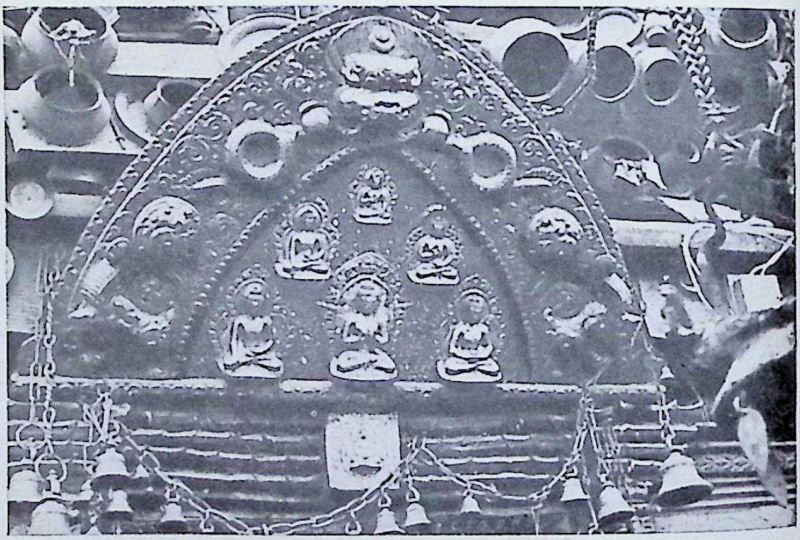
7. *Jawala puja* is a ritual performed when the deity is taken down from the *ratha*. It is still performed for Bunga-dya: in Jawalakhel (and hence the name). It used to be performed for Seto Matsyendranath but has been discontinued.



57. The Jawalakhel Jatra of Matsyendranath and Minnath 13 June 1927



58. Temple of Adinath Lokesvara at Cobhar



59. Main *Torana* of the Temple Showing the Five Buddhas Surmounted by Vajrasattva

4125 (A. D. 1024) in the reign of one King Baradeva of Patan.[8] According to the story this was the very year of the first *ratha jatra* of Karunamaya of Bungamati.

At this point in the book the story of Adinath is interrupted by a long story of a cowherd called Nanda and another story within this story of a merchant who goes to Tibet. The only connection between the story of the merchant and Anandadi is that the merchant is shown the wisdom of certain moral teachings. The story of Nanda has a connection to the legend of Anandadi. Nanda was the cowherd whose job it was to care for the cows which belonged to the temple of Anandadi. Even after the image was stolen and the cult had come to an end, he faithfully carried on his work of looking after the cows. One day as he was grazing the cows he saw a *nagini* (the wife of a serpent king) making love to a common snake. He came to understand that this was the wife of Karkotaka Nagraja, the guardian snake king of the Valley who lives in a pond south of Cobhar. Enraged at this injustice done to the snake king by his unfaithful wife, he beat the two of them and drove off the common snake. The wife of Karkotaka returned to her husband and accused the cowherd of beating her. In a rage Karkotaka captured Nanda, brought him to his palace and prepared to mete out whatever punishment his wife wished. Before this was done, however, Karkotaka discovered the truth and offered to give the cowherd a boon as a reward and as a recompense for the injustice he had done to him. He gave him the boon of being able to understand the speech of cows.

One day when Nanda was out grazing the cows he overheard the cow telling her calves that she would show them the spot from which the image of Karunamaya had been stolen long ago. She did this by spilling some milk on the spot. Nanda marked the spot and came back later to inspect it, but found nothing special. Later the cow promised to show the calves the place where a golden, jewel-studded pot was buried; again she showed the place and Nanda marked it to inspect it

8. The chronicles list a Baradeva (or Baladeva) who was the successor of the Narendradeva credited with bringing Matsyendranath to Nepal. The reign is not confirmed by any inscriptions or colophons. There was a definitely historical Baladeva who ruled from approximately 1050–60.

later. He went back with his wife and found the pot. They left it there and went home to discuss how to remove it to the house without notice. Four days later Nanda went back to the place to get the pot, and when he arrived he found Karunamaya sitting on the spot. Karunamaya told Nanda to take him up to the hill and have him set up for worship as before. He told the cowherd to take 260 rupees and offer it to the king of Patan requesting him to send someone from Swakha Chen at Tanga Baha to perform the daily *puja* for him at Cobhar.

Nanda went to the king to Patan, recounted how he and his family had continuously tended the cows belonging to Karunamaya since the image was stolen and how Karunamaya had now appeared to him and requested that his cult be re-established at Cobhar. The king did not believe the story until he himself went to the spot and saw the image which Nanda had found. He then agreed to re-establish the cult and appointed priests from Tanga Baha to act as *deo- palas* and to perform all the necessary rites.[9] Since that time the cult of Anandadi or Adinath Karunamaya of Cobhar has continued uninterrupted.

Much later Nanda and his wife went back to the place pointed out by the cow and retrieved the golden, jewel-studded pot. They took it home with them, and after that they were wealthy. Nanda began to buy up land, build houses, etc. People wondered about the source of his wealth and eventually he fell under the suspicion of the king. The king questioned him about his wealth. Nanda told the whole story except for the fact that he was able to understand the language of animals. Karkotaka had warned him never to reveal this to anyone, and if he did so, he would die immediately. Finally the king was satisfied and let him go.

Years later, when Nanda was an old man and the king of Patan was Siddhinarasimha Malla, he again fell under suspicion as his friends suspected he could understand the language of animals. Eventually

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9. Tanga Baha, Jesthavarna Mahavihara, is the home of Minnath in Patan. The reference here is curious as all the members of the *sangha* of Tanga Baha and those of Cobhar are Sakyas; there are no Vajracaryas at either place. At present all the rituals requiring the services of a Vajracarya priest at Cobhar are performed by Vajracaryas from Ta; Baha

the rumour reached the king. He summoned Nanda and demanded that he tell him if there was anything he had not revealed before. Finally, Nanda admitted that there was one thing he must not reveal and that if he should do so he would die immediately. The king then threatened him saying that if he did not tell he would be put to death anyway. After much procrastination and attempts by both Nanda and his wife to put the king off, Nanda agreed to tell the king. As soon as he began to speak he fell over dead. The king was overcome with remorse and ordered a state funeral for Nanda. The state funeral was prepared and the whole court joined in the procession preceded by the wife of Nanda who insisted on going *sati* on her husband's funeral pyre. The king then set up a *guthi* fund to provide fifteen measures of boiled wheat daily for the cows which Nanda tended. A much shorter version of this same story is found in the Swayambhupurana.

The members of the *sangha* of Co Baha, as well as the other villagers are familiar with this legend, and the story is recounted to devotees at various religious ceremonies. However, they do not accept all the details of the legend. They believe that the original image of Anandadi was stolen by Tibetans, and they place the incident of Nanda and the cowherd and his discovery of the golden pot in the time of Sivasimha, King of Kathmandu from 1578 to 1619. At this time it was decided to revive the cult of Anandadi and for this purpose they say the present image was brought from Bare Gaun, a village about half way between Patan and Godavari. They claim that traders to Tibet confirm the fact that there is an image of Lokesvara at Kerung called Cangrasi Lokesvara, and that this is the original image from Cobhar.

Indraratna Vajracarya recounts a tradition according to which the original cult of Anandadi Lokesvara was inaugurated in Cobhar by the Licchavi king Amsuvarma in the year Kaligat 3404 (A. D. 302) According to this tradition the image was consecrated by Buddhist priests (Buddha-acarya) on the eighth day of the bright half of the

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10. Indraratna Vajracarya, "Seto Macchendranathko Yatra," *Gorhha-patra,* 9 Caitra 2028, p. 3. Amsuvarma, however, is the one king of this period who was not a Licchavi and he ruled approximately 606–622.

month of Caitra, and a custom was established of taking the image out annually to the confluence below the temple for the great bathing ceremony on the first day of the bright half of the month of Caitra. He claims that until the year 1366 B. S. (1310) there are records of an annual *ratha jatra* from Cobhar to Deo Patan beginning on the eighth day of the bright half of Caitra. One year as the *ratha* was being brought back from Deo Patan it got stuck in the river called Danda Gaun Khola, at a place called Pramoda Tirtha. The entire *ratha* up to the shrine itself was submerged and it was impossible to extricate it. Finally they removed the image from the *ratha* and carried it back to Cobhar. After this incident the custom of the *ratha jatra* was abandoned. He mentions nothing about the tradition of the image having been stolen by Tibetans and gives no source for any of his tradition.

Three of the "modern chronicles" mention the cult of Anandadi. The "Nepal Desko Itihas" claims that Gunakamadeva inaugurated the *ratha jatra* of Adinath Lokesvara in the year Kaligat 3834 (733), because Adinath was considered to be the guru of Matsyendranath.[11] The *Bhasa Vamsavali*, after describing the inauguration of the cult and *jatra* of Seto Matsyendranath in Kathmandu, says that from very early times there had been a *ratha jatra* of Anandadi Lokesvara of Cobhar during which the image was taken to Deo Patan. After the inauguration of the cult of Seto Matsyendranath, the *ratha* of Anandadi Lokesvara was brought annually to Asan Tole and there was a *jatra* of the two images there for three days beginning on the eighth day of the bright half of Caitra.[12] Padmagiri's Chronicle claims that during the time of the "Thakuri" King Vrisadeva the Buddhists had taken over Pasupatinath and used to act as *pujaris* in the temple. During this period they used to bring the image of Lokesvara from Cobhar to Pasupatinath on a *ratha*.[13]

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11. "Nepal Desko Itihas," *Ancient Nepal*, 16 (July, 1971): 4. A. D. 733 is, or course, too early for either of the kings called Gunkamadeva, and according to the tradition associated with Bungadya;, the *ratha jatra* of Adinath was discontinued after his was begun.
12. Deviprasad Lansal, ed., *Bhasa Vamsavali Part Two* (Kathmandu, 2033 N. S.), p. 19
13. Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *History of Nepal* (Hosiarpur, 1970), p. 38.

Very little of historical value can be gleaned from these legends and contradictory chronicle accounts. There probably was a *ratha jatra* at Cobhar at one time; the members of the *sangha* claim that some of the fixtures of the *ratha* are still stored in the temple at Cobhar. The tradition of a *ratha Jatra* at Cobhar is also contained in the accounts of the cult of Rato Matsyendranath. It is entirely credible that the *ratha jatra* was eventually abandoned because of the difficulty of dragging the *ratha* across the river to Kathmandu or Deo Patan. The story of the theft of the image by Tibetans is not impossible, but more likely an attempt to explain the interruption of an earlier cult that was revived in the late Malla period, similar to the stories connected with the revival of the cult of Avalokitesvara at Jana Baha in Kathmandu.

There is little by the way of reliable historical data concerning the cult of Lokesvara at Cobhar, and it all dates to the late Malla period. The earliest document to mention the cult is a palm leaf land grant issued by the *mahapatras* of Patan granting land for the performance of the bathing ceremony of Srimat Sri Sri Cobahara in 678 N. S. (1558).[15] The oldest inscription found at the temple itself is dated 761 N. S. (1641).[16] The inscription is in two parts, the first part Sanskrit, the second part mixed Sanskrit and Newari. It begins with a salutation to Lokesvara, the embodiment of compassion, the one who is foremost among many Buddhas. There follows a prayer that Lokesvara defend the minister Harisankara. On the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Jestha the minister offered a golden *kalasa* and a banner (*dhvaja*) to the temple which had just been repaired. The Newari section of the inscription states that on this day, after the three-storied temple was built to replace an old one (or repair an old one), an *ahoratra homa* sacrifice was performed for the offering of a golden *gajur*. At this ceremony King Siddhinarasimha and his son Srinivasa Malla

14. Sankarman Rajvamsi, "Siddhinarasimha Malla Bhanda Agarika Patanka Sasakharuka Kehi Tadpatra," *Purnima* 12: 18.

15. Hemaraj Sakya and T.R. Vaidya, eds., *Medieval Nepal* (Kathmandu, 1970), p. 105–6. I am indebeted to Sri Dhanavajra Vajracarya for a Nepali translation of these inscriptions which he kindly gave me from the material for his forthcoming work on the Malla inscriptions.

were present. The inscription then specifies the amounts of curds, ghee, honey and raw sugar that are to be offered at the annual bathing ceremony. There follows a list of lands offered to the *guthi* to ensure the continuation of the ceremonies, and finally the names of certain Bares who are charged with caring for the shrine. It ends with a warning that if anyone damages the temple he will be guilty of the five great sins; those who care for the temple will reap great merit (*punya*).

The second inscription is a copperplate attached to the side of the door post of the temple and dated 782 N. S. (1662).[16] In this year on the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Caitra, since Vajracarya Sri Kulasadeva of Wanta Baha at Sikamagu-gal (in Kathmandu) and Utalhana Bharo, a Tamrakar of Chasapakha Baha, serve Sri Tin Avalokitesvara on each Sankranti, Kulasadeva's son Ratnaraja, his second son Catradeva, Dhanamunideva, and others offered on this day a golden *torana* and a triple golden umbrella.[17] The wife of the Tamrakar and others offered a golden lotus. "If anyone covets these objects, let him be guilty of the five great sins."

The *thyasaphu* H, cited by D. R. Regmi, notes that on the first day of the bright half of the month of Caitra in the year 784 N. S. (1664) the bathing ceremony of Sri Tin, the god of Co-bahal, took place.[18]

Another copperplate inscription, put up in the year 874 N. S. (1754) replaces an earlier damaged inscription of 801 N. S. The earlier inscription concerned the bringing of water for the annual bathing ceremony from a place called Thasimabu. Money is to be given for the fetching of water and a request is made to the king, Srinivasa Malla, and his minister Bhagiratha Bhaiya to forbid people to take *kalimati* from the channel where they get water for the bathing. A *guthi* of seven members was set up to see that the prescriptions were carried out.

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16. Ibid,. p. 129.
17. What I have translated as "triple umbrella" is *swata-catra* in the text. Dhanavajra has taken this to be a triple roof. I think that in this case it is better to understand it as an umbrella. There is a golden, triple umbrella on the temple. Of the three roofs, however, only the topmost is gilded. The others are simply tiled roofs.
18. D. R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 4 vols. (Calcutta, 1966), 3: 119.

The deity is called Sri Tin Lokesvara.[19]

There is a copperplate inscription dated 880 N. S. (1760) at the temple of Anandadi and a copy of the same at the temple of Ganesh down by the river. This inscription put up by king Visvajit Malla and his mother, Harsalaksmi, forbids the cutting of trees on the hill side. Except for dead trees and dry branches, no one is permitted to cut firewood in the area without the permission of these two. Anyone who dares to cut trees should consider that by doing so he has inflicted a wound on the bodies of Ganesh and Sri Tin Avalokitesvara. The courtier Devidas Bharo is cited as a witness.[20] Finally, a Newari song, written in the time of Jaya Prakash Malla (1736–68) praises the Lokesvara of Cobhar and asks him for a cure from disease.[21]

We have evidence therefore of a cult of Anandadi or Adinath Lokesvara at Cobhar from 678 N. S. (1558) to the present time. The present temple dates from 1642, at which time an old temple was restored or a new one built. The references give clear evidence of the annual bathing ceremony, but nothing is said about either a *ratha jatra* or a *khat jatra*. If a *ratha jatra* existed it must have been discontinued before the late Malla period.

The *sangha* of Co Baha is composed entirely of Sakyas and at the present time comprises sixty to seventy initiated male members. According to their traditions, there were originally five families comprising the *sangha*, and ritual rights and duties are still calculated on the basis of five families. There are five elders who govern the *sangha*, the five eldest from each of these orginal five "families," the eldest of whom is the *thakali*. Service in the temple, which lasts for a lunar month from full moon to full moon, is based on a rotation of these five families. At present there are about twenty households, each considered to be a subdivision of one of these original families. Hence one "family" may consist of four or five households at present. Service passes through the five families in turn. Within a "family" service passes by seniority

19. Sakya and Vaidya, p. 154. *Kalimati* is a black clay which the farmers use as a fertilizer or soil conditioner.

20. Ibid., p. 236.

21. Siefgried Lienhard, *Nevarigiti Manjari* (Stockholm, 1974), p. 151.

through the initiated members of the "family". In this way all of the members of the *sangha* regularly take their turn in the temple, unlike Jana Baha where any member of the family may be sent, and in practice it is frequently the same man each time.

The *sangha* has the usual *guthis*, the principal of which are the *guthi* of the entire *sangha*, which has an annual *puja* and *bhoj*, and the funeral *guthi*. As noted in the inscriptions there are other *guthis* whose function it is to see to some particular task like the bringing of water for the annual bathing. The ornaments belonging to the deity are all registered with the government Guthi Samsthan and the *deo pala* is held responsible for their safe-keeping as at Jana Baha. The *sangha* is served by Vajracarya priests from Ta: Baha (Dharmakirti Mahavihara) in Patan who officiate at the annual bathing ceremonies and *dasa karma* rites, and perform initiations into the *sangha* as well as any other ceremonies requiring the services of a Vajracarya.

The *deo pala* must observe the usual prescriptions and restrictions. Throughout his month of service he wears a *jama*, the long white gown which is the traditional garb of the Newar priest. The daily service, or *nitya puja*, is considerably shorter than at Jana Baha or Bungamati, consisting only of the early morning *puja* and the evening *puja*. At the early morning service the *deo pala* performs the bathing of the image, i. e., the bathing of the mirror held in front of the image. This is followed by the *pancopacara puja* and the *stora* of Bandhudatta. At midday the *deo pala* must also offer rice to the deity from what he has cooked, one portion for himself and two for the deity. There is no *puja* to be performed at this time. In the evening the *deo pala* performs the *panchopacara puja* and the lighting of the lamp (*arati puja*) followed by the "Karunastava Stotra" and the "Nama Sangiti" in honour of Manjusri.[22] A number of people from the village come for the morning and evening *puja*, and on special days, such as *astami* and *purnima*, and during the various *melas*, a large number of people come from Kathmandu and especially from Patan. During the rest of the day the temple remains closed. People come to sing *bhajans* morning

22. See appendix for the *stotra* of Bandhudatta and the "Karunastava Stotra."

and evening at the shrine in the corner of the *baha* compound, but this is a private and unofficial service separate from the official worship of the *sangha* performed by the *deo pala*.

Co Baha is a popular shirne for the monthly observances of *astami* and *purnima*. For people who perform the *astami vrata* of Amoghapasa Lokesvara at different temples, this is one of the principal shrines for the performance of the rite. People also come to perform a *vrata* on *ekadasi* (the eleventh day of the lunar fortnight) and *navami* (the ninth day of the fortnight). All of these are private devotions and the *deo pala* has nothing to do but to present the offerings to the deity. There are no observances on *sankranti*.

Of the annual observances of Co Baha the most important is the annual bathing (*mahasnana*) and reconsecration of the image which takes place in the bright half of the month of Caitra. Some time before the first day of the bright half of the month of Caitra water is brought from the confluence of the Nakhu Khola and the Bagmati River for the bathing. The bathing itself takes place on the first day of the bright half of the month (*pratipada*). The official ceremonies are performed by a Vajracarya from Ta: Baha in Patan, the current *deo pala* of the temple, and four *nyekhus* from the village of Ta: si (or Sanu Gaun) near Harisiddhi. Early in the morning the Vajracarya removes the spirit of the god from the image. The image is then turned over to the *Nyekhus* in whose care it remains for the next eight days. The auspicious moment for the *mahasnana* is usually early in the morning, and the first bathing of the image is performed then in the sanctum of the temple by the *nyekhus*. Informants say that this is the official bathing, the ceremony in the evening is just a repetition of the ceremony for the benefit of the people. In the evening the image, stripped of all its ornaments but still wearing a loin cloth, is taken by the *nyekhus* out of the *baha* compound to the south where there is a raised platform for the bathing. There the bathing ceremony is repeated by the *nyekhus* before a large crowd of people who come mainly from the local village and from Patan. At the conclusion of the bathing, the *nyekhus* cover the image completely, take it back to the temple and place it in the sanctum to the side of its usual place.

The following morning the *nyekhus* take the image outside of the temple once again, wash it with warm water and clean it, after which they

return it to the temple where they repaint it over the next week. The only part of the image which is painted is the face which is painted red with two large wide, staring eyes that look toward the sky.

On the seventh day (*saptami*) after the painting is completed, the image is taken out of the temple and shut up in a small room just to the south of the temple where it remains until the following morning. This is the Barha-tayegu or Gupha-rakhne, the "placing in the cave" ceremony which a young Newar girl undergoes at the time of her first menstruation.

On the morning of the eighth day (*astami*) the Vajracarya from Patan, one of the members of the *sangha* of Co Baha, and one member of the farmer caste go down to the river to "get the deity". The ceremony commemorates two events recounted in the legend. The first of these is the removal of the life of the image floating down the river by Hem Acarya at which time the god entered a *kalasa* in the form of a jasmine flower. The second event is the finding of Anandadi by the cowherd Nanda. Hence some informants told me that the man from the farmer caste represents Nanda the cowherd. However, others said he goes along simply as a representative of the farming community who are the special beneficiaries of the favours of Karunamaya.

At the river the three men take a ceremonial bath and then the Vajracarya places milk, curds and honey in a *kalasa* and places a jasmine flower on top of it. The *kalasa* is then placed in the water so that the deity can enter it. According to some informants the deity enters the *kalasa* in the form of a bumble-bee; others said that he comes in the jasmine flower. When the *kalasa* is placed in the water, the jasmine flower falls off and comes floating back into the *kalasa*. With much merry-making and ceremony the *kalasa* is then removed from the water and placed on a small platform where it remains throughout the day so that people can worship it. The Vajracarya from Ta : Baha offers a *bali puja* to the deity and private groups perform their own devotions, either by themselves or under the direction of their family priest.

About five in the evening a procession forms up and the *kalasa* is escorted up to the *baha* on top of the hill. The image is then removed by the Nyekhus from the small room where it has been shut up and is placed on the pedestal near the south corner of the temple for the

*dasa karma* ceremonies. With the placing of the image on the pedestal the work of the *nyekhus* is finished. They are not permitted to touch the image after it has been reconsecrated. Beginning about seven in the evening the entire *dasa karma* and consecration rites are performed by the Vajracarya from Ta: Baha.[23]

On the following morning, *navami* (the ninth day) , the image is placed on a *khat*, and taken in procession around the *baha* compound three times, i. e., round the *sikhara* temple in the centre. The procession does not leave the *baha* compound. At the conclusion of the third trip round the compound, the procession halts and the Vajracarya and one member of the *sangha* go outside the compound to the west where there is a shrine of Bal Kumari. At this shrine a goat is sacrificed by a *kasain* (member of the butcher caste); the Vajracarya offers a *bali puja*, and the member of the *sangha* offers cooked rice. I was given the following explanation for this ceremony. When the deity is brought up from the river a whole host of guests come with him—other minor deities and various kinds of spirits (*bhuta, preta,* etc.). It is necessary to get all of these guests away from the deity so that none of them will enter the temple. Hence they are all invited outside where they are feasted and appeased with a sacrifice and food. While they are out there enjoying their feast, the image is quickly whisked into the temple by members of the *sangha*.

Throughout the day people continue to come to offer worship. Late in the afternoon the *sangha* offers three long cloth banners which are then tied to the very top of the temple, stretched down over the lowest roof and wound round the *sikhara* temple in the centre of the courtyard. This concludes the festivities of the annual bathing ceremony, reconsecration of the image, and *khat jatra*.

During the month of Gunla Dharma the temple of Anandadi is one of the temples visited by devout Buddhists. For people of Patan it is a special place of pilgrimage during this month, much as Swayam-

23. It seems that when the life of the image is removed before the bathing, the deity is considered to simply go away. He is "recaptured" in the *kalasa* down by the river and then during the *dasa karma* rites the spirit is removed from this *kalasa* and induced back into the image.

bhunath is for Buddhists of Kathmandu. On the full moon day which falls within Gunla Dharma a large image of Dipankara Buddha is brought out of the temple and taken in procession round the compound. This seems to be all that remains of the ancient custom of "showing the gods of the *baha*" during this month.

Throughout the lunar month of Kartik there is a *mela* at Co Baha, when people come to observe the Kartik fast as at Bungamati. The members of the *sangha* have nothing to do with the celebrations other than to offer the gifts which the people bring the deity. The fast is associated with a series of ritual bathings. People come to the temple and spend five days there fasting and praying. Each day they go to bathe in a different place nearby: in the river near the temple of Ganesh (Jalavinayaka), at the confluence of the Bagmati River and the Nakhu Khola, at a well near the suspension bridge, at the confluence just north of this bridge, and finally at a well near the temple itself. At the conclusion of the five days they usually have their family priests perform a *kalasa-homa puja* in front of the temple of Anandadi Lokesvara. On the final day, the full moon of the month of Kartik, a large number of people come from Patan and Kathmandu to worship, many of them offering a *kalasa-homa puja,*

The cult of Anandadi or Adinath Lokesvara, then, is mainly a local cult which attracts devotees from Patan and Kathmandu on special occasions. He is recognized by the Buddhists as one of the four principal Lokesvaras of the Valley and by the non-Buddhists as one of the four Matsyendranaths. However, except for a few local residents, the non-Buddhists do not come to the temple to worship. Hence, outside of the Buddhist community he does not share any of the importance of Rato Matsyendranath of Patan and Seto Matsyendranath of Kathmandu.

**Nala Lokesvara**

Nala is a village north and a bit west of Banepa, just outside of the rim of the Kathmandu Valley. The village itself, which clusters round a knoll with a four-roofed temple of Bhagavati in the centre, is an entirely Newar village and exclusively Hindu. There are no Bare

resident in the village and the shrine of Bhagavati, is tended by Newar Hindu priests (*acajyus*). This shrine is the focus of the religious and cultural life of the village. Outside of the village to the west is a temple dedicated to Avlokitesvara–Matsyendranath, the fourth of his principal shrines.

The temple complex is at the western and of an enclosed rectangular area bordered on the north by a long narrow rest house, on the south by ordinary dwellings, and on the east by low wall and a wrought-iron gate. All of the buildings are of recent origin The shrine itself which has been recently renovated may represent the remains of a proper *baha,* though it looks more like an ordinary house than a *baha,* and no one could give me the Sanskrit name of the *baha.* The shrine is simply referred to as Nala Lokesvara.

The temple is a rectangular two-storied building with a single tiled roof supported by short unornamented struts resting against the wall rather than on the cornice. The roof is surmounted by a cupola also with a single tiled roof and topped by a golden *gajur.* Various household utensils hang round the base of the cupola. There are three doors on the ground floor and windows above them on the first floor. None of the doors has a *torana.* The window above the main door has a carved wooden screen with a small window on either side of it. The surface of the walls has been plastered and whitewashed. The temple is bordered by a railing of metal oil lamps which form an archway over the steps leading up to the main doorway.

In front of the temple is one small stone *caitya* and one large whitewashed *caitya.* Neither of them is dated. In the centre of the temple compound is a pond with a platform in the centre for the bathing ceremonies. A stone walkway leads out to the platform in the centre. At the end of the walkway are two stone guardian lions. Both the pond and the bathing platform are recent renovations. There is an inscription on the bathing platform put up in 1074 N. S. (1954). The inscription says that the seat (*asan*) for the annual bathing of Sri Sri Sri Aryavalokitesvara was set up by *gurujus* (i. e. the Vajracaryas). The renovation was financed by one Kul Manandhar of Chetra Pati in Kathmandu so that as far as possible the bathing ceremony of Sri Karuna-

maya can take place each year. The gateway leading into the square was put up in the year 1975 in honour of the late Jog Man Tamrakar of Mahabauddha in Kathmandu There are no old inscriptions in the temple complex. There are a few fragments of old images set into the wall of the rest house but most of them are unrecognizable and none are dated.

The present cult of Nala Lokesvara is the result of a recent revival of the cult by interested parties from Kathmandu.[24] By the beginning of this century the cult had completely lapsed, the *sangha* had died out and it seems the shrine was more or less abandoned. Some time before the earthquake in 1934 one Vajracarya was brought from the Prasannasila Mahavihara in Bhaktapur to live at the temple and act as *deo pala*. However the shrine remained in its neglected state and there was no regular income to finance the annual ceremonies. At the time of the great earthquake in 1934 the temple was further damaged. In 1936 Ananda Muni Vajracarya of Kathmandu and one merchant applied to Juddha Shamsher for funds to restore the temple. They obtained Rs. 500 and with this, plus donations from devotees in Kathmandu, they restored the temple.

Due to the lack of funds, the annual bathing ceremonies had not been performed for many years and the image was in a sad state of neglect. In 1937 devotees from Kathmandu contributed money for the performance of the bathing ceremonies. After this they were still performed irregularly, whenever someone gave a donation. In 1953 four devotees from Kathmandu gave a donation for the annual performance of the ceremonies and this has since been supplemented by other contributions. A *guthi* was set up and the members of the *guthi* undertook to make arrangements for the annual ceremonies by turn.

At this time the bathing ceremonies were performed in front of the temple at the edge of the pond. Donors were found to finance

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24. The following information is taken from the Preface which Ananda Muni Vajracarya wrote for the Newari edition of the legend of Nala Lokesvara. Varnavajra Vajracarya, *Dirgharathavadana* (Nala Karunamaya Bakhan) (Nala, 2021 B. S.), p. *ka-na*. It was Ananda Muni who revived the cult and got merchants to contribute to the cause. He performed the *dasa karma* rites himself for the first few years.

the construction of a proper bathing platform, and lots were cast to determine the auspicious place for it. The lot fell in favour of the centre of the pond, and the present platform was constructed. Since that time the bathing and reconsecration ceremonies have been conducted annually on the day after Phalgun Purnima.

Up to this time there was no *jatra* of Nala Lokesvara. There is an image of Dipankara Buddha at the temple and this was taken out in procession annually, but not the image of Avalokitesvara. The question then arose of whether it would not be good to have a *jatra* of Lokesvara. Lots were cast to determine whether the god favoured such a *jatra* and the response was positive. So since 1960 there has been an annual *khat jatra,* during which the image is taken out of the shrine and round the village. The *guthi* which had been set up and which was headed by Ananda Muni undertook to make arrangements for this also. Members of the *guthi* still make these arrangements by turn. In 1976 the Noko (second eldest member of the *sangha*) of Jana Baha in Kathmandu made all the arrangements and throughout the ceremonies acted as *jajman* of the officiating priest.

The image in the shrine is a three-foot high, white-faced image of Padmapani Lokesvara, dressed in silk garments and wearing a crown of feather-like ornaments of silver. The image as it now exists is a replica of the white-faced image at Jana Baha in Kathmandu, though the image is not as well-formed nor is the painting done as well.[25] It has rather outsized ears and a small, frowning mouth. As at Jana Baha, the image is a two-armed image with the right hand in *varada mudra* and the left in the position of holding a lotus. A *dhoti* is painted onto the image, and it has the same ornaments as the one at Jana Baha.

Legends concerning the cult of Avalokitesvara in Nala all link the origins of the cult to Bungamati. Informants say that originally the image was kept in Bungamati in a small shrine near the temple of

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25. A number of informants have told me that originally the image was red, not white, and that the features of the image were similar to those of Bunga-dya. At the time of the revival of the cult, however, priests were brought from Jana Baha in Kathmandu to teach the Nalâ *deopala* how to paint the image. The result was a change from a red to a white Lokesvara who is a replica of the one at Jana Baha.

Bunga-daya:. Some time in the hoary past—informants in Nala place the event in the Satya Yuga—the image was stolen from Bungamati by a thief who eventually threw the image into the river. The river carried it along to Nala where it was rescued by the people and set up in the present temple. Informants at Nala say that there is still a *guthi* fund in Bungamati that should provide income for the yearly bathing and other ceremonies, but the entire sum is taken by the people of Bungamati.[26]

There is a standard story of the history of Nala which is recited at Astami Vrata ceremonies known as the "Nagiripura Dirgharatha Raja Uddhara Astami Vrata Mahatmya."[27] In ancient times, in the Satya Yuga, there was a wicked king by the name of Dirgharatha ruling in Nagiripur (Nala). The king was an evil man who had no care for religion, and his people, following his example, were just as evil. As a result famine fell upon the land. For twelve years no rain fell, animals and birds began to die and the people were starving. The queen, Sudharma Devi, who was a devout and religious woman, prayed to Lokesvara Karunamaya. Lokesvara looked down in mercy from his place in the Sukhavati heaven and decided to come to the aid of the people in the form of a goddess, Candradevi. She appeared first in the form of a horse which the king mounted and rode off on. She took him to a place of pilgrimage and then disappeared. Later the king came upon the

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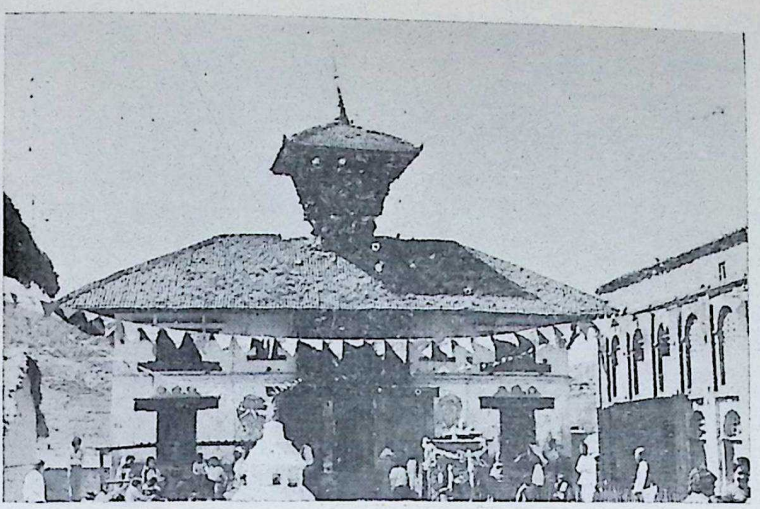
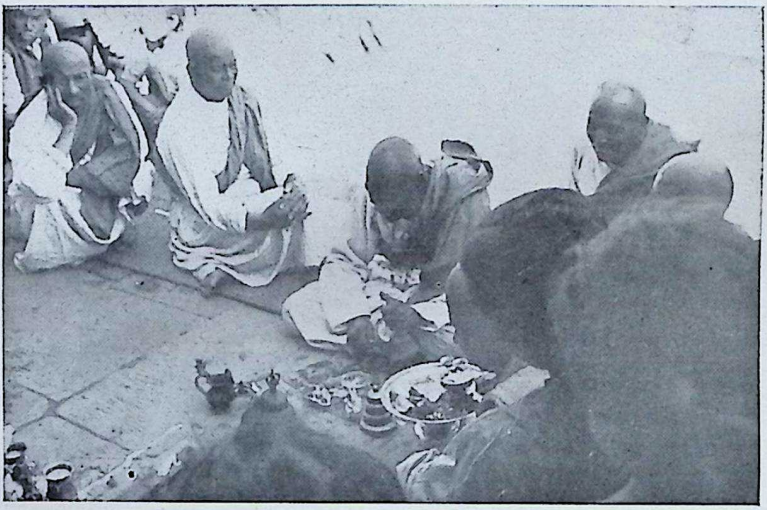
26. The temple still exists in Bungamati and has been recently renovated. (Confer the diagram of the Bungamati, temple complex in Chapter Eight.) The tradition of the Nala Lokesvara coming from Bungamati is still current in Nala, Bungamati and Patan.

27. There is a short Sanskrit version of this story of which I have seen two manuscript copies. Both are entitled *Sri Nagiripura Dirgharatharaja Astami Vrata Mahatmyam*. The first, in the possession of Sri Badri Ratna Vajracarya, was copied by him from an old manuscript in 2010 B. S. (1953). I am indebted to him for the loan of the manuscript. The second, in the possession of Sri Ratna Kaji Vajracarya, was copied by him in 1091 N. S. (1971). Both of the manuscripts are eleven folios of twelve lines to a side. There exists a longer version of the same story published in Modern Newari by Varnavajra Vajracarya mentioned above in note number twenty-four. The two Sanskrit manuscripts are identical except for an occasional word. The Newari version is simply an elaboration of the Sanskrit verion; the stories are identical.

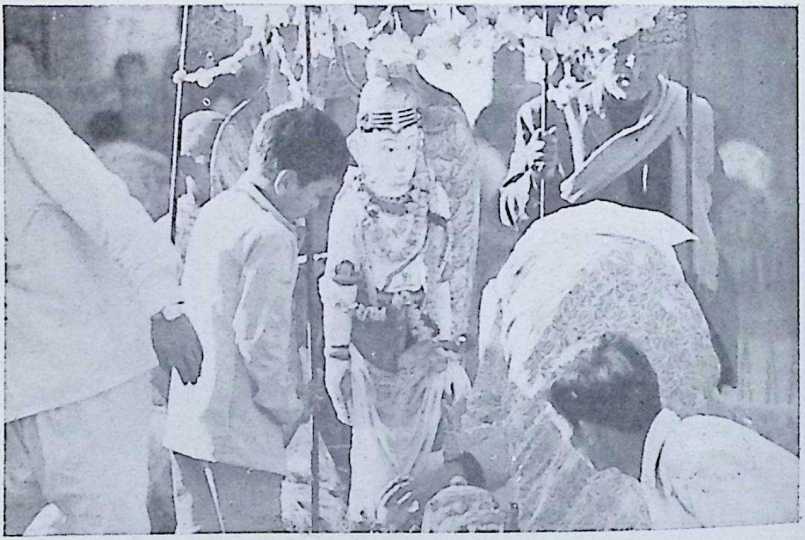


60. The Shrine of Nala Lokesvara



61. Bathing Ceremonies, Nala—Preliminary Rites

62. Carrying the Image of Nala Lokesvara to the Bathing Platform



63. Image of Nala Lokesvara on the Bathing Platform

goddess herself performing a religious rite. The king inquired what the rite was and which deity she was invoking. She explained that she was performing the *astami vrata* and those who perform this rite all go to the Sukhavati Heaven. The king joined her, and when the *apsaras* and the spirits of the heavens saw him performing this rite, all his sins were wiped away in a moment. The goddess then told him to take this *vrata* back to his country and perform it at a place called Punyamata Tirtha.[28] With this the goddess disappeared, and the queen, who had been off in the Sukhavati heaven conversing with Lokesvara, took her place.

Together the king and queen returned to Nagiripur. The king assembled his people and told them of the *vrata* he had learned about and how to perform it at the Punyamata Tirtha. He told them that it should be performed on every *astami*, but especially on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Kartik. The king then took the people down to the Punyamata Tirtha and performed the *vrata* with them. For twelve years the queen, Sudharma, performed this rite faithfully and all her sins were wiped away.

Because of the prosperity and happiness which this *vrata* brought to the country through the mercy of Lokesvara, Indra became jealous. He came to the Punyamata Tirtha in a fierce form with eight hands, holding a *trisula*, a bowl, an elephant goad, an axe, a bow, arrow and a staff, with three red eyes and a fierce face, to crush and destroy those who performed this *vrata*. Seeing this Candradevi changed her form into Bhagavati and came to the rescue of the people, destroying the fierce Indra in a flash. Grateful for the protection, the king promised to offer a great *puja* to the goddess and set up a temple in her honour in his city. To make her image the goddess gave the king a great block of stone.

After some years the image of the goddess was stolen by thieves. The king prayed to the goddess for help in finding her image. She told

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28. Punyamata Tirtha is located on the small stream just below the temple of Nala Lokesvara directly to the west. It is from here that they bring water for the annual bathing ceremonies and for the other rituals at Nala.

him that if he wanted to see the image again he should go and have *darsan* of her *guru* Karunamaya (Lokesvara). When he asked where one could have *darsan* of Karunamaya, she replied that he would come to Nala. "In the Kali Yuga a Kirati king will be born who will steal Karunamaya from Bungamati. Eventually he will throw the image into the river and it will come floating to Nala on the waters to take up residence near the Punyamata Tirtha. Later, at the end of the Kali Yuga, people will neglect and make fun of Lokesvara and say that Bhagavati is the one who is famous in this place, failing to realize that Bhagavati=Candradevi=Lokesvara. Lokesvara will reduce such people to dust."The story ends with Lokesvara coming from the heavens to take King Dirgharatha and his queen up to the Tusita heaven with him.

The legend seems to be an attempt to link Lokesvara and Bhagavati whose temple dominates the village. It preserves the common tradition of a link to Bungamati, a link which is still kept alive in present practice, for it is priests from Bungamati who come to perform the annual bathing ceremony of Nala Lokesvara. The currently presiding Vajracarya *panju* of Bungamati performs all the *pujas* in connection with the bathing rites; and a Vajracarya from Kathmandu, either Ananda Muni or another man, performs the *dasa karma* and consecration ceremonies.

As mentioned above, there is no proper *sangha* at Nala. Some years ago a priest (Vajracarya) came from Bhaktapur to tend the shrine. He settled with his family in Nala and his four sons now serve by turns as *deo palas* in the temple. They retain, however, their links with Bhaktapur and their membership in the Prasannasila Mahavihara, where they return for the initiation of their sons. These four brothers look after the temple, supervise the annual bathing ceremony and perform the *nitya puja,* which consists only in the early morning *puja,* i. e., the symbolic bathing of the image, the *pancopacara puja,* and the chanting of the Dasabalastava Stora.

The main event of the year, and the only one which attracts a crowd of people to the shrine of Nala Lokesvara, is the annual bathing, reconsecration of the image, and the procession at the end of the month of Phalgun.

The bathing ceremony takes place on the day after the full moon day of the month of Phalgun, i. e., on the first day of the dark half of the month of Caitra. Ceremonies are held at mid-day for the convenience of the devotees who come from Kathmandu. Shortly after noon five of the *panjus* from Bungamati come to Nala and immediately repair to the Punyamata Tirtha at the river just west of the temple. There they bathe and then fill the water jars with water for the bathing. Upon returning to the temple the Vajracarya *panju* performs a *kalasapuja* at which time he removes the spirit of the god from the image. As soon as the *puja* is finished, the *deo pala* from Nala removes the ornaments and vestments from the image and carries it in procession out of the temple, round the pond and out on to the bathing platform in the centre. There the bathing rites are performed, just as they are at Jana Baha and Patan, the water being poured by the *deo pala* from Nala. *Nyekhus* have no part to play in the rites.

When the ceremonies have been completed, the image is taken back into the temple and placed to one side. On the following day, the second day of the dark half of Caitra, the image is repainted by the *deo pala* from Nala and preparatory rites for the *dasa karma* are performed. The next morning a Vajracarya from Kathmandu performs the *dasa karma* rites for the reconsecration of the image. As soon as the *dasa karma* rites are finished, the image is placed on a *khat* and taken in procession up from the temple and round the village. At the conclusion of the procession the image is replaced in its proper place in the temple. On the following day, the *deo pala* performs the *guru mandala* rite and offers unhulled rice (*dhan*) and a lamp to the deity as a conclusion to the rites.

Except for this annual festival, there are few visitors to the temple, mainly because it is so far from either Kathmandu or Patan. Occasionally some people come to Nala to perform the *astami vrata*, if they are performing a series at different shrines; but people do not come regularly to Nala for this purpose. After the morning *puja*, the temple ordinarily remains closed for the rest of the day. The revival and continuation of the cult of Nala Lokesvara, then, is a result of the devotion and interest of devotees from Kathmandu. The main reason for reviving

this cult seems to have been a desire to keep active the four "principal" shrines of Lokesvara, just as there are four principal shrines of Narayana and of Ganesh in the Valley. People in Nala and Kathmandu say that this image is also Matsyendranath as Lokesvara is known as Matsyendranath, but they do not use the name themselves. Non-Buddhists hardly know of the existence of the shrine.

## CHAPTER TWELVE

# The Minor Shrines of Avalokitesvara

In addition ot the four principal shrines of Avalokitesvara—Matsyendranath in the Valley, there are three minor shrines in the Valley dedicated to him and one outside the Valley at Dolakha. Of these, the most important is that of Minnath of Patan whose cult and *ratha jatra* are closely associated with Bunga-dya:.

## Minnath-Jatadhari Lokesvara of Patan

The shrine of Minnath lies east of the main road going south from Mangal Bazaar in Patan, directly opposite Ta: Baha. The shrine is known as Tanga Baha or Caku Baha in Newari and Jesthavarna Mahavihara in Sanskrit. The deity, a small red image of Padmapani Lokesvara almost identical to Bunga-dya: and the *kwapa* of the *baha,* is popularly referred to as Caku Baha Dya:, a name derived from the word caku (molasses) which is offered to him.[1] The name *caku* for the *baha* seems to be derived from this nickname for the deity. Inscriptions within the compound give the Sanskrit name Jatadhari Lokesvara for him and the epithet *karunamaya.* Non-Newars commonly refer to the deity as Minnath, which is a variation of the name Matsyendranath.

The shrine is a small free-standing temple of two roofs within an enclosed courtyard. The entrance to the courtyard is through a white plastered, "Rana Style" facade of recent origin. The buildings surrounding the temple are all of rather recent origin, except for one small section on the south side which contains the *agam* shrine of the *baha.*

The shrine of Minnath, which faces west, has one double door on each side. The western facade of the ground floor is faced with white tile which was put up in the year 2008 B. S. (1951). Over the main door is a copper repousse *torana* of Padmanritesvara, an eighteen handed

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1. See Gopal Singh Nepali, *The Newars* (Bombay, 1965), p. 371. Nepali, however, takes the name to be Chakuwa deya. The proper term is Caku Ba (=baha).

form of Avalokitesvara in the dancing posture with a lotus in each of his hands. The main figure is flanked by two four-handed and two six-handed figures, which can probably be identified as Tara, Sudhana, Bhrikuti and Hayagriva.[2] Below the *torana* is a small figure of the Buddha Amitabha. The doorway itself is covered with brass work put up in the year 986 N. S. (1866). Set next to the lower part of the door post are two identical, copper repousse Bhairavas, each three-faced and six-handed, holding in the left hands *gada, cakra, vajra* and in the right *parasu, ghanta,* and *pasa*. Next to the upper part of the door posts are two figures on each side, one seated and one standing with the right foot resting on the lower jaw of a *makara* and the left foot against the upper jaw. All six figures wear the *bodhisattva* crown on each head, are adorned with the *bodhisattva* ornaments, and wear only a *dhoti* on the lower part of the body, with an *aksamala* around the neck. The seated figure on the right has six heads and six hands holding in the right hand *vana, vajra,* and *ankusa,* and in the left *dhanusa, ghanta,* and *pasa*. The standing figure is three-faced and has six hands, the right holding *padma, vajra, cakra* and the left *tridandi, khadga* and *ghanta*. The seated figure on the right is three-faced and eight-handed holding in the right hands *vana, cakra, vajra,* and a flower of some sort, and in the left, *dhanusa, churi, ghanta,* and *pasa*. Next to these are set, on each side, a wood carving of several indistinct figures, probably salvaged from an earlier construction. The *toranas* over the other three doors of the temple are all elaborate wood carvings and much older than the *torana* over the main door. The main figure on the north *torana* is a twelve-handed tantric deity with three heads the right one green, the centre one blue and the left one white. The main figure on the east *torana* is a twelve-armed figure of Ganesh in the dancing posture. The main figure on the south *torana* is a tantric deity with sixteen hands and three heads, the right one blue, the centre one red and the left one green.

The lower roof of the temple is tiled and supported by carved struts representing various *bodhisattvas*, The upper roof is of gilded copper, and though not dated informants say it was put up at the same

2. Confer, B. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography* (Calcutta, 1968), p. 133–4.

time that the brass work was added to the main door, i. e., 986 N. S. (1866). The struts supporting the upper roof are covered with finely worked *bodhisattva* figures in repousse brass. Between the struts is a grille work also done in brass repousse. From the four corners of each roof hang *halampos*. Birds are perched at each of the corners of the roof and the ribs of the roof end in *bodhisattva* faces. On the west side between the struts supporting the second roof are two large copperplate inscriptions. The temple is surmounted by a single golden *gajur* and a triple umbrella. A single metal *pataka* hangs from the *gajur* down to the main door of the temple.

There is a stone veranda running round the temple which is fenced in by a railing into which are set oil lamps. The steps leading to the main door are flanked by a pair of brass triangle flags erected in 1029 N. S. (1909) and two large brass guardian lions put up in the year 1024 N. S. (1904) during the reign of King Prithwi Bir Bikram Shah. Mounted on the back of each of the lions is a two armed figure of Simhanda Lokesvara in Maharajalia *asana,* with the right hand in *vitarka mudra* and the left in *karana mudra*. Each hand holds the stem of a lotus surmounted by a sword. At the corners of the veranda are two large stone images of the Yamadutas erected in 1044 N. S. (1924). Each is a two-handed figure holding a *gada* in the right hand and a *vajra* in the left. At the north end of the veranda is a large bell put up in the year 999 N. S. (1879) by a family of Silpakaras from Jana Baha in Kathmandu.[3] For a description of the rest of the courtyard see the accompanying diagram.

According to local tradition, the cult of Minnath or Jatadhari Lokesvara of Tanga Baha predates the cult of Bunga-dya:. Even the legends associated with the bringing of Rato Matsyendranath from Kamarupa speak of several *ratha jatras* current in the Valley that were suppressed when the *ratha jatra* of Rato Matsyendranath was inaugurated. Only the *jatra* of Minnath was retained.

There is a *vamsavali* of Minnath edited in Nepali by Nhucheraj

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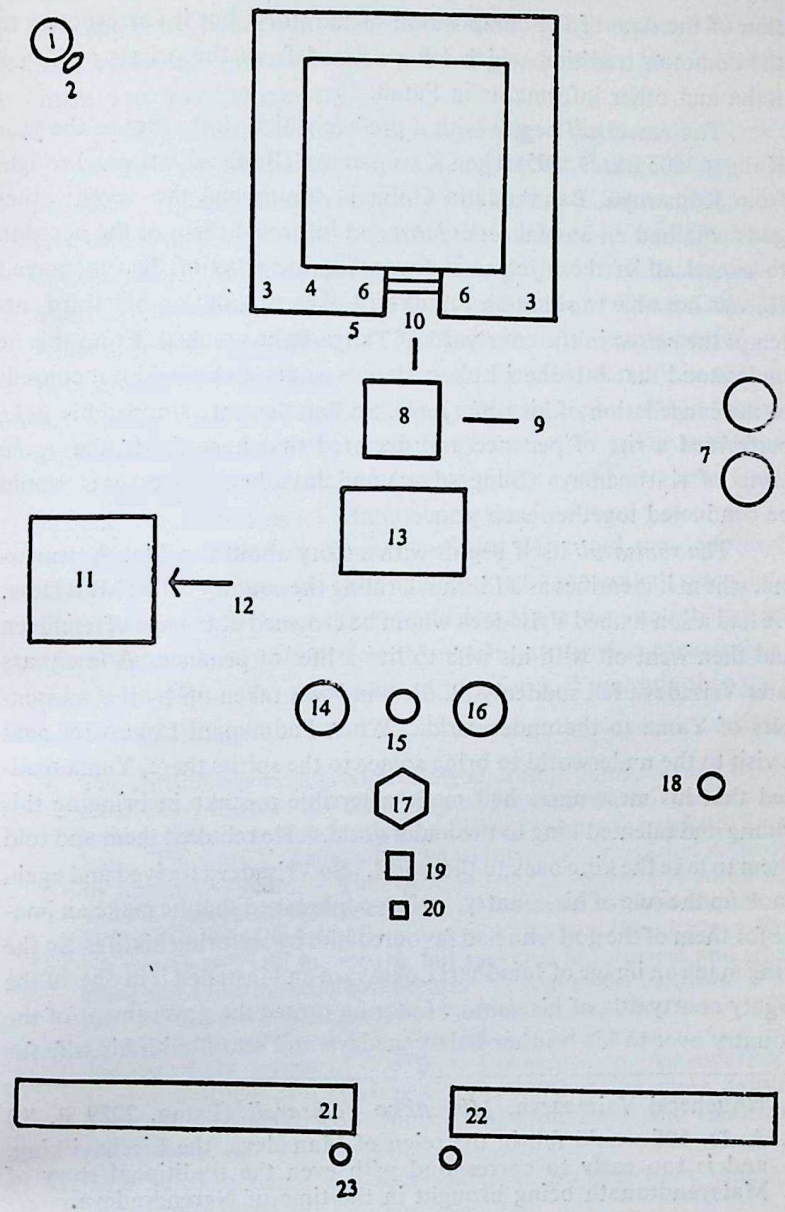
3. For the text of this inscription see the appendix at the end of this chapter.

Diagram of the Compound of the Temple of Minnath—Tanga Baha

1. *Caitya.*
2. Inscription dated 826 N. S. (1706). See appendix to this chapter for text.
3. Stone images of the Yama-duta; dated 1044 N. S. (1924).
4. Large temple bell—inscription on the bell support dated 999 N. S. (1879). See appendix for text.
5. Inscription erected in the time of Yaksa Malla, dated 589 N. S. (1469). See appendix for text.
6. Guardian lions and images of Simhanada Lokesvara erected in 1024 N. S. (1904).
7. *Caitya* and *dharmadhatu mandala* erected in 1068 N. S. (1948).
8. *Caitya* with two inscriptions attached :
9. inscription erected in the time of Srinivasa Malla 793 N.S. (1673).
10. inscription of 993 N. S. (1873) commemorating repairs made to the *caitya.* See appendix for text.
11. Bathing platform.
12. Inscription of 1022 N. S. (1902) commemorating repairs made to the bathing platform.
13. *Chetra-pal.*
14. *Caitya.*
15. Stone *mandala.*
16. *Caitya.*
17. Octagonal *caitya* erected in 1981 B. S. (1924).
18. A large Tibetan prayer wheel put up by a Patan merchant.
19. Recess for the *homa* fire.
20. Lamp erected in 2016 B. S. (1959).
21. Rest house with an inscription dated 833 N. S. (1713). For text see Hemaraj Sakya and T. R. Vaidya, *Medieval Nepal* (Kathmandu, 1979), p. 106.
22. Rest house with inscription dated 1965 B. S. (1908). The inscription is in Nepali and commemorates repairs made to the *baha* in that year. According to the inscription at that time the compound was badly neglected, grass grew round the temple and refuse was piled up. The compound was paved with brick and a new entry-way constructed. Workers were appointed to keep the compound clean, and a *guthi* was set up to see to this and lands given to finance the work.
23. Large stone figures of the Yama-duta erected in 1033 N. S. (1913).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Vajracarya.[4] The editor gives no source for the *vamsavali* and no indication of the date of the composition of the story, but it corresponds to the common tradition which I have heard from the priests at Tanga Baha and other informants in Patan.

The *vamsavali* begins with a preface which states that in the year Kaligat 3606 (A. D. 505) when Karunamaya (Bunga-dya:) was brought from Kamarupa, Bandhudatta Gubhaju summoned the seven other gods who had an annual *ratha jatra* and informed them of the decision to cancel all of these *jatras* in favour of the *jatra* of Karunamaya.[5] He was not able to summon Jatadhari Lokesvara and on his third attempt the *caitya* in the courtyard of Tanga Baha cracked. From this he understood that Jatadhari Lokesvara was angry and would not consent to the cancellation of his *ratha jatra*. So Bandhudatta stopped his *puja*, performed a rite of penance and declared that henceforth the *ratha jatras* of Karunamaya (Bunga-dya:) and Jatadhari Lokesvara would be conducted together each year.

The *vamsavali* itself begins with a story about the king Amsuvarma, whom it identifies as a Licchavi, ruling the country called Mati Desa. He had a son named Vrisadeva whom be crowned at the age of eighteen and then went off with his wife to live a life of penance. A few years later Vrisadeva fell suddenly ill, died and was taken off by the messengers of Yama to the underworld. When Padmapani Lokesvara paid a visit to the underworld to bring solace to the spirits there, Yama realized that his messengers had made a terrible mistake in bringing this young and talented king to the underworld. He rebuked them and told them to take the king back to the world. So Vrisadeva revived and again took up the rule of his country. His people asked that he make an image for them of the god who had favoured him by restoring his life. So the king made an image of Jatadhari Lokesvara and installed it in one of the eighty courtyards of his *darbar*. Later he turned the government of the country over to his brother Balarcanadeva and set off with his wife for

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4. Nhucheraj Vajracarya, *Minnathko Vamsavali* (Patan, 2029 B. S.)
5. A. D. 505 would fall in the reign of Manadeva, the Licchavi king, and is too early to correspond with even the traditional story of Matsyendranath being brought in the time of Narendradeva.

Godavari. After living there and in Bare Gaun for some time, he returned to his palace and died shortly after. His brother Balaracana-deva succeeded him and among other good works introduced rice cultivation into the country.[6]

Some time later a Bhairava, appearing in the form of a black cat, caused havoc in the country by carrying off the infant children of the people. Figuring that the country was accursed, the people gradually abandoned their homes and went elsewhere to live. Finally Balaracana deva too abandoned his *darbar* and taking with him the image of Jatadhari Lokesvara went to live at Cakravarna Mahavihara (Cuka Baha, situated just to the south of Tanga Baha).[7] The god appeared to him in a dream and told him that he did not want to stay in that *baha,* but wanted the king to build a *baha* for him on a plot of land that would be shown to him the next morning by a sparrow. The next morning the king saw a sparrow alight on a plot of land near Cuka Baha and there he built the Jesthavarna Mahavihara for Jatadhari Lokesvara The *baha* became known in Newari as Caku Baha and the deity as Caku Baha Dya:. Balarcana then inaugurated the annual *ratha jatra* of Jatadhari Lokesvara. At the conclusion of the *jatra* he determined that there should be a *puja* performed nearby at the Bhairava shrine after which a sparrow was to be sent off to inform Yamaraja that the *ratha*

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6. The chronology here is completely chaotic. Amsuvarma, who ruled circa 606–622, was the only king of the period who was not a Licchavi. He was not succeeded by his son but by the rightful Licchavi heir. The only Vrisadeva known to the period preceded Amsuvarma by about 150 years. The name Balarcana appears in some *vamsavalis* but no other evidence has been found to corroborate his reign. Wright's chronicle tells the story of Vrisadeva (Brikhadeva-barma), his trip to hell and his return, but says that he returned and set up an image of Dharma-raja Lokesvara. It makes no mention of Jatadhari Lokesvara or the *baha,* See Daniel Wright, *The History of Nepal* (Kathmandu, 1972), p. 117. The *Bhasa Vamsavali* attributes the setting up of the image of Jatadhari Lokesvara to Amsuvarma. He is also credited with starting a *ratha jatra* of the same deity. See Nayantha Paudyal, ed., *Bhasa Samsavali Part One* (Kathmandu, 2020 B. S.), p. 84
7. The Sanskrit name of Cuka Baha is Brahmacakra Mahavihara, not Cakravarna.

*jatra* of Jatadhari Lokesvara had been completed, and two fishes were to be released into a pond to go off and inform the king of the *nagas* that the *jatra* had been completed. This custom is still observed.

The story of the *vamsavali* then shifts to an account of the coming of the Brahman Sankar Acarya to Nepal and his persecution of the Buddhists. The *vamsavali* ends with three notes, probably taken from a *thyasaphu* record. In the year 836 N. S. (1716), during the time of Riddhinarasimha Malla, the *ratha* caught fire and was completely destroyed, only the image was saved. Propitiatory rites were performed and a new *ratha* constructed to complete the *jatra*. When the new *ratha* was ready the *jatra* was completed, but one man was killed and two others injured when they were run over by the *ratha*. A second note says that the image of Jatadhari Lokesvara was made (or repaired ?) in the year 779 N. S. (1659) from eight different metals. In the year 895 N. S. (1775) the king, Pratap Singh Shah, had the *panca raksa* text read five times in honour of Jatadhari Lokesvara.

The story with its jumble of kings and dates is totally unreliable, but it confirms three points of the common tradition : (1) the name of the deity, Jatadhari Lokesvara, (2) the tradition that his cult and *ratha jatra* predates that of Bunga-dya:, (3) the tradition that the image was first kept at Cuka Baha. It is because of this that a priest from Cuka Baha has the hereditary right to act as *upadhyaya* (assistant to the main priest) at the rites associated with the cult of Jatadhari Lokesvara.

There are few references in the chronicles to Minnath or his cult. The most reliable, the *Gopalaraja Vamsavali*, does not mention it at all. The chronicle known as "Nepal Desko Itihas," states that in the reign of one Biradeva, whom the chronicle identifies as the great-great grandson of Amsuvarma and the father of the Narendradeva who brought Matsyendranath from Kamarupa, *ratha jatras* of twelve different deities, including Minnath, were inaugurated.[8] Wright's chronicle says that in 793 N.S. (1673) one Satyaram Bharo of Tangal Tole repaired the *caitya* and the bathing platform of Minnath.[9] This is confirmed by an

8. "Nepal Desko Itihas", *Ancient Nepal*, 14 (Jan. 1971). p. 18–19.
9. Wright, p. 245. This is confirmed by an inscripton on the *caitya* in front of the temple. Confer below and appendix to this chapter.

inscription of the same date attached to the *caitya*. The deity is referred to as Srimat Sri Sri Sri Lokesvara of Sri Tanigla Bahara. The same chronicle notes that when Siddhinarasimha called together the representatives of the fifteen *bahas* to make arrangements for their administration, he accorded the place of honour to those from Tanga Baha, despite the fact that they did not arrive first for the meeting, because of the antiquity of their *baha*.[10] This would indicate that even at that time Tanga Baha had a reputation as one of the oldest of the *bahas* of Patan. A chronicle account cited by D. R. Regmi tells of the burning of the *ratha* of Minnath, but places it in the year 837 instead of 836.[11]

From the reliable historical date that is available about Tanga Baha, it is impossible to date the shrine earlier than the early Malla period. There are two Licchavi inscriptions at the water tap outside the temple compound, but neither of them mention the temple or the deity. One dated Sambat 148 concerns the distribution of water from a canal, and the other from the time of Jayadeva is so badly damaged that it is impossible to tell what it concerns.[12] The earliest inscription inside the temple compound is dated 589 N. S. (1469) and was put up in the time of Yaksa Malla when donors offered a golden *gajur*, a banner, and an umbrella for the temple.[13] They are offered to Sri Sri Aryavalokitesvara. The rest of this line and the next line are incomplete, but the inscription refers to Sri Vihara founded by Bhaskaradeva, whereas Tanga Baha is supposed to have been founded by

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10. Ibid., p. 235.
11. D. R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 4 vols. (Calcutta, 1966), 2: 657.
12. Dhanavajra Vajracarya, *Licchavikalka Abhilekh* (Kathmandu, 2030 B. S. ). p. 543–46 and 580.
13. For the text of this inscription see the appendix at the end of this chapter. Gyawali states that the temple was built in the time of Yaksa Malla by one Padma Deva. Surya Bikram Gyawali, *Nepal Upatyako Madhyakalin Itihas* (Kathmandu, 2019 B.S.) p. 91. Munakarmi claims that the image was set up by Yaksa Malla. Lilabhakta Munakarmi, *Mallakalin Nepal* (Kathmandu 2025 B. S.); p. 20. Neither of these statements can be verified from the available chronicle records or inscriptions. In fact the inscription put up in Yaksa Malla's time seems to indicate that the temple and the cult predate that time.

Balarcanadeva. Kwa Baha (Hiranyavarna Mahavihara) is credited to Bhaskaradeva. The inscription on the south face of the *caitya* foundation dated 893 N. S. was described above.[14] There is a third Malla inscription in front of the small *caitya* north of the temple put up in the year 824 N. S. (1704).[15] The inscription commemorates the construction of the *caitya* and details certain *pujas* to be performed at different times of the year plus a *guthi* set up to ensure the performace of the *pujas*. The name of the king is not mentioned. The last Malla inscription in the compound is found inside the rest house immediately to the left as one enters the temple compound. It is dated 833 N. S. (1713).[16] It commemorates the construction of the main gate into the temple compound, a rest house and a water c onduit. It also details land given to finance the annual bathing ceremony of the deity and specifies some of the colours to be used in the *puja*. Strangely enough the inscription twice refers to the deity as "Janmapani Lokesvara " and once as "Jamapani Lokesvara." I have checked the inscription and the published reading is quite correct. It is clearly Janmapani and Jamapani neither of which makes any sense or is recorded in any other inscriptions. I know of no other source anywhere which uses this name for Avalokitesvara. The inscription also calls the deity Amoghapasa.

In addition to these inscriptions we have a reference to Minnath and his temple in the *Kirtipataka*, the Sanskrit poem describing Patan written in 772 N. S. (1652) by Kunu Sharma. He notes that Minnath resides in Khim Tole and that in addition to Buddhists of various classes and the Sakyamunis he is also worshipped by various gods (*deva*) themselves. On top of the temple is a golden pinnacle and around the temple decorations of various kinds. The only name he uses for the deity is Minnath, but he makes it clear that he is a Buddhist deity worshipped by the Buddhist community.[17]

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14. For the text of this inscription see the appendix at the end of this chapter.
15. For the text of this inscription see the appendix at the end of this chapter.
16. Hemaraj Sakya and T. R. Vaidya eds. *Medieval Nepal* (Kathmandu, 1970) p. 207.
17. Kunu Sharma, *Kirtipataka,* ed., trans. Yogi Narhari Nath (Patan,

The *sangha* of Tanga Baha at the present time consists of only six households of Sakyas comprising nineteen initiated members. All six families are descended from a common ancestor who lived early in this century. The *sangha* is governed by the ten elders who are also the *panjus*, i. e., they and only they have the right to ride the *ratha* at the time of the *jatra*. Service in the temple, however, is performed by all nineteen members of the *sangha*. The term of service is a fortnight, i. e., from the first day of the fortnight through *purnima* or *aunsi* (the dark night of the month). Service passes right through the entire list of initiated according to seniority, but in the case of small children a substitute from their family often performs the service. The *deopala* has to perform the usual purificatory rites before he takes up his service and observe the usual restrictions.

The *nitya puja* consists of just two services, the morning *puja* and the evening *arati*. After rising and performing the usual ablutions the *deo pala* bathes the image, performs the *pancopacara puja*, shows the mirror to the image and recites three *stotras:* the Om Nama Loknath which is recited on the right side of the image, the Deva Manusya Saranama, recited on the left, and the Dasa Balastava Stotra, recited in front of the image.[18] In the evening the *deo pala* performs the *pancopacara puja*, lights a lamp and recites the same three *stotras* as in the morning. There are no *pujas* during the day, and they do not have the custom of offering rice to the deity at midday, although the *deo pala* must cook his own rice as usual. The shrine is a popular one, and a large number of people come both in the morning and evening to pay their respects to the deity. Since it is just across the street from Ta: Baha most of these people visit both temples morning and evening

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2018 B. S.), p. 4, verse 14 and p. 41, verse 14.

यत्रासौ सुविराजते हि सततं श्रीमीतनाथो भृशम्
नानाबुद्धगणेस्सशाक्यमुनिभिः सार्द्धं श्चदेवार्च्चितः ॥
श्रीप्रासादहिरण्यतुं गकलशभ्राजिष्णु कायोत्तमो
नानाकल्पविभूषितांगसकललोबन्धूकपुष्छविः ।।१४।।

18. The first and third of these *stotras* are the same as the ones recited at Jana Baha (see appendix of *stotras*); the second is different and the text is not available.

when Bunga-dya: is in residence at Ta: Baha. Throughout the day the *deo pala* stays at the temple to be of service to any devotees who may come. This is also a popular temple for the performance of the *astami vrata* and the *purnima vrata.*

The annual *mahasnana* and *ratha jatra* of Minnath are performed simultaneously with those of Bunga-dya:. The bathing ceremony takes place, therefore, on the first day of the dark half of the month of Baisakh. For all of these rites the officiating priest, who has a hereditary right to perform these rites, is an old Vajracarya from Hena Baha. His assistant, or *upadhyaya,* is a Vajracarya from Cuka Baha.[19] The officiating priest first performs the *kalasa* and *homa puja* rite, removes the life of the deity from the image, and induces it into a *kalas*a as at Jana Baha. The image is then taken out of the temple and placed on the bathing platform for the bathing. The actual bathing, which is performed just once with one *kalasa* of water, is performed by one of the members of the *sangha* of Tanga Baha. After the preliminary *pujas* are completed, the officiating priest waits until he receives word from a runner from Lagankhel that the bathing of Bunga-dya: has been completed. As soon as he gets word, the final preparatory rites are performed and the image bathed. A large group of people come running from Lagankhel in order to be able to witness this ceremony also. As soon as the bathing is completed the image is removed from the bathing platform and taken into the temple where it is hidden away for the next thirteen days. During this period one of the priests from Tanga Baha cleans and repaints the image. All of this work is done by the members of the *sangha;* the Nyekhus have nothing to do with Minnath. This period when the image is shut up in the temple is referred to as the "*gupha rakhne*" as at Ta: Baha.

On the thirteenth day of the fortnight the *dasa karma* rites and reconsecration of the image are performed, the same day that they are performed at Ta: Baha for Bunga-daya:.[20] Though the rites at Ta:

19. The *upadhyaya* lives at Cuka Baha but actually belongs to the *sangha* of Kwa Baha. The *sangha* of Cuka Baha is extinct and those who live there now and act as *deo palas* are all members of the Kwa Baha *sangha.*

20. In 1976 the *dasa karma* was performed at Ta: Baha on the following

Baha are performed in secret and at night, the *dasa karma* of Minnath are performed in the middle of the day and out on the veranda in front of the temple. Again the officiating priest is the old Vajracarya from Hena Baha and his *upadhyaya* from Cuka Baha.

At the conclusion of the *dasa karma* rites, the image is covered with its usual garments and ornaments and then taken back into the temple and re-installed in its usual place. This is followed by another *kalasa–homa puja,* and finally a *puja* in the *baha agam* for all the members of the *sangha.*

Six days later, on the fourth day of the bright half of the month of Baisakh, when the *ratha* of *Bunga-dya:* is moved for the first time, the image of Minanth is removed and placed on his *ratha,* The *ratha* is a smaller version of the *ratha* of Bunga-dya:, but the shrine itself is built in a different style. There is only one door into the shrine and it has no *torana.* The shrine itself is covered with a gilded roof which was donated by Jagat Jang, son of Jang Bahadur Rana.[21] When the image is removed from the temple, the life of the deity is not divided, but as soon as the image is taken out another image is set in its place. No one could identify this image for me, but all agreed that it is a different god whom they call simply "*bhagavan.*"

One of the ten elders or *panjus* is assigned to ride the *ratha* for the duration of the festival and he takes his place on the *ratha* as soon as the image is installed. At the appointed hour the *ratha* is pulled from Tanga Baha to the Asoka Stupa in Pul Cowk where Minnath meets Matsyendranath and leads him into Patan to the first halting place on the journey through the city, Ga Baha. The fact that he precedes Bunga-dya: and leads him into Patan, indicates (according to informants) the antiquity and prior rights of Minnath. From Ga Baha onwards the *ratha* of Matsyendranath goes first, followed by Minnath. Throughout the time of the long *ratha jatra,* the two *rathas* remain together. As for Matsyendranarh, the day when the astrologers gather at the *manimandapa* is the day for his *dewali puja,* the *puja* of his family deity.

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day due to a dispute about which day actually corresponded to the lunar day.

21. Sec Jagadish Candra Regmi, *Saha Kalin Kala ra Bastukala* (Kathmandu, 2032 B. S.), p. 112.

On the day of the bhoto *jatra,* when the long festival ends, Matsyendranath has to perform a *puja* to Minnath to take his leave of him before returning to Bungamati. The *panjus* of Bungamati bring the offerings from the *ratha* of Matsyendranath to that of Minnath. According to informants, this also indicates the prior rights of Minnath. Matsyendranath has to ask leave of Minnath before he departs from Patan to return to his home in Bungamati. He is the god of Bungamati; Minnath has his home in Patan. After this *puja* has been offered, Minnath sends back to Matsyendranath a *puja* to bid him farewell. At the conclusion of this the *ratha* of Minnath is pulled away from Jawalakhel and returned to Tanga Baha. Matsyendranath must not be removed from his *ratha* until Minnath has left, another indication of Minnath's position of seniority. When the image arrives back at Tanga-Baha it is taken into the temple where it is tied up and concealed for four days. During that time a Santi Svasti Puja is performed to pacify Minnath and the Bhairavas (symbolized by the wheels of the *ratha*), because during the time of the *jatra* people of all castes have come into contact with the *ratha*, and Minnath and the Bhairavas may be angry. As at Bungamati, he is then put through the purification rite that used to be performed by traders returning from Tibet, because he has lost caste by accepting food and offerings from low caste people, and according to local superstitions, sleeping with the women of Pode Tole. During this period no *pujas* may be offered to him and no food may be offered to him. A blood sacrifice is performed by Kasains (butcher caste people) to propitiate the Bhairavas. At the conclusion of the purification rites the story of the bringing of Matsyendranath from Kamarupa and the attempt to cancel the *ratha jatra* of Minnath is read to Minnath. After this the deity is unbound and the temple opened for regular worship.

The only other annual observance of note is the clothing of the image with the "bone ornament" on the day of Sivaratri as is done for Matsyendranath at Ta: Baha. In the case of Minnath, however, they still have the original ornament. It is a large, apron-like garment which covers the entire image except for the head. It is made of heavy black mesh with bone ornaments set into it.

The question of the relationship between Minnath and Matsyen-

dranath is one to which you get different answers depending on who you ask. Jatadhari Lokesvara is a form of Avalokitesvara, and iconographically the two images are identical, both of them being Padmapani Lokesvara. Minnath is a synonym for Matsyendranath, and as will be seen in the following chapter, they are identical. Some informants in Patan refer to Minnath as *sano* (little) Matsyendranath. At the popular level, though, people refer to Minnath as the son, daughter, or nephew of Matsyendranath, a curious twist considering the tradition of Minnath being the elder of the two deities. The answer reflects the fact that since at least the late Malla period, Matsyendranath has been the more important of the two deities to the people of Patan.

**Rato Matsyendranath of Bhaktapur.**

In Ita Chen Tole, west of the *darbar* in Bhaktapur on the road running south from the main road leading to the *darbar* is the temple of Red Matsyendranath of Bhaktapur. He is known by the Sanskrit name of Annapurna Lokesvara. The shrine which houses this Lokesvara is known locally as Marilachen and its Sanskrit title is Jestavarna Mahavihara. The temple is a separate two-storied structure with one tiled roof surmounted by two smaller roofs forming a sort of cupola. The lower of the small roofs is tiled, the upper one is of gilded copper and surmounted by a golden *gajur* made in the form of a *caitya* with an image of Aksobhya Buddha set into it.

The present temple is not connected to any other buildings, but is a separate structure having only one face, i. e., not a free-standing temple with four open sides like that at Ta: Baha or Jana Baha. The front of the temple, which abuts the street and faces east,has five doors across the ground floor each surmounted by a brass *torana* of rather recent origin. The *torana* over the main door is a six-armed *bodhisattva* with *khadga, dandi,* and *cakra* in his right hands and a *pasa, padma* and *abbaya mudra* in the left hands. Informants identified the figure as Amoghapasa, and, though the iconographic details do not fit perfectly, it is probably correct. The figure of Amoghapasa is flanked by two Taras. The other four *toranas* each have a four-armed figure of Lokesvara flanked by two Taras.

The first story of the temple has three windows. Over the centre window is a wooden *torana* of Sahasrabhuja Lokesvara of intricate detail and probably quite old. The centre window itself is screened with gilded lattice work into which is set a six-pointed star with a standing figure of Padmapani Lokesvara in the centre. The two side windows are covered with wooden lattice work. There are four wall paintings set between the windows. The two outside paintings represent apparitions of the Buddha. The one directly to the right of the centre window is of Hariharivahanalokesvara and the one to the left is Sristikanta Lokesvara. There are six carved roof supports across the front of the temple. From left to right as you face the temple they are: 1. Manjusri (dated 1045 N. S.), 2. Lokanth-Karunamaya, 3. Jinabala (?), 4. Makuti (?) (dated 950 N. S.), 5. Jambala, 6. Vajrasattva. There are five *halampos* hanging from the roof. The two at the ends depict the *purna kalasa* (a symbol used to represent prosperity and to portray the goddess Annapurna), the centre *halampo* shows the Buddha Aksobhya; the two remaining are four-armed *bodhisattva* figures.

Directly under the lower roof of the cupola is an elaborate carved *torana* of Amoghapasa Lokesvara holding the same symbols in his hands as the image in the main *torana*. Informants say that this is the original *torana* of the main door. Two large copperplate inscriptions are attached to the small section of wall below this *torana*. *Halampos* depicting the *purna kalasa* hang from the four corners of this roof and the topmost roof.

Flanking the stairway leading up to the sanctum are two bronze guardian lions erected in 1027 N. S. (1907), in honour of Amoghapasa Lokesvara. The lions are flanked by the usual brass flags and at either end of the veranda is a bell, the one on the right dated 1000 N. S. (1880) and the one to the left dated 1020 N. S. (1900).

Immediately in front of the temple, almost completely blocking the road are clustered seven *caityas* and a *dharmadhatu mandala*. It is difficult to say whether this temple ever formed part of a proper *baha* complex. Certainly it has not within living memory, and at present the members of the *sangha* are scattered in different parts of the tole.

The image kept in the temple is a metal image of Padmapani

Lokesvara about two and a half feet high. The face is painted red. According to informants the hands are in the usual posture of showing the *varada mudra* and holding the lotus, but it is impossible to check this as the image is entirely covered with a metal decorative cloak and ornaments.

The most commonly used name for the deity is Annapurna Lokesvara, and this name is found on two recent inscriptions in front of the temple. They also use the names Karunamaya and Loknath for the deity and recognize him as Matsyendranath.

Local legends connect this Lokesvara and his cult with Bunga-dya: and with King Narendradeva who brought him to Nepal. According to the story, Narendradeva was disappointed when the old man from Patan determined that Matsyendranath should be housed in Patan. His capital was in Bhaktapur and he wanted the temple there. Finally Lokesvara appeared to him in a dream and said, "Don't grieve. You are a great devotee of me, you can set up another image of me just like the one in Patan, here in Bhaktapur". This, local legend claims, is the origin of the Red Matsyendranath of Bhaktapur.

There is nothing at the temple itself which would permit us to date the structure and the cult of the deity earlier than the late Malla period. There are no Malla inscriptions at the temple except for the two copperplate inscriptions up near the second roof and it is impossible to read them. Certainly they are not older than the late Malla period.

At present the *sangha* attached to Jesthavarna Mahavihara consists of only four families of Vajracaryas and Sakyas. The male members of these families serve in turn as *deo palas* in the temple, though their term of service is not regular—some staying on duty for six months or longer. This seems to have resulted from the fact that several families attached to the *baha* have either died off or moved away, and their rights have been assumed by those who remain.

The *deo pala* performs only two *pujas* during the day—the morning *puja* consisting of the bathing of the image, the *pancopacara puja* and the recitation of three *stotras,* and in the evening the lighting of the lamp, the *pancopacara puja* and recitation of one hymn in honour of the Buddha (Vande Sakyasimha). The rest of the day the temple remains closed unless there is some special observance like the *astami*

*vrata*. The *deo pala* is expected to observe the usual rites of purification and the dietary restrictions. The *astami vrata* is performed frequently at the temple, mostly it seems, by people who are making the rounds of several temples of Lokesvara.

Theoretically there should be an annual bathing ceremony of this Lokesvara also. However it is seldom held any more. Informants say that they try to have it once every twelve years but this is often postponed for a year or two. The reason given for this is a lack of funds. There are no *guthi* funds to finance the annual ceremony, and hence it is held only if someone provides the necessary means. In place of the annual bathing, they have a ceremony on the third day of the bright half of the month of Baisakh consisting simply of the *Pancopacara puja* and a sprinkling of the image with water. This is the day when this Lokesvara must perform his *dewali puja*. When they do have the bathing ceremony, it is not necessarily held on this day but on any convenient, auspicious day. For the bathing the spirit of the deity is removed as at the other temples. The image is then bathed inside the temple, the repainting done inside the temple, and after this is completed the *dasa karma* and consecration rites are also performed in the temple. They say that the image is never removed from the temple for any reason.

Even if the bathing is not held, there is always an annual *jatra* of Annapurna Lokesvara held on the second day of the dark half of the month of Bhadra, i. e., on the day after Gai Jatra. On the morning of this day they remove from storage a duplicate image of Annapurna Lokesvara, place it on a *khat* and take it in procession from the temple in Ita Chen Tole to the Prasannasila Mahavihara and back again. They always take the second image; the main image is not removed from the temple. The *jatra* lasts for only one day and seems to be rather a local festival whose observance is confined to the Buddhist community. It is not one of the principal festivals of Bhaktapur and has none of the splendour of the festivals of the Avalokitesvaras of Patan and Kathmandu.

There are two other annual observances of note at the temple. The people of Bhaktapur look on the Matsyendranaths of Bhaktapur,

Kathmandu, and Nala as sisters. Hence on the day of *panca dana* during Gunla Dharma a *pujari* comes from Nala to offer flowers to Annapurna Lokesvara. Flowers are not brought from Jana Baha in Kathmandu. Secondly, because of the name Annapurna Lokesvara there is a connection in the minds of the people between this Lokesvara and the harvest. In the month of Bhadra, about a month before the time of the rice harvest, there is a special *vrata* of the goddess Basundhara who is worshipped as the goddess of a plentiful harvest. On this day there is a special *puja* in front of the temple of Annapurna Lokesvara, though the worship is not performed to him, but by him to Basundhara. The priest draws the *mandala* of Basundhara on the pavement in front of Lokesvara and performs *puja* to her in the name of Lokesvara.

**The Red Matsyendranath of Thimi**

Thimi is a large Newar village lying about half way between Patan and Bhaktapur. The main street of the village runs north-south and near the southern end of this street in Maru Tole is a temple which houses an image of Avalokitesvara. The temple is a small, free-standing, two-storied temple which faces north. The lower story of the temple consists of a small tiled sanctum surrounded by a wide veranda enclosed by a railing surmounted by prayer wheels. Steps lead up to the veranda, and over the veranda is suspended a *torana* showing the Buddha Amitabha flanked by Sariputra and Modgalyayana. In the outer circle of the *torana*, instead of the usual *garuda* or monster grasping the snakes, is set a *caitya* with the *makaras* below it. There is a single door into the sanctum surmounted by a *torana* showing Aksobhya flanked by two other figures. Round the sanctum are a series of pictures of the 108 forms of Avalokitevara. These pictures, erected in the summer of 1976 and commissioned by local people, were painted by an artist from Bhaktapur in imitation of the similar set at Jana Baha in Kathmandu.

There is one large bell on the veranda dated 1050 N. S. (1930). Both roofs are tiled. The lower roof is supported by short, unpainted struts depicting various deities, most of them two-armed, dancing figures. The second roof is supported by decorated struts interspersed with wooden lattice work. The brickwork between the two roofs

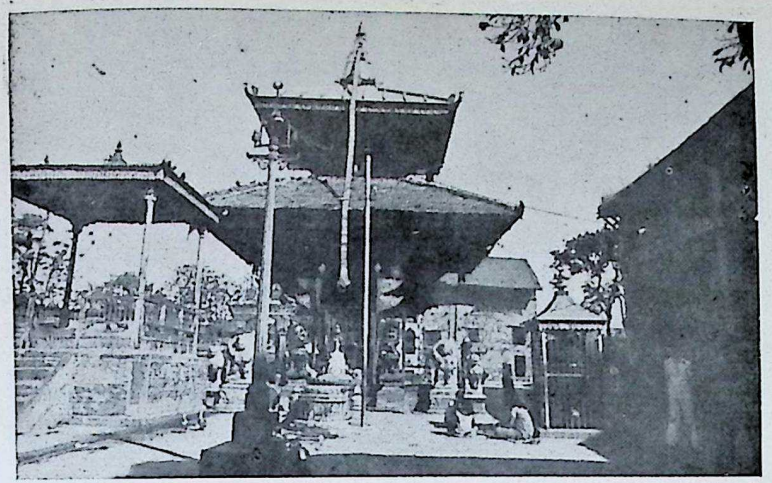
appears quite old, the rest of the temple has been renovated in recent times. The ceramic tiles on the lower story were put up in 2028 B. S. (1971). There is a small four-faced shrine directly in front of the temple which was repaired in the same year. Set into the south face of this shrine is a six-inch high stone image of Padmapani Lokesvara which appears quite old. On the east face is a four-armed image of Manjusri; on the north face is an inscription which is almost entirely illegible, but not older than the lata Malla period. The east face has only an empty niche.

The present temple is entirely free-standing, set almost into the middle of the street. If it ever formed part of a proper *baha* compound it is impossible to see the traces of it now. The shrine and the cult are certainly of late Malla origin, probably in imitation of the cult in Patan. There are no legends current in Thimi which try to give a hoary antiquity to the shrine, and informants say there is no connection between this Lokesvara and the others.

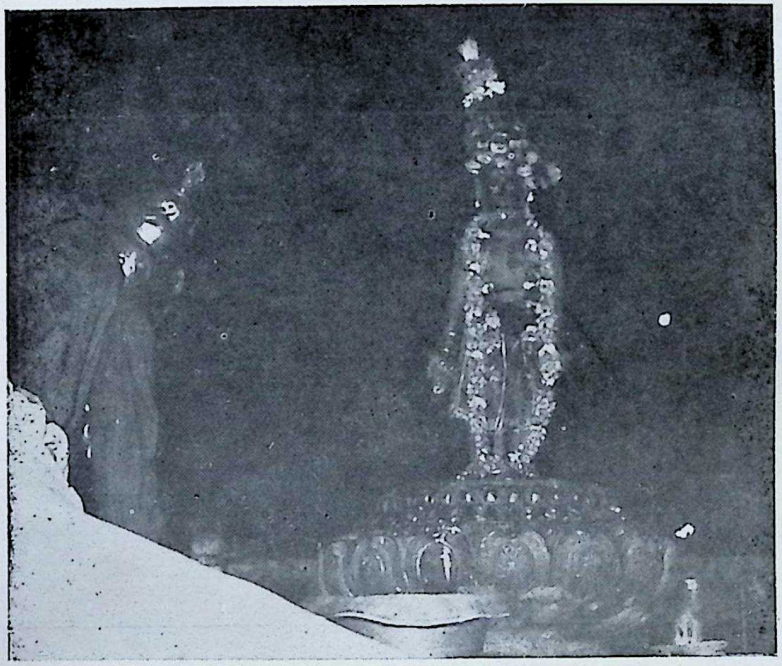
The image is a small, red-faced image of Padmapani Lokesvara, less than two feet high and almost identical to the one in Bhaktapur. The name most commonly used for the deity is Padmapani Lokesvara or Karunamaya. Informants say that, though he is called Matsyendranath by some people, they do not use the name themselves.

The temple is referred to as Ta: Baha or Hiranya Mahavihara. The *sangha* of the *baha* consists of some sixty to seventy initiated members, all of whom are Vajracaryas. This particular *baha* has three or four *sakhas* in Thimi where many of the members of the *sangha* live and are initiated, but Ta: Baha is the main, or *mul baha,* and all of them are considered to be members of one *sangha*. All of these take their turn as *deo palas* in the temple.[22] The term of service is one month. The *nitya puja* consists of the morning *puja* when the image is bathed, the *pancopacara puja* offered and three *stotras* recited. The evening *puja* consists in the lighting of the lamp (*arati*), the *pancopacara puja* and the recitation of the same three *stotras*. Local people come for the two

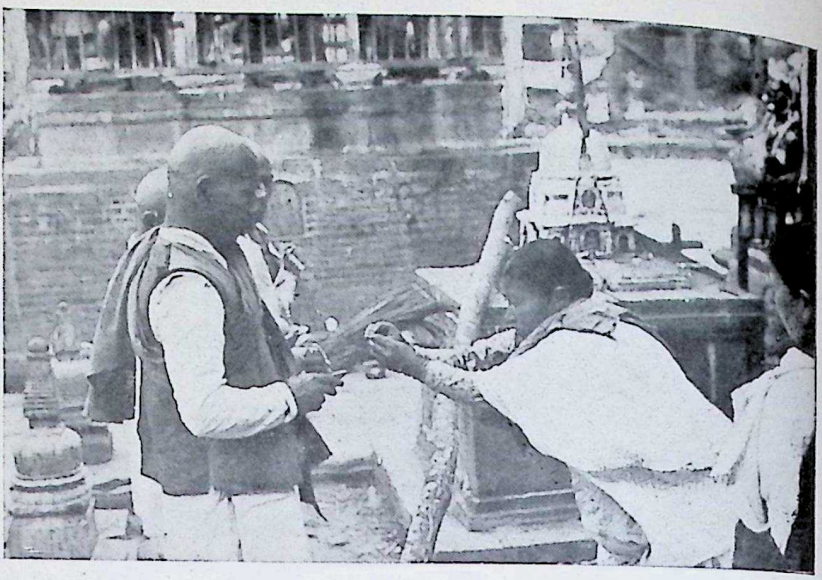
22. Vajracarya informants in Thimi say that there are between sixty and seventy familis of Vajracaryas in Thimi belonging to nine *bahas*.



64. The Temple of Minnath (Chaku Baha).

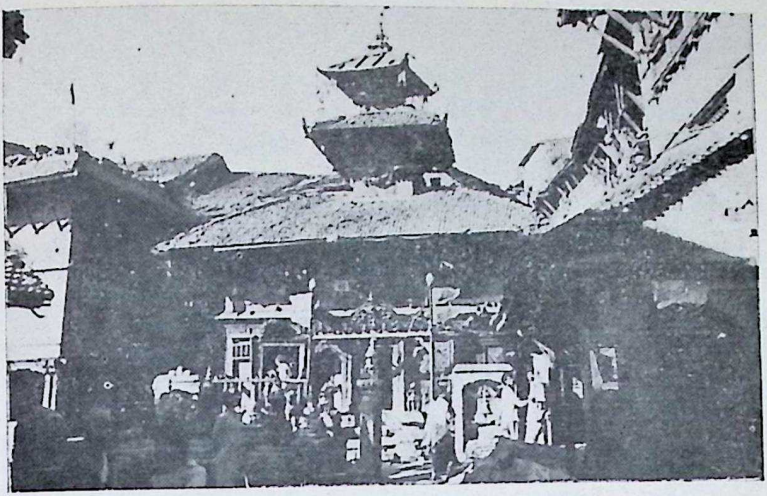


65. Minnath (Jatadhari Lokesvara) on the Bathing Platform

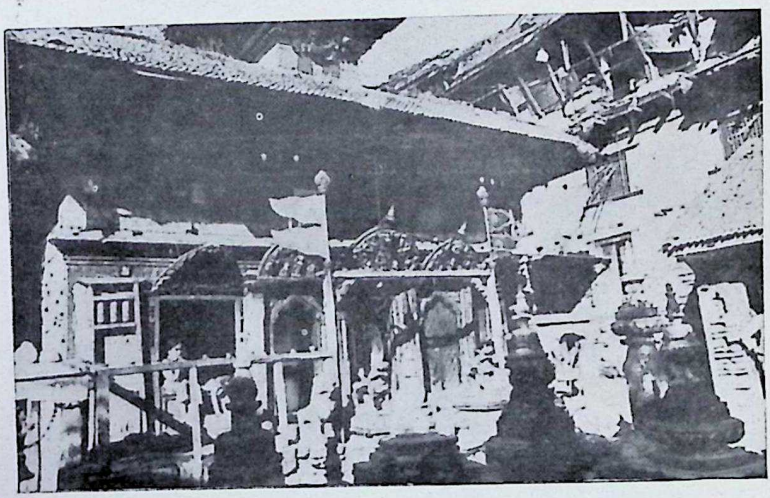


66. Vratamoksana Ceremony The Thakali, acting in the name of the deity, returns to the Baha after "preaching the *dharma*" and is officially welcomed by his wife.

67. The Solemn Moment of Consecration of the Image of Minnath

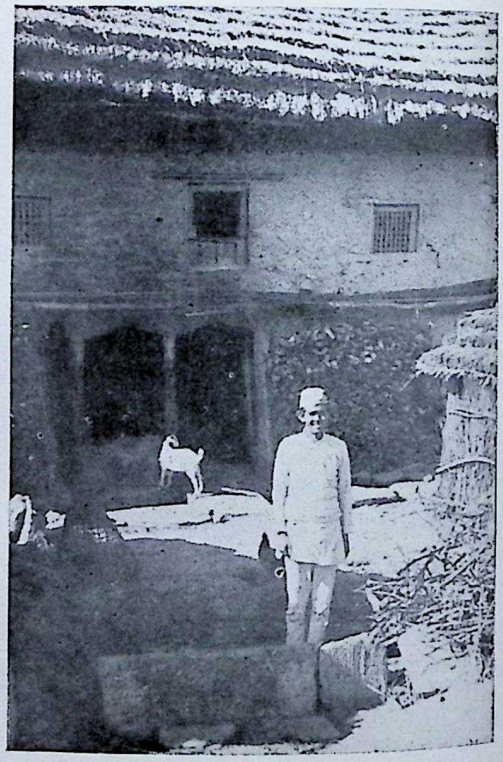


68. The Shrine of Rato Matsyendranath of Bhaktapur



69. Detail of the Temple Facade Showing the Five *Toranas*

70. The Old Temple of Rato Matsyendranath in Dolakha



71. The house of the Deo Pala where the Image is now kept.

*pujas* and the *deo pala* stays at the temple during the day to be of service to any devotees who may come. However, few seem to come except on special days like *astami*.

At the north end of the village on the same street is a small *baha* called Jhiswan Baha or Purvasthita Mahavihara. This *baha* has a small *sangha* of only six or seven initiated Vajracaryas who act by turn as priests for the Avalokitesvara of Maru Tole. Each year on the first day of the bright half of the month of Jyestha, the annual bathing ceremony is performed for the image of Avalokitesvara in his own temple by members of the *sangha* of Ta: Baha. The image is then shut up in the temple until the fourth day of the fortnight when it is taken in procession on a *khat* up to Jhiswan Baha. There it is shut up in the *baha* for two days for "*gupha rakhne*" and repainting. On the sixth day of the fortnight, the image is reconsecrated and the *dasa karma* rites performed by one of the Vajracaryas from Jhiswan Baha. On the eighth day is the annual *jatra*. Early in the morning after the usual morning *puja*, the image is set up in a rest house outside the *baha* on the street. Devotees come throughout the day to pay their respects and in the late afternoon the image is put on a *khat* and taken in solemn procession back to its own temple. The festival is one of the principal festivals of the village of Thimi, but does not attract people from outside the village.

**Buga-dya: of Dolakha**

East of the valley of Kathmandu, in the current political division of Janakpur Zone, is the village of Dolakha, a town important from ancient times because it lay on the trade route from the Valley to Tibet. From at least early medieval times there has been a Newar community in Dolakha. The Newar community has maintained contacts with both Kathmandu and Patan. In the year 653 N. S. (1533) the ruler of Dolakha, one Ujotadeva, offered golden ornaments and two bells to the main deity at Hiranyavarna Mahavihara in Patan.[23]

There is in Dolakha a Red Avalokitesvara who is locally known as Buga-dya;, a clear indication of a connection with Patan and Bunga-

23. Dhanavajra Vajracarya and Tek Bahadur Shrestha, *Dolakhako Aitihasik Ruprekha* (Kirtipur, 2031 B. S.), p. 89.

dya:. However, the connections are not only with Patan; an inscription on a *caitya* put up in the year 669 N. S. (1549) bears the name of certain Vajracaryas from Manisangha Mahavihara in Kathmandu.[24] At the present time the Newar community traces their origins to Patan, except for the Vajracaryas who claim to have come from Kathmandu.

There is a temple in Pingal Tole where the image of Buga-dya: was kept until very recently. In the year 1972 the image was stolen from the temple. After some time it was discovered in a field, and since that time it has been kept in the house of a Vajracarya living in Simbhu Tole. The old temple, which is now practically abandoned with the roof falling in, was the *baha* of this family, evidently the only surviving family of the *sangha*. At present there are three brothers who make up the *sangha* and function as *deo palas*. Their father, an only son, was for many years the only surviving member. One of the brothers, usually the youngest, performs the *nitya puja* each day, but for the most part the image is now locked up in a box, and the only time that the people see it is during the annual festival.

The image is a small version of Bunga-dya:, a red, metal image of Padmapani Lokesvara. On the halo surrounding the image itself is an inscription dated 701 N. S. (1581) when this halo was offered to Sri Ṭin Aryavalokitesvara by Bhiksus of Wambhu Baha.[25]

There is still an annual *ratha jatra* held in Dolakha in honour of Buga-dya:, though it was interrupted for two years at the time the image was stolen. On the morning of Baisakh Purnima Shrestha *guthiyars* from Dolakha bring ropes, wood and leaves to construct the *ratha* for the festival. The *ratha* is assembled in Pingal Tole in front of the old temple and at present it is about four stories high, though informants claim that it used to be thirty-two stories high. The image is brought from the house of the Vajracaryas and they perform the bathing rites at the temple. The ceremony is usually performed by the youngest brother assisted by several of the other Newars of the village. The image, which is only about one foot high, is first washed with water and

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24. Ibid., p. 94.

25. Ibid., p. 102. For the information which follows I am indebted to Sri Mahendra Limbu.

then immersed in milk. Following this the image is repainted and the *dasa karma* rites performed by the youngest brother.

On the following day the image is transferred to the *ratha* and this is considered the first day of the *jatra*. On the second day the *ratha* is pulled by the local people from Pingal Tole to the front of a temple dedicated to Harisiddhi just below the royal pond. On the third day the *ratha* is pulled to a place just above the royal pond where it stays for two days. On the fifth day it is brought to a place called Simuthan near the Bhimsenthan temple. On the sixth day it is brought to Dungal Tole just below Bhimsenthan and on the seventh day is brought back to Pingal. Finally, on the eighth day, the image is removed from the *ratha* and taken back to the house of the Vajracaryas. Throughout the *jatra* one of the brothers rides on the *ratha* and acts as *deo pala*.

There is land set aside in a *guthi* fund for the conduct of this annual *jatra* at a place called Lapelang. From this land seven *pathis* of oil and three *muris* of grain are obtained each year to help defray the expenses of the *jatra*.

As in Patan, the popular mind associates the festival of Buga-dya: with the summer rains. The festival is supposed to bring sufficient rain for the summer rice crop. If the rains should fail despite the *ratha jatra* there is another ritual performed later called Cham Puja. This takes place in a little clearing below Devikot. After performing *puja* in Devikot priests walk in procession through the town. The people wait along the road with bowls of water, and as the priests appear they are doused with water. According to local superstitions, this ceremony will infallibly bring rain if Buga-dya: should fail to do so.

As in the Valley, the deity is most commonly referred to by its familiar Newari name-Buga-dya:. The image is clearly Padmapani Lokesvara and the priests who tend the shrine as well as the inscriptions there call him Avalokitesvara. The local people who are not Newars and many of the Hindu Newars call him Matsyendranath, and everyone admits that he is "also called Matsyendranath."

**Conclusion**

This concludes the survey of the various shrines of Avalokitesvara—Matsyendranath. All of these shrines are shrines of Padmapani Lokesvara. All of the shrines are Buddhist *bahas* and at all of them

except at Jana Baha in Kathmandu, Lokesvara is the *kwapa-dya:* or guardian deity of the *sangha*. At Jana Baha, though Aksobhya remains the official *kwapa-dya:*, Lokesvara has for all practical purposes usurped his place. The members of the *baha sangha* in each case are the guardians of the shrine and the priests who tend the deity. The ritual comprising the cult of the diety is all Vajrayana Buddhist ritual, and the principal rites are performed by Vajracarya priests. Of the four principal or "sister" Lokesvaras two are red and two white, though the one at Nala was evidently also red until recently. All of the minor Lokesvaras are red. The differences in the cult from place to place are minor and reflect local customs and conditions rather than any significant difference in the meaning and understanding of the deity. In all cases Lokesvara is worshipped as "Karunamaya"—the Mercifiul One—to whom devotees can turn for protection and aid in this life and a place in the Sukhavati Heaven in the next. In Patan and in Dolakha the popular mind associates the annual *ratha jatra* with prayers for an abundant monsoon, and the never-failing summer rains are considered to be the gift of Lokesvara. At the other shrines this is not the case, but in all cases the people look to Lokesvara for favours connected with their daily needs and for protection from the evils that may come into their lives.

The most important of all the shrines and almost certainly the oldest is that of Bunga-dya: in Bungamati. The cult of the white Lokesvara of Kathmandu, the red Lokesvara of Cobhar, the white Lokesvara of Nala and those of Bhaktapur, Thimi and Dolakha are frank imitations of the cult of Bunga-dya:—Avalokitesvara. The cult of Jatadhari Lokesvara or Minnath in Patan may have been an independent cult, or an imitation of the Bungamati cult begun at a time when Bunga-dya: had no residence in Patan.

As we saw in Chapter Ten, Bunga-dya:—Avalokitesvara came to be known also as Matsyendranath during the time of the late Malla kingdom of Patan. As a result of this all of the other Lokesvaras whose cult was an imitation of Bunga-dya: 's also came to be called Matsyendranath by Hindus in general and especially by non-Newars. We turn in the next section to a consideration of how and why this came about.

## Appendix

The following inscriptions from the temple complex of Minnath in Patan (Tanga Baha) were read for me by Sri Dhanavajra Vajracarya. They are all unpublished except the first one from the time of Yaksa Malla. This inscription was published by D. R. Regmi but wrongly placed at the temple of Matsyendranath (Ta: Baha). See D. R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal,* 4 vols. (Calcutta, 1966), 3:76–7. Part of it was also published by Sankarman Rajvamsi in "Yaksamallako Samayaka Niscit Sambat ra Tithimitiharu,"*Purnima,* 10:21. None of the previous editors was able to give the date.

## Inscription No. 1 N. S. 589

This inscrition is found at ground level just to the left of the steps leading up to the *sanctum* of the temple.

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———— ॥ ॥ सम्वत् ५८९ फलगुन ——
———— योगे सोमवासरे ——
———— आर्द्रानक्षत्रे प्रीतियोगे ——
———— पुनर्वसुनक्षेत्रे ——
———— सिद्धिर्भवति ॥ —— श्रीश्रीआर्यावलोकिते ——
———— भास्करदेवसंस्कारित श्रीविहारमध्यसंस्थितस्य ——
जटा — घटाकारकनककलश – जिनालयध्वजछत्रावरोहन ——
—— श्री नेपालपुण्यभूमिश्वराय श्रीश्रीपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टा —
——— श्रीश्रीजयजक्षमल्लदेवप्रभवे सपरिवार —
—— माणिगल्य सप्तकुतुम्ब त्रिभयप्रधानश्रीपात्रा ——
—— देवसंस्कारित भुवनारक श्रीविहारावस्थित —
—— —— तत्पुत्र रूपराज लक्षराज —
———— पद्रवशान्त्यर्थं सपरिजन —
—— गलस मनोरथ सुमंगलं भूयात् । श्री ——
—— वस्थित ——— चार्य गगणवज्रेण । श्री
—— चार्यचिन्तामणि वज्र ——
—— विरचितं लीलावज्राचार्येन । ——
शभम

## Inscription No. 2 N. S. 793

Attached to the south side of the *caitya* in front of the temple.

१. ऊं नमो धर्माधातुवागेश्वराय ॥ नमस्ते पं
२. चबुद्धानां अक्षोभ्यादि कुलत्रयं । मध्ये वैरो–

३. चनन्नाथं पंचवुद्धं नमोस्तुते ।। ।।
४. श्रीयो स्तु सम्वत् ७९३ फाल्गुणशुक्ल, द–
५. शम्यायान्तिथौ, आद्रानक्षत्रे आयुष्मान
६. योगे, आदितवारसेर, थ्व कुह्नु प्रतिष्ठा
७. याङ दिन जुरो ।। ।। श्रीतानिग्लवाहार
८. श्रीमतश्रीश्रीश्रीलोकेश्वर, प्रीतिपूर्व्वन
९. ह्नवन दवुरि ह्लोङ, धर्म्मधातु चैवाहार
१०. ह्लोङव, प्रतिष्ठा याङ दिन जुरो ।।
११. थ्व वेलस, मानिग्लाधिपति श्री २ श्रीनि–
१२. वास मल्ल राजाया समयस जुरो ।। थ्व
१३. ते याक, श्रीतानिग्लवाहार, फुरचोके
१४. णया दानपति जजमान, सत्यरा-
१५. म भारो स्त्री गोपीनि, पुत्र ममहो–
१६. पसिंह भारो, स्त्री पुना, पुत्र मनमोह–
१७. न, मोहनसिंह थ्वते प्रमुखन
१८. चिकं अत बं चिङं, थ्वतिया प्र
१९. मान जुरो ।। आयुमारोग्य शु भ ।।

## Inscription No. 3 N. S. 824

In front of the *caitya* north of the temple.

१. श्रेयोस्तु ।। संम्वत ८२४ वैशाष शुक्ल द्वितीया कृत्तिका प्र रो–
२. हिणीनक्षत्र, शोमनयोग शुक्रवार थ्व कुन्हु श्रीलुहनुदत्तछे
३. जयकृष्ण भारोन स्वहस्तेन थ्व चैत्र भलाड दयकं प्रतिष्ठा याङ दि–
४. न जुरो, अय दुन्त, हनुतीर्थ बु रो १ भूय पोधिनिपातलबुरो १
५. भूय सिल रो थ्वतेया वर्षप्रति वरसनंन वंशाष शुक्ल द्वितीया कुन्हु
६. यज्ञ याङन बो साधन डाय्के माल मतं क्य कुड १ दक्षिणा दं १ नि–
७. श्राव जो १ पाल लाकया गुरु भलाड ह्म १ दक्षिणा दं १ विया ।। श्री ३ चावुग
८. देवस्त दक्षिणा दं १ निश्राव जो १ थ्वनलि आश्विणी शुक्ल पूर्णमाशी
९. कुह्नु सुथ चैंड भलाडस पूजा यांङन बलक्षि चेकन प्ल ३ नदुथे म–

१०. त प्व ३ छोयकेमालं, थ्वनलि इन्द्रयातन लुह्मुस इन्द्र राजास्के
११. – पूजा याङन हनापिन्त शिया फ्लके फं ३ म्वात प्ल १ पाल्व द १ सह्लान घा–
१२. सा बजि कुड २ धलिपात पांतिपात चाकु प्ल २ सुठि दं २ जोगियात
१३. बोच्छी थ्वते दानपिस्ते माल थ्वनलि चावुग देवस्त नश्चास नित्यपूजाया–
१४ त चेकन कुड १ पूजा– ह १ वर्षप्रती बियमाल थ्वतेन प्रशेष
१५. गुथिमारोपनिसेन भक्षामोजन यातन जुरो थ्वतेया चिन्ता याक
१६. — जजमान जयकृष्ण भारो, शिवहरि भारो फुकिंज श्री द–
१७. —— —— भारो, राम भारो, थ्वतेसेन लाभ–
१८. न यास्यं —— माल । गोब्राह्मणादि पंचमहा
१९. पातक ला क जुरो । —— जुरो या साक्षि —— राम
२०. ——————————बियमार

## Inscription No. 4 N. S. 993

Attached to the east face of the *caitya* in front of the temple.

१. ऊं नमः मीननाथाय ।। ।। चटाधरं लोकनाथं मीननाथं जटाधरं
२. —— समानवर्ण्ण प्रणमामि चटाधरं ।।१।। श्रेयोस्तु सम्वत् ९९३
३. मिति ज्येष्ठ कृष्णया तृतीया उत्तराषाढानक्षत्रे ब्रह्मयोगे शुक्रवारे
४. तस्मिन्दिने, श्री ३ तंगरविहारस ह्नापा तयकं तओगु जिर्ण जुयाओ चोनगु
५. चैत्य जिर्ण उद्धार याङ दयका दयका पुन दवुलि पुन महाकाल– थुति
६. जिर्ण्ण उद्धार याना पुन धातुया जज्ञ ज्वलां पुन विहारस लोह व– सिया पु
७. न आगमस श्रीवसुधरादेवी अग्रस — दयकं प्रतिस्था याना दानपति
८. श्रीहिरण्यवर्ण्णमहाविहार ध्वाषा चोछेंस चोनह्म श्रीचैत्यराज तस्य ,
९. भ्राता श्रीरत्नराज श्रीरत्नधन पुत्र श्रीछत्रराज पुत्र श्रीमणिरत्नराज
१०. थुति जल भेंछिया धर्म्मचित्त उत्पत्ति जुयाओ प्रतिस्था याङ दोहर–
११. पा दिन जुल, ।। ।। शुभम् ।।

## Inscription No. 5 N. S. 999

Attached to the top of the bell support.

१. श्रेया स्तु ।। सम्वत् ९९९ फार्गुण शुक्ल ।। अष्टम्यांन्तिथौ

२. ।। रोहिणी नक्षत्र ।। विस्कंभयोगे ।। शनैश्चरवार, थ्व कुन्हु
३. वालार्चनसंस्कारित ज्येष्ठवर्ण्णमहाविहार विरा विराजि–
४. तपश्चीमाभिमुख, धर्म्मराज जताधारि लोकेश्वर प्रिती–
५. न, जोनवाहाल चिभाननीया सिल्पकाल कृष्णवीर भा–
६. लोस : भाय्यर्या थकुंमयि, पुत्र थेषराज, पुत्रीसिद्धिलक्ष्मि
७. धनलक्ष्मि, थ्वते समूहनं धर्म्मचित्र उत्पत्ति जुयाग्रो लो–
८. हया घंण्ठया थाम निदार लोहया सराजाम जुको दुन्ता जु–
९. ल, थ्वते धर्म्मन गृहे सकलपरिवारया दुर्गति मोचन
१०. सुखावति प्राप्ती जुयमाल जुल ।। शुभम् ।।

## Inscription No. 6 N. S. 1044

Inscribed on the base of the *Yamaduta*.

१. श्रेयोस्तु सम्वत् १०४४ वैसाषमासे शुक्लपक्षे तृतीयां महापुण्यतिथौ ५ नक्षेत्रे सुकर्मयोगे यथाकर्ण्णमुहुर्त्ते वुधवाररे २ रशिगते भास्करे मेषराशीगते चन्द्रमसी ।।
२. एतस्मिन् दिने यंपि वालार्च्चन ज्येष्ठवर्ण्णमहाविहारे विराजित श्री ३ जटाधारी लौकेश्वरसुप्रीतिनं सीलाया मूर्त्ति यमकिंकरद्वये स्थापिता । दानपति इहैव वि–
३. हारस्थ दिवंगत पिता पर्शमुनि तस्य पुत्र सजीवनि शाक्यवंश ह्नुक्षराज भार्या हेलदी थकुं ज्येष्ठ पुत्र खरराज कनेकष्ठपुत्र सिद्धिराज थ्वतेसरिवारानां सद्धर्म्मचित्तो–त्पन्नन धर्मकी——

## PART FOUR

# Avalokitesvara and Matsyendranath

"The Buddhists, those who follow the Vedas, the Saivite tantrics, the worshippers of Ganesh, etc. all worship Matsyendranath, and he gives his favours to all of them."

*Matsyendrapadyasatakam* Sloka, 67.

## CHAPTER THIRTEEN

### Avalokitesvara Becomes Matsyendranath

At some time in the late Malla period, probably in the time of Srinivasa Malla or his father, the Malla court and the Hindus in general began to refer to Bunga-dya:—Avalokitesvara as Matsyendranath. It is not, as so many writers have said, that the Buddhists of Nepal worship Matsyendranath as a form of Avalokitesvara. Rather, the Hindus of Nepal worship Avalokitesvara as Matsyendranath. The Buddhists of Nepal worship Avalokitesvara and have done so from the very beginning of the cult. It is Bugma Lokesvara that the earliest references speak of, and Bunga-dya:—Avalokitesvara that the Newar Buddhists still worship.

**The Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara**

That the *bodhisattva* Avalokitesvara should come to be respected and worshipped by the Hindus under a Hindu name is not unusual. There are many examples of such borrowings and metamorphoses in the cultural history of India and Nepal. The Buddha himself eventually came to be recognized as an incarnation of Visnu. The intriguing question is why Matsyendranath? Matsyendranath is not a popular deity anywhere else in Nepal or India. Even the yogis who honour Matsyendranath as the first teacher of their sect, do not usually have a cult of Matsyendranath. They worship Gorakhnath, the disciple of Matsyendranath. At the outset it must be said that a clear-cut and definite answer cannot be given to this question. We simply do not have enough detailed information about the cultural history of the Valley from the early Malla period to the time of Srinivasa Malla to give a fully satisfactory answer.[1] What we can do is to set the fact of the renaming of

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1. It is not that there is no information on this period in existence. The Valley abounds in materials from this period: inscriptions, manuscripts, copperplates, palm leaf land grants, *thyasaphus*, etc. So far almost the only use made of these materials is to go through

the deity into the context of what we know of the development of the cult of Avalokitesvara in Mahayana-Vajrayana Buddhism, the origin and development of the yogic sects of the schools of Matsyendranath and Gorakhnath, and the spread of these influences in the Valley of Nepal.

The earliest conception of the *bodhisattva* Avalokitesvara is found in the *Mahavastu Avadana,* a work of the Mahasanghikas of the third century B. C. There he is described as the "Bhagavan who takes the form of a Bodhisattva, whose duty it is to look round (*avalokita*) for the sake of instructing the people and for their constant welfare and happiness."[2] It is this lord "who looks round" that finally took concrete shape in Avalokitesvara by the second century A. D. He appears as a son of the Buddha Amitayus in the *Sukhavati Vyuha.* The date of composition of this work is uncertain, but it was first translated into Chinese between A. D. 148 and 170. This is the description of his origin: "The Lord Amitayus makes a smile of thirty six niyutas of kotis of rays, which rays having issued from the circle of his mouth light up the thousand kotis of Buddha countries. And all of these rays having returned there again settle on the head of the lord; gods and men produce (perceive) the delight, because they have seen there the light of him. There rises the Buddha-son, glorious, he indeed the mighty Avaloki-

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them and extract the names of kings and their dates, a necessary first step to build up an outline of the political history of the period. However, the result is a sterile chronology which tells nothing of the cultural, religious, and social influences which have shaped the culture of the Vaelly. Only when these materials have been published more fully and the archaic Newari deciphered by experts will they yield up their secrets of the cultural and social history of the period. Much has already been done by the Itihas Samsodhan Mandala in their publications, and Dr. D. R. Regmi has made some use of the data, but the bulk of the material is untouched.

2. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography* (Calcutta, 1957), p. 143–44 The conception of Avalokitesvara was elaborated by the Mahasanghikas whose work the Mahavastu was. Bhattacharyya places this development in the third century B. C. However, since the present expanded form of the Mahavastu contains the ten stages of the Bodhisattva path, its present form cannot be dated earlier than the 1st century A. D.

tesvara...."[3] The context of this quotation gives the impression that originally Avalokitesvara was simply the deification of the look of Buddha cast from the Tusita heaven upon the suffering world.[4]

The *Avalokitesvara-gunakarandavyuha* ("The Exhaustive Description of the Basket of the Merits of Avalokitesvara") is entirely devoted to the praise of Avalokitesvara and his mission of mercy toward suffering beings in all of the worlds. The earliest Chinese translation of this text was made in A. D. 270.[5] The text opens with a salutation to Avalokitesvara, the great being, the *bodhisattva,* the great compassionate one (*mahakarunikaya*).[6] It describes how he descends to the various hells to bring solace to those suffering there and how he assumes different forms in different ages to help people in distress. The *Saddharmapundarika,* which was first translated into Chinese in A. D. 285, gives an even more detailed description of this quality of Avalokitesvara. If the living in any realm must be saved the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara appears and and preaches to them the Law.

> To those who must be saved in the body of a *pratyekabuddha,* he appears as a *pratyekabuddha* and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of a *sravaka,* he appears as a *sravaka* and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of Brahma, he appears as Brahma...To those who must be saved in the body of Sakra, he appears as Sakra..To those who must be saved in the body if Isvara, he

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3. F. Max Muller, ed., *The Sacred Books of the East,* 50 vols (*Varanasi,* 1968), 49:48.
4. Much has been written on the etymology of the name Avalokitesvara. See Marie-Theresa de Mallmann, *Introduction a L'etude D'Avalokitesvara* (Paris, 1948), p.59–80, where the author lists and comments on the various interpretations given by scholars. However, much of this is the speculation of philologists. We are dealing with a technical theological term, and to get at the meaning of the term we must consult the body of believing people who used the word and worshipped the deity. To them Avalokitesvara was the personification of the compassionate look. See Edward Conze in his review of Mallmann's work, *Oriental Art.* Old Series, 3:41–42,
5. J. K. Nariman, *The Literary of History of Sanskrit Buddhism* (Delhi, 1972), p. 75.
6. P. L. Vaidya, *Mahayana Suytra-Samgraha Part* I (Darbhanga, 1961), p. 258.

appears as Isvara. To those who must be saved in the body of Mahesvara, he appears as Mahesvara—To those who must be saved in the body of a great divine-general, he appears as a great divine-general. To those who must be saved in the body of Vaisravana, he appears as Vaisravana and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of a minor king, he appears as a minor king.. To those who must be saved in the body of an elder, he appears as an elder... To those who must be saved in the body of a citizen, he appears as a citizen— To those who must be saved in the body of a minister of state, he appears as a minister... To those who must be saved in the body of a Brahman, he appears as a Brahman... To those who must be saved in the body of a *bhikshu, bhikshuni, upasaka,* or *upasika,* he appears as a *bhikshu, bhikshuni, upasaka,* or *upasika.* To those who must be saved in the body of the wife of an elder, citizen, minister or Brahman, he appears as a woman etc... To those who must be saved in the body of a youth or maiden, he appears as a youth or maiden... To those who must be saved in the body of a god, dragon, *yaksha, gandarva, asura, garuda, kinnara, mahoraga,* human or non-human being, he appears in every such form... To those who must be saved in the (shape of) a Diamond *vajra* holding god, he appears as a Diamond-holding god .. Infinite Thought ! Such are the merits acquired by this Bodhisattva... and the various forms in which he rambles through many lands to save the living.[7]

In the minds of the Mahayana devotees, then, two of the most important characteristics of Avalokitesvara were his compassion or mercy, and his assumption of different forms according to the needs and dispositions of people in various places and various ages. The idea of mercy, or *karuna,* which was an ancient Buddhist concept, was thus concretized in the person of the Bodhisattva who would sacrifice everything, his own personal happiness and his own mertits, for suffering humanity. He would continue to return in countless rebirths and numerous forms to bring solace. Through Avalokitesvara the Buddhists obtained what they had previously lacked, namely a personal saviour whom they could invoke and in whom they could take refuge. As time went on this theistic tendency became even more pronounced.

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7. Kato Bruno, trans., *Myoho-Renge-Kyo--The Sutra of the Lotus Flower of the Wonderful Law,* revised by W. E. Soothill and Wilhelm Schiffer (Tokyo, 1971), p. 408–9.

There is a shorter, verse version of the *Gunakarandavyuha,* probably written about the tenth century, which is much more explicitly theistic than the earlier prose version.[8] Devotional works such as the "Avalokitesvara Litany" invoke the deity as a saviour from all dangers: arson, murder, captivity and slavery, forest fire, enraged animals, snakes, shipwreck, disease and death.[9]

As Mahayana Buddhism spread, worship of Avalokitesvara as a saviour appealed to the devotion of the masses and helped to make Buddhism a religion of the people. The idea of his continual rebirths and his assumption of different forms in different times and places grounded theoretically the absorption of previous gods. saints, religious leaders and heroes. The monks could say to the people that their god so-and-so was in reality Avalokitesvara. "The great sage or saint whom you reverence was an ancient manifestation of Avalokitesvara." This gave popular Buddhism ready acceptance. The acceptance of the *dharma* of the Buddha, then became a fulfilment of the ancient aspirations and religious traditions, rather than a turning away from the past to something new and foreign. Kings and heroes came to be looked on as incarnations of Avalokitesvara. The process could work in reverse also, new deities brought into a Buddhist environment could be accepted as mainfestations of Avalokitesvara. Thus if a group of yogis came to Nepal and began to worhsip Avalokitesvara as Matsyendranath there would be no objection from the Buddhists. Following the lead of the *Saddharmapundarika,* they would agree that in order to preach the *dharma* to these men, Avalokitesvara appeared in their midst as Matsyendranath.

The earliest form of Avalokitesvara, and the most common one, is a two-armed figure with the right hand granting a boon (*varada mudra*) and the left hand holding the stem of a white lotus (*padma*). This is Padmapani ("lotus in the hand") Lokesvara. As time went on the lotus and the rosary (*mala*) became his basic symbols. However, as might be expected from what was said above, his forms were nume-

8. Nariman, p. 74.
9. Sukamar Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India* (London, 1962), p. 160–61.

rous. The *Sadhana Mala,* one manuscript of which is dated 285 N. S. (1165), lists thirty-eight *sadhanas* of Avalokitesvara which describe fifteen different forms.[10] Many more forms were created after that date. We have already seen the twelve different Lokesvaras for the twelve months of the year, the different Lokesvaras portrayed on the struts of the temple at Jana Baha, and the pictures of the 108 forms of Avalokitesvara pictured at the same *baha*. In addition to these there is another list of 360 forms of Lokesvara, one for each day of the year.[11]

The *mantra* of Avalokitesvara is the famous "Om Mani Padme Hum." At the popular level this became the prayer of the devotees of Lokesvara to be recited continually to attain merit. At a deeper level it was considered to be the inner core of Avalokitesvara (*hrdanga*) and the epitome of all knowledge. Several chapters of the *Gunakarandavyuha* are devoted to an explanation of its theological meaning, and it became the structure on which later Buddhist writers hung the whole of their philosophical speculations.[12]

In later tantric representations Avalokitesvara is accompanied by one or more of the various Taras as his consorts. From the seventh century onwards numerous hymns in praise of Tara appear and eventually she is raised to the mothership of all Buddhas. She is the ever present companion of Avalokitesvara, the two of them personifying compassion (*karuna*) and love (*maitri*).

The popularity of Avalokitesvara in India is attested to by the literature concerning him, by the large number of iconic remains, and by the testimony of the Chinese travellers who visited the great Buddhist centres. At Vikramasila there was a beautiful temple of Avalokitesvara at the centre of the great *vihara,* and round this fifty-three big and

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10. B. Bhattacharyya, *Buddhist Iconography,* p. 2–3; and p. 124–44.
11. *Buddha Stotra Sangraha* (Kathmandu, 1088 N. S.), p. 52–67. This collection of hymns (*stotra*) merely gives the 360 names in the form of a *dharani* without any description. I have not been able to locate any *sadhanas* or detailed descriptions of these 360 forms and doubt very much if they exist. Many of the names are slight modifications of standard forms of Avalokitesvara presumably thought up to complete the requisite number.
12. See for example Lama Govinda, *Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism* (London, 1970).

small temples of various kinds were clustered. At Nalanda the monks' cells were built round a courtyard. In the courtyard was often a shrine of Avalokitesvara or Tara which dominated the courtyard where the monks held their lectures and discourses.[13] Yuan Chang testifies that when King Harsa was requested by his ministers to ascend the throne after the death of his brother, he went to the statue of Avalokitesvara on the banks of the Ganga to seek guidance. Finally he came to realize that it was the will of Avalokitesvara that he should devote himself to the affairs of state which he then took up.[14]

As Mahayana Buddhism spread throughout Asia, Avalokitesvara became one of the most popular deities. He is the *bodisattva* represented in art more frequently than any other. Coomaraswamy notes bronzes of Avalokitesvara from Sri Lanka dating from the sixth and seventh centuries.[13] In Cambodia the king was looked upon as an incarnation of Avalokitesvara. At Angkor Thom in Cambodia there remains a sandstone monument knows as the Bayon.

> The Bayon represents the "world mountain" in the center of the universe and is at the same time the center of the Khmer Empire. It has 43 towers situated around a central tower 43 meters high... Each tower bears a collosal mask of Lokesvara, "Lord of the world", facing one of the four points of the compass. They symbolize manifestations of the supra-temporal, omnipresent and omnipotent supreme principle of existence, and also the sacrosanct king (Devaraja) identified with this principle. To show that he is an incarnation of Lokesvhvara, the faces are idealized portraits of King Jayavarmana VII. This was usual with Khmer cult statues. Similarly, there are statues of princesses in Cambodia represented as incarnations of Avalokitesvara.[16]

The rulers of Yunan from the tenth to the thirteenth century worshipped Avalokitesvara whom they believed to have been incarnate

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13. Dutt, p. 337.
14. P. V. Bapat, ed., 2500 *Years of Buddhism* (Delhi, 1971), p. 179.
15. A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Mahayanic Buddhist Images from Ceylon and Java", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (April, 1909), p. 284–5.
16. Deitrich Seckel, *The Art of Buddhism,* trans. Ann E. Keep (London, 1965), p. 54.

in the Indian monk of the seventh century credited with the introduction of Buddhism in that country, and he became the titular divinity of the ruling family. Iconographic and documentary evidence shows that the rulers of Yunan firmly believed that Avalokitesvara puts on the cloak of flesh and blood, and walks the earth in human form for the sake of suffering humanity.

In China Avalokitesvara was called Kuan-shih-yin or simply Kuanyin; the Koreans pronounce the Chinese name K (w) anseum and in Japan he is known as K (w) an-se-on, or simply Kannon. In China Kuanyin is often pictured carrying a child in his arms and for this reason is often taken to be female, some books referring to Kuanyin as the "goddess of mercy" or the "Madonna of the East". Seckel argues that this view is entirely erroneous. Close examination of the figures show that most of them are not feminine at all, some of them sporting a very clear moustache. However, the figures show some traits that are definitely feminine: attire, hairstyle,jewellery, the contours of the body. These traits are designed to suggest the absence of sex characteristics.[18] This is quite in keeping with the Indian tradition. The early representations of Padmapani Lokesvara show some feminine characteristics, especially in the contours of the body, though the figure is always unmistakably masculine. The point is that the *bodhisattva* is neither male nor female, a characteristic that contemporary informants have frequently pointed out to me. Hence the *bodhisattva* may be incarnate as a man or woman. We have seen this in the case of the princesses of Cambodia portrayed as incarnations of Avalokitesvara. We have seen it in Nepal, where Avalokitesvara is always portrayed as masculine, yet the four Lokesvaras are frequently referred to as the four sisters, and Minnath is often called the daughter of Rato Matsyendranath. Bunga-dya: is spoken of as returning to his *maiti* when he returns to Bungamati. *Maiti* is a married woman's paternal home. Also the consecration ceremonies used for Avalokitesvara's *dasa karma* include ceremonies that are peculiar to boys and to girls.

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17. Helen B. Chapin, "Yunanese Images of Avalokitesvara", *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies,* 8 (1944–45) : 141 and 183.
18. Seckel, p. 228–31.

One reason for the seemingly feminine representations of Kunayin is that he is commonly believed to favour barren women with children, the same boon that he is still considered to grant to those who perform the *astami vrata* in honour of Amoghapasa Lokesvara in Nepal. Another reason for the Chinese form is the legend of Ma-lang-fu which tells of Avalokitesvara's incarnation as a girl in order to preach the *dharma* in a certain part of China.[19] We have seen the same sort of story in the legend concerning Nala Lokesvara where he is first said to appear as the goddess Candresvari and then later to appear as the goddess Bhagavati. Again, the point is that Avalokitesvara is considered to assume various forms, male and female, to preach the *dharma*, whatever the circumstances demand. The *bodhisattva* himself is neither male nor female.

Kannon was equally popular in Japan where there are many images of the thousand-handed Kannon and the eleven-faced Kannon. In Yamato there is an eighth century image of the eleven-faced Kannon, twenty-six feet high and carved from the wood of a sacred tree.[20]

In Tibet the importance of Avalokitesvara is paramount. The Dalai Lama is considered to be an incarnation of Avalokitesvara and his palace was known as the Potala, a variation of the name of the mythical Mount Potalaka where Avalokitesvara dwells. His *mantra*, the "Om Mane Padme Hum", is constantly on the lips of monks and lay devotees alike, and it is carved on rock and printed on the prayer flags. At a deeper level, the importance of Avalokitesvara and his *mantra* can be seen from the book of Lama Govinda where he subsumes the whole of Tibetan Buddhism under the *mantra*, each chapter of his book taking its title from a section of the *mantra*.[21]

We have seen already that Avalokitesvara was known among the Buddhists of the Valley of Nepal in the time of the Licchavis,[22] and

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19. Ibid.
20. M. W. de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1935), 3: 637 ff.
21. Lama Govinda, *Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism* (London, 1970).
22. See Dhanavajra Vajracarya, *Licchavi Kalka Abhilekh* (Kathmandu, 2030 B. S.), p. 177–78 : the image at Lagan Tole in Kathmandu,

that the chronicle credits the Licchavi King Narendradeva with inaugurating the *jatra* of Bugma Lokesvara. His popularity continued and grew through the Malla period. Hemaraj Sakya lists 267 different images of Avalokitesvara found in the various *bahas* of Patan. Most of these images date from the Malla period, and the most popular form represented is the standard Padmapani Lokesvara. Other forms include Amoghapasa Lokesvara, Simhanada Lokesvara, Hariharihariyahana Lokesvara, Sadaksari Lokesvara, Cintamani Lokesvara, Jatadhari Lokesvara (Minnath), Padmanritya Lokesvara and Sristikarta Lokesvara.[23] We have noted also the popularity of Amoghapasa Lokesvara from the sixteenth century up to the present, and the still prevelant custom of performing the *astami vrata* in his honour. Almost every *puja* performed by a Vajracarya, Sakya, or Buddhist layman begins with the *puja* of the *mandalas* of the Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha. The central figure of the Sangha Mandala is Aryavalokitesvara, and when the three are represented iconographically, Avalokitesvara represents the Sangha. The *Saddharmapundarika* is one of the nine "official" texts of the Newar Buddhists. Though the *Gunakarandavyuha* and the *Sukhavativyuha* are not counted among the nine, the large number of extant manuscripts of these two works testifies to their popularity. Probably nowhere in the Buddhist world is there such a profusion of different forms of Avalokitesvara as in the Valley: the various Lokesvaras represented on the temple struts, the twelve Lokesvaras for the twelve months, the 108 forms of Lokesvara at Jana Baha and the list of 360 forms of Lokesvara, one for each day of the year.

The kings of the Valley of Nepal have always been Hindu, and Siva as Pasupatinath has been their traditional guardian deity. Yet Srinivasa Malla and his successors also considered Avalokitesvara-Karuna-

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probably from the time of Ramadeva; p. 185–86: the Brahma Tole inscription dated Sambat 497; p. 386: the Kathmandu, Bandahiti inscription from the time of Amsuvarma; p. 387–88; *caitya* inscription at Tyagatol in Patan from the time of Amsuvarma; p. 555: the inscription of Jayadeva II at Pasupatinath; and p. 591–2: inscription at Yanga Baha in Patan from the time of the later Manadeva.

23. Hemaraj Sakya, *Samksipta Aryavalokitesvara Paricaya* (Patan, 1080 N. S.) p. 12–14 and 19–27.

maya to be one of their *ista devatas,* and popular legends make Srinivasa Malla himself a son of Karunamaya. In western Nepal in the kingdom ruled by the Khasya Mallas, Avalokitesvara assumed a more official role. The inscriptions of these kings frequently begin with the *mantra* of Avalokitesvara, and Ripu Malla was considered to be an incarnation of Avalokitesvara, being styled in one colophon as "Rajrajesvara-Lokesvara-Sri-Ripumalladeva."[24]

As this *bhakti* movement developed within Buddhism and as the conception of Avalokitesvara became more frankly theistic in the minds of the ordinary lay Buddhists, he began to assume for them the place taken by the standard Hindu gods in the minds of the Hindus. Borrowing and syncretism followed. In some cases the Hindu gods came to be looked on as incarnations of Avalokitesvara or manifestations of his power and mercy for the benefit of those who were not Buddhists. Sometimes they were considered as heavenly beings in the service of Avalokitesvara, or his creations. In some instances a parallel cult developed with similar iconography among the Hindus and Buddhists and similar functions being assigned to the parallel deities. This is what happened with Siva and Avalokitesvara, so much so that some authors attribute the greatness and importance of Avalokitesvara in India to the fact that in the common mind he was confused with Siva.[25]

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24. Luciano Petech, *Mediaeval History of Nepal* (Rome, 1958), p. 108. The colophon is found on a manuscript copy of the Abhisamayalankara preserved in Tibet and dated Sambat 1370. Petech has verified the date for 2 Feb. 1314 Confer also Yogi Narharinath, *Itihasprakasa*, Vol. 2, Part 1 (Kathmandu, 2013 B. S.), p. 35–81.

25. See David Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himalaya* (London, 1957), p. 191. This is not to say that Siva is the only deity so related to Avalokitesvara. Avalokitesvara seems first to have been conceived as a cosmic ruler of the world resembling Brahma. See Mallmann, p. 106 and Seckel, p. 225–6. In his Hariharivahana-Lokesvara form Avalokitesvara rides on Visnu and Garuda, and in Nepal is identified with Virinci Narayana. Jitendra Nath Banerjea in his *The Development of Hindu Iconography* (Calcutta, 1956) notes a number of other Visnu-Lokesvara images from East India (p. 555 ff.) and also a Surya Loksesvara from Orissa (p. 548–9). He further notes that the standard form of Padmapani Avalokitesvara

Certainly the name Avalokitesvara in its shortened form of simply Lokesvara lent itself to an identification with or confusion with Siva. Siva was the lord of the world (Lokesvara or Lokanatha); and once the identity of Avalokitesvara was established it would be but natural that he would assume a similar role for the Buddhists. Banerjea notes a brass image from eastern India of Siva-Lokesvara from the early medieval period. It is a two-armed figure standing in the *samapadasthanaka* pose on a double lotus. In his right hand he holds a *kapala* and in his left a *trisula*. He has few ornaments but on his head is a small image of the Dhyani-Buddha Amitabha.[26] In the Chenab gorge in northern India is a shrine of Trailokyanath where Siva and Avalokitesvara are identified in the person of the Lord of the Threefold world.[27] In many of the forms of Avalokitesvara found in the *Sadhana Mala,* and still worshipped in Nepal, the Saivite borrowings are quite obvious. Amoghapasa Lokesvara has the distinctively Saiva garments, the tiger and antelope skins, and he holds the *trisula* (or *tridandi*), the *aksamala,* and the *kamandalu*. In Japanese images of Amoghapasa Lokesvara even the third eye is portrayed.[28] Other forms of Avalokitesvara, showing Saivite borrowings are Padmanartesvara, Lokanatha, Simahanada Lokesvara, Nilakantha-aryavalokitesvara, Halahalaklokesvra, Trailokyavasankara Lokesvra.[29] The eight-armed form of Patmanartesvara has the third eye, wears the sacred thread of a snake, and among other symbols holds the *trisula,* the *aksamala,* and the *kamandalu*. Simhanada Lokesvara, clad in the tiger skin, is seated on the orb of the moon, and in his right hand he carries a *trisula* entwined with a white snake. Nilakantha Lokesvara

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seems to have been derived from Visnu (p. 558). In a recent article Dr. Lokesh Chandra, arguing from Chinese sources, has concluded that both the Nilakantha Lokesvara and Potalaka Avalokitesvara are a synthesis of Siva and Visnu. Lokesh Chandra, "Origin of the Avalokitesvara of Potala, " *Kailash,* 7 (1979) 1:4ff.

26. Jitendra Nath Banerjea, p. 547.
27. Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himalaya,* p. 191.
28. Pratapaditya Pal, "The Iconography of Amoghapasa Lokesvara," *Oriental Art,* n. s. 13 (Spring 1967), p. 26.
29. See Bhattacharyya, p. 127–40.

appears to be a frank adaptation of Siva-Nilakantha, and the form is explained by a story which is an adaptation of the Saiva story. The Halahalalokesvara has three heads with a third eye on each face; he wears the tiger skin garment and holds a *trisula* with a *naga* coiled round it, a *kapala* supported on a lotus, and an *aksamala*. His hair is matted and he bears on his head the crescent and the *kapala*. Trailokyavasankara Lokesvara is one-faced, has the third eye, and wears a crown of matted hair. These forms of Avalokitesvara leave no doubt that they were the Mahayana and Vajrayana adaptations of Siva. The same sort of Saivite borrowings are evident in the cult of Tara, the consort of Avalokitesvara.[30]

A Vajrayana deity which shows the same syncretism is Mahakala. The Chinese travellers note than an image of Mahakala, whom they identify as Mahesvara, was set up at the door of the Mahayana monasteries as a protective deity. Later Mahakala become an important Vajrayana deity in his own right and is identified, at least in Tibet, as a form of Avalokitesvara.[31]

This is not to say that Avalokitesvara equals Siva or that the Buddhists simply took Siva and made him a Buddhist deity. From its very inception Buddhism was quite distinct from Saivism or any other sectarian worship. Attempts have been made to show that Buddhism was simply an off-shoot from Hinduism, a sort of schism whose object was to bring about a reform and a return to basic principles within Hinduism. The contention rests on certain terms borrowed from the Upanisads, but which were used in quite a different sense by the early Buddhists.[32] The later developments within Mayhayana and Vajrayana Buddhism followed a similar pattern. At the intellectual and philosophical level the differences were quite clear, as can be seen from our analysis of the Vajrayana *homa* rite which borrowed the structure of the ancient Indian

30. See Alex Wayman, "The 21 Praises of Tara, a Syncretism of Saivism and Buddhism, "*Journal of the Bihar Research Society* 45 (1959): 36–43.

31. See W.Y. Evans-Wentz, ed., *The Tibetan Book of the Great Liberation* (London, 1964), p. 129 note, and Herbert V. Guenther, *Treasures on the Tibetan Middle Way* (Berkeley, 1973), p. 32.

32. See Dutt, p. 320–21.

rite, but gave it a different and entirely Vajrayana Buddhist interpretation, adopting it to the ritualization of the *Buddhist sadhana*. In many forms of Avalokitesvara the Buddhists have drawn on the iconography of Siva and assigned to Avalokitesvara the place that the Saivites assigned to Siva,but Avalokitesvara is not Siva. The conception of the merciful *bodhisattva* is quite different from that of Siva the destroyer. At the level of the popular religion of the illiterate masses, however, there may have been few clear ideas about the distinction between the Lokesvara who is the *bodhisattva* Karunamaya-Padmapani and Siva-Lokesvara. It is at this level that the two traditions meet again.

In Nepal, by the seventeenth century when the late Malla kings were ruling in Patan, Buddhism was basically a lay religion. The celibate monks and the scholastic tradition of Mahayana Buddhism had largely disappeared. Among such Buddhists there would be little objection to the yogis or other Saivites calling Avalokitesvara Matsyendranath, i. e., Siva. The name Loknath, especially would be ambiguous—to a Buddhist it would signify Karunamaya -Lokesvara, to a Saivite, Siva-Lokesvara, The point is that the ambiguity was grounded precisely in the earlier borrowing of Saivite iconographic forms and terminology. In this sense it is quite true to say that it is especially in Nepal that Saivism and Buddhism meet and to some extent coalesce or are confused in the person of Lokesvara. It is in this context that we must place the identification of Siva and Buddha expressed by the annual placing of the Buddha crown on the linga at Pasupatinath, the identification of Siva with Avalokitesvara—Matsyendranath expressed by the placing of the bone ornament on Bunga-dya: and Minnath on the day of Siva Ratri, and the identification of Avalokitesvara with Matsyendranath by the yogis who still worship him as the *guru* of their great saint Gorakhnath, both of whom they consider to be incarnations of Siva.

**Matsyendranath the Siddha**

Another point of contact between the two traditions is found in the religion and practices of the yogis who worshipped Matsyendranath and his more famous disciple Gorakhnath. The origin of these sects of yogis is still much disputed by scholars, but the points of similarity between the religion of the yogis and the religious practices and doctrines

of Vajrayana Buddhism are so striking that the earliest scholars to treat of the question were led to believe that the yogis derived their religion from the Buddhists. Some went so far as to claim that yogis, such as the Nath Yogis, were crypto-Buddhists or that they were originally Buddhists who transformed themselves into Saivite yogis. Others claimed that the Nath cult was originally a Saivite cult, but in the course of time was assimilated to Vajrayana Buddhism producing a cult that is a mixture of Saivism and Vajrayana Buddhism.[33] Some have seen the yogis as the bridge between Hinduism and Buddhism. "It appears that in their religious views these illustrious Natha-gurus took up an intermediate position between orthodox Hinduism and heterodox Buddhism and sought to reunite Buddhism with Hinduism by emphasizing the common essential elements of both and purging out the non-essential separative elements from each."[34]

More recent scholarship, especially that resulting from a careful analysis of the texts of the Nath cult, have rejected this theory. Sasibhusan Das Gupta says that it is "based on a misconception of the fundamental nature of the cult."[35] The misconception arises from the reliance on popular cults in eastern India and from the later commingling of the two traditions, especially in the hills. Their traditions are clearly Saivite from the very beginning, and G. S. Ghurye traces them back to the Kapalikas, an earlier and clearly Saivite school.[36]

The reasons for the similarities and the consequent confusion are to be found in the common elements drawn from sources that are neither explicitly Hindu or Buddhist. These are mainly two: "One is the paraphernalia of rites and rituals of a heterogeneous nature, which are neither Hindu nor Buddhistic in origin, but represent a common stock of heritage to all the popular religious systems of India; the other

33. Shasibhusan Das Gupta, *Obscure Religious Cults*, 3rd ed. (Calcutta, 1969), p. 194.

34. Aksaya Kumar Banerjea, *Yogi Sampradaya and the Gorakhanath Temple* (Gorakhapur, 1964), p. 8.

35. Das Gupta, p. 194. Confer also Kalayani Mallik, *Siddha-Sidhanta Padati and Other Works of the Nath Yogis* (Poona, 1954,) p. 26.

36. G. S. Ghurye, *Indian Sadhus* (Bombay, 1964), p. 128.

element is the element of yoga in its various forms, which also is a common hertitage."[37] At various periods in the history of India these rites and rituals, and the elements of yoga were taken up by different Hindu and Buddhist schools and integrated into their own philosophy. Furthermore, for a long period of time in medieval India, tantric Buddhism, tantric Saivism, and various yogic schools flourished side by side, especially in Eastern India and Assam, where various groups had sacred retreats or tantric centres. In some cases different Hindu and Buddhist sects considered the same places as sacred. This long association was bound to result in a mutual influence and a borrowing of rites, rituals and yogic practices.[38]

Another element which these various sects have in common is their veneration of certain saints called *siddhas*. The term *siddha* seems to have been originally used to signify a saint who had won for himself a place in heaven by his piety. In later times it came to be used of yogis who had attained perfection (*siddhi*) in the practice of yoga. *Siddhi* was considered to be "an attainment of super-normal powers of the mind, body or the sense organs.. The mind is compared to a river in the rainy season, with all the exits closed except one, through which the water rushes with tremendous vigour. When the mind in the same way is concentrated on one particular thought, and is not allowed to wander away through numberless channels, it is able to acquire great strength, which is called siddhi, or perfection."[39] That the *siddhis* were not merely spiritual attainments, but magical accomplishments and magical substances which gave the *siddha* power over his own body, physical forces and even the gods, is evident from the list of the eight great *siddhis* of the Buddhist tantrics:

1. *Khadga*—the protection which enables a person to conquer in battle with the help of a sword made powerful by the recitation of *mantras*.

2. *Anjana*—the magical unguent applied to the eyes of a person

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37. Das Gupta, p. 15.
38. Dharmabir Bharati, *Siddhasahitya* (Allahabad, 1965), p. 323.
39. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism* (Varanasi, 1964), p. 85–6.

which enables him to perceive buried or hidden treasure.

3. *Padalepa*—an ointment applied to the feet which enabled a person to move about everywhere without being seen by others.

4. *Rasarasayana*—probably means either the magic solution which turns base metals into gold or the medicine which gives immunity from death.

5. *Antardhana*—the power which enables a person to disappear miraculosusly.

6. *Khecara*—the power to move about in the firmament.

7. *Bucara*—the power to move at will anywhere on this earth in a moment.

8. *Patala*—the power of going to the nether regions.[40] The aims of the *siddhis* in general include such things as curing and preventing snake bites, attaining knowledge by *mantras* (i. e., without study), attaining enlightenment through the recitation of *mantras*,conquering the gods by *mantras* and subjecting them to one's powers, and conquering opponents in public disputation.[41]

These *siddhis* were powers which were sought by yogis irrespective of their sectarian affiliation and which caught the imagination of the common people. All of the various medieval sects—Saiva, Vaisnava, Buddhist and even Moslem sects—influenced by yoga and by the Indian Rasayana school set the attainment of such *siddhis* as an ideal and venerated the great *siddhas* who were reputed to have attained them. Everyone, whatever his sectarian alliance or philosophy, respected a *siddha*.

Various lists of the *siddhas* are found, mostly in the early vernacular iliterature. The most frequently cited *siddhas* are the nine *nathas* of the Nath sect and the "eighty-four *siddhas*." One list of the eighty-four *siddhas* is found in a manuscript called the *Varna Ratnakara*. The manuscript, discovered in Nepal, is now in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The list was written by one Kavi Sekharacarya Jyotisrivasvara, who was a court poet of Hari Simha Deva of Simraungadh (1300–1321).[42] Lists of the eighty-four *siddhas* venerated by the

40. Ibid., p. 88–9.

41. Ibid., p. 86–7.

42. Das Gupta, p. 202, note 1. For a fuller treatment of the list from

Sahajayana Buddhists are current in Tibet, and the same list has been found in Java. A similar list is found on a *pauba* (painted banner) in the Bhaktapur museum and dated 633 N. S. (1513).[43] Kabir refers to the eighty-four *siddhas* in one of his songs.[44] Other lists of *siddhas* are found in the literature of Hatha Yoga, the Rasayana School, and various sects of yogis throughout India.

Most authors agree that the number eighty-four is mystical, not historical,[45] and there is considerable divergence among the lists. However, and this is the main point for the purposes of this work, many of the names are common. Upadhyaya gives a list of thirty-eight *siddhas* common to the Nath list of eighty-four and the Tibetan list.[46] Among the names most commonly found on all of the lists are Matsyendranath (or Minnath), Goraksa (Gorakhnath), Carpati, and Jalandhar. In nearly all of the lists Goraksa is listed immediately after Matsyendra (or Minnath) and venerated as his disciple.[47]

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the *Varna Ratnakara,* the Tibetan list and the lists from other Nath and yogic sources see Das Gupta p. 202–10; Hajariprasad Dvivedi, *Nath Sampradaya* (Varanasi, 1966), p. 27–3; and Nagendranath Upadhyaya, Goraksanatha: *Nath Sampradaya ke Paripreksya men* (Varanasi, 2033 B. S.), p. 18. Harisimha Deva, whose dynasty traced their origins to Karnataka, fled from Simraungadh with his court when his kingdom was destroyed by the Muslims. The modern chronicles claim that he then conquered the Valley. This is surely incorrect; he most probably died near Dolakha before ever reaching the Valley. However, his widow and court found refuge in Bhaktapur with Rudra Malla where thy settled and exerted a profound influence on the political and cultural history of the Valley in the late Malla period.

43. Hemaraja Sakya and T. R. Vaidya, eds., *Medieval Nepal* (Kathmandu, 1970), p. 32–5.
44. Haridas Bhattacharya, ed., *The Cultural Heritage of India,* 4 vols. (Calcutta, 1956), 4:274.
45. See Das Gupta, p.205 and Mircea Eliade, *Yoga: Immortality and Freedom,* trans. Willard R. Trask (New York, 1969), p. 304–5.
46. Upadhyaya, p. 18.
47. The name Matsyendranth does not appear on the Tibetan lists. Minapa, followed by Goraksapa are found, however, and many authors identify the first *siddha* on the Tibetan list, Luhipa, with Matsyendranath. See treatment below. The Bhaktapur list

The oldest data relating to Matsyendranath comes from a manuscript copy of the *Kaulajnana-nirnayah* found in the Darbar Library in Nepal and published by P. C. Bagchi along with several other minor texts relating to the school of Matsyendranath, all found in Nepal.[48] Though Hara Prasad Sastri, who first noted the manuscript, dated it to the ninth century, Bagchi places it in the middle of the eleventh century, and this dating has been accepted by subsequent scholars.[49] According to this text Matsyendranath belonged to the Siddha or Siddhamrita sect, primarily connected with the Yogini-kaula, the chief seat of which was Kamarupa. The text gives the earliest account of the legends concerning Matsyendranath, and though many of the details were probably added in the hundred years or so between the time of Matsyendranath and the final redaction of the text, Bagchi notes that the following details probably represent the earliest tradition:

a. The Kulagama was revealed by a fisherman in Candradvipa—the fisherman, Matsyendranath himself, was probably originally a brahman but he had to give up Brahmanhood for securing the secret knowledge.

b. The mystic knowledge was probably imparted by him to others at Kamarupa for the first time.

c. When this account was written Matsyendranath was already believed to the incarnation of Siva.

d. It was further believed at that time, amongst other supernatural stories, that the Kulagama was stolen from Candradvipa by Karttikeya in the form of a mouse, thrown into the sea where it was devoured by a big fish from the belly of which it was recovered by Matsyendranath; the latter thus won the name of Matsyanagna—the killer of fish. This part of the story might have either grown from popular legends or symbolic indications.[50]

This legend is probably the oldest version of the legend of Mats-

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begins with Lohipa, but does not give either Matsyendra or Minapa. It gives Gorakhapa preceded by Telipa. See Sakya and Vaidya, p. 34.

48. Probhodh Chandra Bagchi, *Kaulajnana-nirnayah, and Some Minor Texts of the School of Matsyendranath* (Calcutta, 1934).

49. Bagchi, p. 5.

50. Ibid., p. 9–10.

yendranath and the archetype of all the later legends which are either expansions of this legend or popular etymology of the name Matsyendranath (the Lord of the Fishes). There is nothing in this early legend about Matsyendranath taking the form of a fish and learning the secrets of yoga from Siva by the sea shore. This story is contained, however, in later Bengali texts like the *Goraksavijaya* and *Minancetana*.[51] The early legend of the *Kaulajnana-nirnayah* makes no mention either of Gorakhnath.

That Matsyendranath was a historical person seems fairly certain, and Bagchi concludes that he probably flourished towards the beginning of the tenth century in Candradvipa, which can be located in the deltaic region of Bengal. It also seems that most of his converts were made in that part of the country, and that he perhaps spent a part of his time in Kamarupa.[52]

Kamarupa, which corresponds to the modern state of Assam and particularly to the area round Gauhati, was an important centre in the middle ages where aboriginal cults, yoga, Saivism and Buddhism were in close contact. It was the tantric country par-excellence. In ancient times this area was a separate kingdom centered round its capital of Pragjyotisapura, the modern Gauhati. From the era of the *Mahabharata* down to that of the Puranas, the shrines, priests, kings and heroes of Kamarupa figure in Sanskrit literature. The place is especially important in Puranas like the *Kalika Purana* which deal with the worship of Siva and his Sakti,; and it is in these texts that the name Kamarupa appears for the first time. The kingdom was at its height in the fifth and sixth centuries B. C.[53]

In the early part of the seventh century A. D., the king of Kamaru-

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51. Ibid., p. 10
52. Ibid., p. 32. At least one author, basing himself on the *Guruparampara* and the alleged dates of Gorakhnath, claims that Matsyendranath cannot be placed earlier than the twelfth century. N. K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa* (Utkal, Orissa, 1958), p. 162. The strongest argument for placing Matsyendanath in the early part of the tenth century is Bagchi's dating of the *Kaulajnana-nirnayah*, which has been generally accepted by scholars.
53. See Wilfried Nolle, "Kamarupa," in *Indo-Asian Studies*, ed. Dr. L. Chandra, Part 2 (New Delhi, 1965), p. 125–7.

pa; Bhaskaravarman, was a great protagonist of the Saiva religion, a fact attested to by the Saiva images of the era discovered in the area.[54] Though Kamarupa seems to have been first and primarily a Saivite centre, Buddhism also flourished there, as is evident from the remains of *caityas* and Buddhist images found there. In the period up to about A. D. 1000 there were few Buddhists in the area, and out of fear of the king they performed their rites and meditations in secret. Taranath records the story of Kusalibhadra, a Buddhist Tantra-acarya, who went to Kamarupa in the guise of a Brahman to acquire secret knowlege. In his own religious practices he made use of the secret knowlege acquired in Kamarupa and of Buddhist *dharanis*. After his time the influence of Buddhism increased in Kamarupa.[55]

Kamarupa was thus an area where Saivism, Buddhism, yoga, and the more primitive cults of the aboriginal tribes met and mutually influenced each other. Saivites and Buddhists went there to become proficient in the practice of yoga and secret knowlege, and then developed a philosophy based on this yoga according to their own sectarian beliefs. In this way we can see how it came about that Saivite yogis and Sahajiya Buddhists came to recognize the same *siddhas* as their *gurus*. Furthermore, both groups were influenced by the more primitive cults and practices of the aboriginal tribes in the area. Perhaps in an attempt to purify and elevate them, they took up these practices, stripped them of their more objectionable elements, and gave them a philosophical and religious basis within the context of their sectarian beliefs. Or perhaps they simply used them as a vehicle to interpret and express their philosophy. All of these different sects then had common *gurus*, common rites and rituals, and even common philosophical terms, but the meaning of the terms and the interpretations given to the rites and rituals differed from sect to sect. The uneducated and the uninitiated, though, must have looked on all of them as basically the same.

The Tibetan lists of the eighty-four *siddhas* do not contain the name

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54. See R. C. Majumdar, ed., *History of Bengal*, Hindu Period (Patna, 1971), p. 405.

55. See Bharati, p. 262–63.

of Matsyendranath. They accord the first place in the list, which the other traditions assign to Matsyendranath, to Luipa (variously spelled Luhipa, Lohipa, Luyipa, and Lohitapada). According to Tibetan sources, Luipa originated from the South of India and spent a great deal of his time in both Orissa and Bengal. Some traditions refer to his being a clerk in the employ of the King of Orissa. He is credited with the composition of five Vajrayana works.[56] One of these, the *Abhisamayavibhanga*, is said to have been revealed to him by Dipankara Srijnana in order that the latter might help in the translation into Tibettan.[57] He was therefore probably a contemporary of Dipankara and can be placed at the end of the tenth century. Two of the early Bengali poems contained in the *Caryascaryaviniscaya*, published by H. P. Sastri, are credited to Luipa, and Sastri speaks of an entire collection of such songs called the *Luipada-Gitika*.[58] Through these vernacular songs or *dohas*, he became one of the founders of the Tantric religion which is found in them. Some of these songs are still sung by Newar Hindu and Buddhist *bhajan* groups every evening. The list of the eighty-four *siddhas* in the Bhaktapur museum, like the Tibetan list, begins with Lohipa. This list is certainly not derived from Tibetan sources, but probably from the same Indian sources that the Tibetan writers used.

A large number of writers beginning with Bagchi have identified Luipa with Matsyendranath on the following grounds:

> The Tibetan tradition mentions him as the Adi-siddha, thus making him occupy the same position as the Indian tradition would ascribe to Minnath or Matsyendranath. It has been pointed out that the Tibetan translation of the name Lui-pa means Matsyodara or Matsyandrada;and Sumpa Mkhan-po makes him, as the Indian tradition makes Matsyendranath, a sage of the fisherman caste. The Tibetan sources, again place Luipada in Bengal while all the Indian legends of Matsyendranatha are connected with the sea-board of Eastern India. The published Sanskrit texts of the school claim Matsyendranatha as the

56. Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya, ed., *Taranatha's History of Buddhism in India*, trans. Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya (Simla, 1970), "Supplementary Notes", p. 393.

57. Sushil Kumar De, "The Buddhist Tantric Sanskrit Literature of Bengal." *New India Antiquary*, 1 (1938): 16.

58. Ibid.

founder of the Yogini-kaula system, while Taranatha believes that Lui-pa introduced the yogini-cult.[59]

The identification, however, is not without difficulties, and Bharati, arguing from the chronological difficulties the identification presents and the fact that there is no positive historical proof that Luipa and Matsyendranath are identical, rejects the theory.[60] N. K. Sahu speaks of two Luipas, one elder, the contemporary of Dipankara Srijnana, and the younger whom he identifies with Matsyendranath.[61] It is also true that the Tibetan list places a Minnath immediately before Goraksa, and that Luipa is known from Indian sources which do not identify him with Matsyendranath. If they are indeed identical it again points to the common acceptance of these *siddhas* by Buddhist and Hindus alike. Even if they are not, the very fact that scholars argue about the identity points to the syncretism and borrowing which characterizes the whole tantric movement and makes it extremely difficult to state that a given *siddha* belongs to the Hindu or Buddhist tradition.

We have seen above that Bunga-dya: was identified with Matsdranath and Jatadhari Lokesvara, or Caku Baha Dya:, with Minnath. Scholars are agreed that the two are the same. The *Kaulajnana-nirnayah* clearly uses Minnath as a synonym for Matsyendranath, and the *Varna-Ratnakara* lists Minnath first and Goraksa second, the place accorded to Matsyendranath in other Saivite lists.[62]

**The Siddha Gorakhnath**

Gorakhnath (or Goraksa-natha) is known all over northern and

59. Ibid.
60. Bharati, p. 43.
61. Sahu, p. 161.
62. See Dvidvedi, p. 42–3 and Bagchi, p. 21–2. Certain sectarian traditions call Minnath the son of Matsyendranath, a Tibetan tradition calls him the father of Matsyendra, and the traditions of Nepal refer to Minnath variously as the son, daughther, or nephew of Matsyendranath. Scholars generally explain these differences as later elaborations of the legends or attempts to expand the lists of the *sididhas* and give some biographical details about all of them.

western India as the wonder-worker and master of yoga. Throughout this whole area he is celebrated in legend, in song and in the folklore of the people. He is universally recognized as the founder of various Saivite sects, all of which are commonly, but erroneously, grouped under the name of Gorakhnathis or Kanphata Yogis.[63] That Gorakhnath was an historical person is accepted by all scholars, but they do not agree about his date. One opinion places him in the middle of the ninth century, and the other places him between the tenth and the twelfth centuries. Upadhyaya favours the earlier date, but Dr. Kalyani Mallik places him toward the end of the eleventh century.[64]

Legends concerning Gorakhnath abound, and he has been deified in popular religion as a representative or embodiment of Siva. There is no legend from India that completely corresponds to the Nepal legend, but elements of the Nepal legend are found in a number of the other legends. A legend from the Panjab says that Gorakhnath was born of dung and found by Matsyendranath who made him his disciple. Another legend says that a devotee of Siva, desiring offspring, received ashes from Siva's *dhuni*. The devotee was told to swallow the ashes, but instead threw them on a dung-hill. Later a child was found on the dung-hill and taken to Siva who named him Gorakhnath. In the legend of Manikcand, Gorakhnath is described as a kind of supernatural being dwelling in the Himalayas, attending on Siva and possessing magical powers. Another legend states that when Gorakhnath and his company came into the royal garden at Silkot everything became green and the lakes were filled with water. At another time he came into a dried-up garden, scattered ashes over it and the garden began to bloom. A number of legends, especially those of the Guga cycle, speak of his power over the snakes. Guga is said to have received his power over the snakes from Gorakhnath. Guga, in the name of Gorakhnath, played his flute and the serpents danced for him.

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63. See Geroge Weston Briggs, *Gorakhanath and the Kanphata Yogis*, (Delhi, 1973), p. 179–207. Unless otherwise indicated the following account of Gorakhnath and the legends associated with him are based on Briggs.

64. Upadhyaya, p. 100, and Mallik, p. 11.

Almost all of the legends claim that Gorakhnath was the disciple of Matsyendranath or Minnath. The Bengali legends which recount the story of Matsyendranath receiving the secret knowledge from Siva in the form of a fish, state that he was cursed for this by Siva. As a result of the curse he eventually forgot the knowledge, went to the country of women called Kadali and there began to pass his days in amusement with the 1600 women in the country. He was rescued from there by his disciple Gorakhnath who disguised himself as a woman to gain entrance and reminded his guru of his forgotten yogic knowledge.[65] The *Natha-caritra* tells a similar story and places it in Kamarupa. Matsyendranath went to Kamarupa to perfom austerities. While he was there the king of the land died. He entered the body of the dead king and began to live with the wives of the king from whom he had two sons. Eventually Gorakhanath came to Kamarupa and rescued Matsyendranath and his two sons. Later by means of his magic he had to show Matsyendranath the worthlessness of gold and luxuries and by doing so brought him back to the practice of yoga.[66] Another legend relates that when Gorakhnath came to a certain place he made all the instruments in the city and the walls of its houses resound with the chant: "Awake, Macchendra, Gorakhnath has come."[67] Thus we see a number of elements common to the stories of Gorakhnath told in various parts of India and the legends of Nepal.

The Tibetan tradition also recognizes Goraksa as one of the eighty four *siddhas,* but claims that the was first a Buddhist. Taranath says of him and his followers: "At that time most of the yogi followers of Gaurksa (Goraksa) were fools, driven by the greed for money and the honour offered by the tirthaka kings, they became the followers of Isvara, i. e., Siva. They used to say, we are not opposed even to the Turuksas.' Only a few of them belonging to the Nasesvari-varge remained insiders."[68] Taranath says that Gorakhnath's Vajrayana name was Anangavajra, and Hara Prasad Sastri gives him the name Raman-

65. Bagchi, p. 10.
66. Dvivedi, p. 55–6.
67. Briggs, p. 197.
68. Chattopadhyaya, p. 320.

vajra.[69]

A number of writers attribute the same tradition and the same attitude toward Gorakhnath to Nepal. "It is said that the Nepalese Buddhists are much displeased with Gorakh-nath and hate him as a sectarian."[70] Bharati attributes the story to Sylvain Levi, but where Levi speaks of this dislike of Gorakhnath he is recounting the Tibetan tradition and he quotes the above section from Taranath.[71] I have never heard this story of Gorakhnath being a renegade Buddhist from any Newar Buddhist informant, nor have I seen it in any of the relevant Newari literature. Most probably all such references can be traced to a confusion with the Tibetan tradition. The Newar Buddhist tradition simply ignores Gorakhanath, except in the late legends which attribute the coming of Matsyendranath to Gorakhnath sitting on the *nagas*.

It is probably this Tibetan tradition which has led a number of authors to claim that the Nath sect was originally Buddhist. However, as shown above, the study of the Nath literature has proven that the yogis were clearly Saivite from the inception of their sect. Their philosophy is simple and clear: Siva is their supreme god, and for them salvation consists in union with the divinity through yoga. They are known all over India for their magical powers and are patronized as healers, bringers of rain, tamers of wild beasts, etc.

Much confusion exists about the yogis, and all yogis are popularly called Gorakhnathis. However, they are not all Gorakhnathis, much less Kanphatas. Ghurye divides the yogis into two principal orders: the Nathpanthis and the Aghorapanthis.[72] The Nathpanthis are all followers of Gorakhnath, the Aghorapanthis are not all followers of Gorakhnath and have a number of repulsive practices shunned

69. See Bharati, p. 302. It would seem from this that the Tibetans do not have much use for Gorakhnath, but a number of informants have told me that several of the Gorakhnath shrines in the Valley are visited most frequently by two groups of people: the yogis and the Tibetans.

70. Das Gupta, p. 199.

71. Bharati, p. 322; and Sylvain Levi, *Le Nepal*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1905), 1:356.

72. Ghurye, *Indian Sadhus*, p. 137 ff.

by the Nathpanthis. Nathpanthis can be divided into the Kanphatas and the Augharas, the principal distinguishing factor being the ear-rings worn by the Kanphatas. All Kanphatas have large ear-rings which they wear in the hollow of the ear, not in the ear lobes. During the last stage of initiation, which is not taken by the Augharas, the guru of the Kanphata drives a knife, called a Bhairavi knife, through the cartiladge of both ears. When the wound heals a ring, which may be as large as seven inches in circumference, is put in each ear. The rings may be of several materials, but the most favourite is rhinoceros horn. Another difference is that the Aughara takes a name ending in *-dasa* and the Kanphata takes a name ending in *-natha*.

The Kanphata or Nathayogis were an extermely popular sect and spread throughout north and west India rapidly. By the twelfth century they had reached Maharastra, and by the fifteenth century Gorakhnath had been deified in Orissa. Even earlier than this is the fourteenth century, Gorakhnath was being worshipped by yogis in Nepal as a deity.

**Matsyendranath, Gorakhnath, and the Yogis in the Valley of Nepal**

The question we set out to examine in this chapter was how did Avalokitesvara—Bunga-dya: come to be known as Matsyendranath. We can only give some indications toward an answer based on the above considerations of the common elements in the religion and practice of the yogis of the schools of Matsyendranath and Gorakhnath and the presence of such yogis in the Valley.

We have seen that Matsyendranath was the founder of a school of yoga known as the Kaula or Yoginikaula School. The school was clearly Saivite, and according to the *Kaulajnana-nirnayah* it explained the philosophical elements of its doctrine in terms of Siva-Sakti. Yet the doctrines of the school have a lot in common with Buddhist mysticism as found in the writings of the Siddhacaryas. In the *Kaulajnana-nirnayah, sahaja* is the ideal state of the yogi, a state in which the mind enters into vacuity.[73] Sahajiya was the ideal state described by the Siddhacaryas of the Buddhist Sahajiya school, though for them it was the state of ideal bliss attained by the union of *prajna* and *upaya*. Secondly,

73. Bagchi, p. 55.

the Buddhist Sahajiya school insisted that the ultimate truth cannot be realized by studying the traditional lore of the Vedas and other texts nor by having recourse to external practices such as *mantras* and rituals. It can only be obtained through the cultivation of mental powers and yogic practices. The same doctrine is found in the *Kaulajnana-nirnayah*. Thirdly, the enumeration of the different kinds of *kulas* in the Buddhist tantras is similar to that contained in the *Kaulajnana-Nirnayah*.

That the school and doctrines of Matsyendranath were known in the Valley in the late Malla period, and perhaps much earlier, is evident from the manuscripts pertaining to the school found here. Bagchi has dated the *Kaulajnana-nirnayah* to the eleventh century, and it is the earliest text of the school found anywhere. However, the manuscript was not written in Nepal, and it is impossible to say when it was brought to Nepal. In addition to this text Bagchi notes two copies of the *Akulaviratantram*, one in the Darbar Library and one in the Keshar Library.[74] Both are written on palm leaves, and the Keshar Library copy bears a note dated 730 N. S. (1610). The note was obviously added later, and the writing of the manuscript belongs to the thirteenth century. There is a copy of the *Akulagamatantram* in the Darbar Library dated 791 N. S. (1671).[75] Hence it is evident that the school of Matsyendranath and its doctrines were known in the Valley by the late Malla period or earlier.

All of the texts mentioned above pertain to the school of Matsyendranath and make no mention of Gorakhnath. The deity respected by the yogis of this school as their guru and worshipped as a form of Siva is Matsyendranath. The same is true of the *Matsyendrapadyasatakam* written at the behest of Srinivasa Malla. It makes no mention of Gorakhnath. It is a hymn in praise of Matsyendranath whom it identifies with Siva.[76] It would seem then that the followers of these tantras and the author of the *Matsyendrapadyasatakam* were followers of a yogic school of Matsyendranath and not Gorakhnathis or worship-

74. Ibid., p. 2.
75. Ibid., p. 61.
76. Yogi Narharinath, ed., trans., *Matsyendrapadyasatakam* (Kathmandu, 1883 S. S.), p. 14, sloka 52, and p. 17, sloka 67.

pers of Gorakhnath.

There is evidence, however, of the presence of the followers of Gorakhnath in the Valley from roughly the same period. The earliest reference to Gorakhnath in an inscription is found at Itum Baha where the powerful feudatory Jaya Simha Rama Vardana refers to himself as a follower of the sect of Gorakha (nath).[77] The inscription is dated 502 N. S. (1382). The next reference comes from an inscription at the Gorakhnath cave in Pharping dated 511 N. S. (1391). Both inscriptions were put up during the reign of Jayasthiti Malla. The Pharping inscription was put up by a yogi named Sri Acintanatha who set up an icon of the feet of Gorakhnath for worship in the cave.[78]

One of the most interesting sources of information about the cult of Gorakhnath is the Maru Sattal, or Kasthamandapa, the wooden pavilion from which the name of Kathmandu is derived. Its history also shows the way in which various religious influences have mingled and shaped the cultural pattern of the Valley.[79] Popular legends, recounted in the "modern chronicles", attribute the building of this edifice to the early part of the seventeenth century and the reign of Laksminarasimha of Kathmandu. Another legend from a sixteenth century pilgrim's guide from Rajasthan attributes the building of the temple to a saint called Lopi, Lopipada or Lopinatha, "a saint (siddha) belonging to the Nathas, a Saiva sect of wandering ascetics. Lopipada himself brought the tree from Siva's Himalayan abode, Mt. Kailasa, 'long ago' to Kathmandu, where 'covering over a pond.. he cut the tree into four pillars upon which he built a three-storey building."[89]

77. Dhanavajra Vajracarya, "Saktisali Bhadra Ramavarddhanaharu "ra Tatkalik Nepal", *Purnima,* 7:34 and 36.

78. D. R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal,* 4 vols. (Calcutta, 1966), p. 131.

79. The most comprehensive treatment of the history of this monument is contained in Mary Slusser and Gautamvajra Vajracarya, "Two Medieval Nepalese Buildings,"*Artibus Asia,* 36:3, p. 169–218.

80. Slusser and Vajracarya, p. 208. One immediately wonders if Lopipada equals Luipada and hence perhaps Matsyendranath, and if the reference records an earlier tradition of the Valley or a Rajasthan tradition. There is an old Newari *bhajan*, still sung in Kathmandu, which refers to the deity as "Luipadanath Siddha." See Ramesh Jung Thapa, "Kasthamandap," *Ancient Nepal* 3 (April, 1969): 39.

D. R. Regmi attributes the building of the temple to a visiting yogi of the Nath sect from Gauda and dates it to the thirteenth century, but gives no indication of his source.[81] The Itihas Samsodan Mandala long ago proved that the building dates at least to the twelfth century, and Slusser and Vajracarya give indications of its existence prior to the eleventh century.[82]

The earliest inscription at the Maru Sattal is a copperplate dated 454 N.S. (1333).[83] From this inscription it appears that the building was a sort of royal council hall and temple of Lord Pacali at that time. Slusser and Vajracarya identify Pacali with the currently worshipped Pacali-Bhairava. "In the inscription Lord Pacali is petitioned as the divine witness to a political pact and made guardian of certain funds deposited as a gage in his temple, the *sattal*."[84] Customs still current among the Buddhist Newars of Kathmandu indicate that the building also had Buddhist associations. At one of their *guthi* festivals, the Buddhists set up a number of Buddhist images in the *sattal* and erect a collapsible wooden pavilion at the nearby crossroads "which they claim is the true 'wooden pavilion' constructed with the wood from the single tree."[85]

From the late fourteenth century onwards, however, the Maru Sattal became a temple of Gorakhnath and a rest house for Nath yogis. In the very centre of the ground floor is an image of Gorakhnath, and the connection between the *sattal* and Saivite yogis is attested to by in-

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81. Regmi, 1:558. Since he gives no source, and no one else has referred to this statement, one wonders if he has not misdated the inscription cited below which speaks of a donation made by one Caitanyanatha Jogi from Gauda Desa in the *fifteenth* century.
82. Dhanavajra Vajracarya, et al. eds., *Itihas Samsodanko Pramanprameya* (Kathmand4, 2019 B. S.), p. 110–115. Slusser and Vajracarya (p. 207 note 34) refer to a manuscript dated 210 N. S. (1090) which the owners claim contains a history of the Maru Sattal. Unfortunately they were not permitted to examine anything but the colophon.
83. Gautamvajra Vajracarya, *Hanuman Dhoka Rajdarbar* (Kathmandu, 2033 B. S.), p. 196.
84. Slusser and Vajracarya, p. 209.
85. Ibid.

scriptions, legends and the residence, until very recently, of the Kusale Yogis. A copperplate inscription attached to the building and dated 499 N. S. (1379) says that " in 499 N. S... the Hariganas [followers of Hari (Siva), i. e., the Kapalikas] received this building of Yamagala [another of the city's many names] by order of Jayasthiti Malla.. from this date it was theirs. It is given by the King."[86] The text of the inscription also mentions Gorakhnath. In 585 N. S. (1455) one Caitanyanath Jogi from Gauda Desa bought land and set up a *guthi* for the *cakra puja* of the yogis. The inscripton invokes Gorakhnath.[87] Another copperplate set up in the year 605 N. S. by one Hetunatha Yogi commemorates the donation of land for an annual *cakra puja* and feasting of the yogis on their return from a pilgrimage to Gosainkunda.[88] In 632 N. S. (1512) one Sri Balanatha of Sri Khandala Desa (Kharpu, on the road between Banepa and Panauti) offered a gift to provide for the annual *cakra puja* of the yogis which is to be performed on the fourteenth day of the dark half of the month of Asadh.[89]

Until very recently there were a number of Kusale-Yogi families actually living in the *sattal*. The Kusale are a low caste Newar group who claim to be descendants of true yogis, and their customs attest to the truth of their contention. Some of them still use "Kapalika" as a surname. The Kusale "like the Nathas, claim Goraksanatha as their patron. They are now family heads and for the most part occupy themselves with their ordained menial tasks, among which are important ritual functions in Newar funeral ceremonies. But once a year certain of them still don their gruesome bone ornaments and, Siva's *damaru* in hand, mutely go a-begging in the ancient way, a brief resumption of

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86. Ibid., p. 211. It is Yogi Narharinath who has identified these early "Harigana" as *kapalikas*. See Yogi Narharinath, "Kasthamandapa," *Sanskrit Sandes*, 1 (Aswin 2010 B. S.), 6:5–6. Though "Hari" is most frequently used as an epithet of Visnu, not Siva,in modern writings, it is definitely used as a name of Siva and the context indicates that the "Harigan" are Saivites not Vaisnavites.

87. Yogi Narharinath, *Sanskrit Sandes*, 6: 7–8.

88. Slusser and Vajracarya, p. 211. For the inscription see Yogi Narharinath, *Sanskrit Sandes*, 6: 4.

89. Yogi Narharinath, 6: 9.

their ancestral role as Kapalikas."[90] They were finally removed from the *sattal* when the building was restored in 1966 and made into a national monument. The Kapalikas, as we have seen, were a Saivite sect considered to be the forerunners of the later Nathas, and their connection with the *sattal* indicates the presence of Saivite Yogis there before the coming of the followers of Gorakhnath. Official worship of Gorakhnath is still performed at the *sattal* by Kanphata Yogis living nearby; and until the restoration of the building, the Kanphata Yogis of Mrigasthali near Pasupatinath asserted legal ownership of the building by collecting rent from the shop-keepers who had shops there.[91]

It is in the time of Jayasthiti Malla, then, that we first notice the cult of Gorakhnath and the fact of royal patronage of the yogis who worshipped him. From this time onward there are numerous references to Gorakhnath and the Nath Yogis in the Valley. There is a Gorakhnath temple in Banepa with an inscription dated 769 N. S. (1649), one in Dhulikhel with an inscription dated 816 N. S. (1696) and one in Bhaktapur with an inscrption dated 873 N. S. (1753) to mention just a few.[92] Manuscripts kept in collections in the Valley attest to the same popularity of the cult. There is a copy of the *Goraksabhujagam* in the Darbar Library dated 1730 and a copy of the *Goraksasamhita* of the sixteenth or seventeenth century in the same collection.[93] Dramas depicting the legends relating to Gorakhnath and the Natha sect were written at the court in Bhaktapur. One, the *Gopicandrapakhyanatakam,* written in the time of Bhupatindra Malla tells the story of Gopicandra in Newari; another, also in Newari and

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90. Slusser and Vajracarya, p. 210. Licchavi inscriptions speak of various Saivite sects prevalent in the Valley at that time. An inscription from the time of Jisnugupta (middle of the seventh century A. D.) speaks of "Pasupatacaryas who wear garlands of skulls" (*mundasnnkhalikpasupatacaryaparisad*). The Kapalikas were devotees of Pasupati who wore garlands of skulls. See Dhanavajra Vajracarya, *Licchavikalka Abhilekh,* p. 328.
91. Slusser and Vajracarya, p. 211.
92. Sankarman Rajbamsi, *Bhaktapur Silalekh Suci* (Kathmandu, 2020 B. S.), p. 16, 69, and 43–4.
93. Bagchi p. 63–5.

written in the time of Ranajit Malla, is entitled *Goraksopakhyanama.*[94]

During the time of Srinivasa Malla, when we first find the name Matsyendranath applied to Avalokitesvara—Bunga-dya:, all of the Saivite sects were represented in the Valley: the early Saivite Kapalika sect represented by their descendants the Kusale-Yogis, the followers of the school of Matsyendranath, and the Nath Yogis. Any of these yogis could have taken to worshipping this popular deity as Matsyendranath. However, it was most probably some yogis of the Matsyendranath school who first did so. The followers of Gorakhnath do not generally have a cult of Matsyendranath though they revere him as the guru of Gorakhnath.[95] If they were to recognize Avalokitesvara as another deity one would expect that it would be Gorakhnath not Matsyendranath. Yet Matsyendranath was the name adopted; it is the only name referred to by the author of the *Matsyendrapadyasatakam;* and there is no mention of Gorakhnath in the early tradition. Gorakhnath is connected by legend only after the Gorkhali conquest despite the fact that his cult had been prevalent in the Valley for at least three hundred years. There may have been some striking feature in the iconography of the image of Bunga-dya: that led the yogis to recognize him as Matsyendranath or some aspect of the doctrine or ritual of the Vajrayana priests who acted as *pujaris* of the deity that led them to make the identification. We simply have no data on this. What is striking is that the identification of Avalokitesvara and Matsyendra is peculiar to the Valley of Nepal. It was not brought from outside. There is no evidence of such an identification in the Indian Buddhist tradition, the Natha Yogi tradition, or the Tibetan tradition.[96] Nor is there

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94. Buddhisagar Sarma *Vrihatsucipatram, Natak* (*Rupaka*) Granthavisayakah—Stutiya Bhagah (Kathmandu 2019 B. S.) p. 17–18.

95. Madan Mohan Misra refers to an image of Matsyendranath worshipped in Karnataka but gives no source. Madan Mohan Misra *Kala ra Samskriti, Ek Cintana* (Patan 2030 B. S.) "Hindutva" p. 607.

96. I have seen references in books written in India to a Tibetan custom of worshipping Matsyendranath as Avalokitesvara. For example, A. K. Banerjea, *The Nath Sampradaya,* "In old Tibetan Buddhist traditions Matsyendranath was indentified with Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara..", p. 3–4. He gives no source for this state-

any evidence that the Tibetan or Indian tradition ever equated Luipa and Avalokitesvara.

If some yogis had taken to worshipping Avalokitesvara—Bunga-dya: as Matsyendranath, it would have been natural for the Natha Yogis to follow suit and for the Malla kings, Saivites and rulers by the favour of Pasupatinath, to make it official and begin to use the name Matsyendranath in inscriptions and have a Brahman from Banaras write a poem in praise of Matsyendranath—Siva. The deity then could be worshipped by all—by the Buddhists as Lokesvara, by the yogis as Matsyendranath, by the court and the Saivites in general as Siva (Matsyendranath). This is what happened and Bunga-dya:—Avalokitesvara—Matsyendranath—Siva became the national deity of the late Malla kingdom of Patan. To all he was Loknath, the merciful one. The Buddhists of Patan and their Vajrayana priests would have had no objection to others worshipping their deity as Matsyendranath–Siva. Avalokitesvara assumes various forms according to the needs and religious beliefs of the worshippers. He assumed the form of Matsyendranath—Siva for the yogis. Even within the Buddhist tradition he is Lokanatha, Nilakantha Lokesvara, Padmanritesvara with the third eye, wearing the sacred thread of a snake and holding the *trisula*, the *aksamala*, and the *kamandalu*. He is Simhanada, clad in the tiger skin, seated on the orb of the moon and carrying the *trisula* entwined with a white snake. The rituals which the Vajrayana priests performed, and the very terminology of their philosophy, were nearly identical in many respects to those of the yogis. The principal secret *pujas* of the Vajracaryas were called the *samaya cakra* and the *gana cakra;* it was a *cakra*

ment. Bharati makes the same statement (p. 34 and 47) and cites Bagchi as his source. However, in the place cited Bagchi does not say this. He is talking about the Nepalese legends, Brahmanical and Buddhist, and says, "in the Buddhist legend Matsyendranatha is identified with Avalokitesvara." Bagchi, p. 10. Bagchi cites Levi as his source for the legends, and Levi's opinion is quite clear: "Matsyendra-natha est une divinite locale, exclusivement propre au Nepal," and "La tradition Bouddhique du Tibet semple ignorer Matsyendranatha." Levi, 1:247 and 1:355. I have seen no reference in any Tibetan work or secondary source on Tibet which attributed the identification to Tibet. All such statements evidently arise from a confusion of Nepal and Tibet.

*puja* that the yogis came to perform before Matsyendranath. The fundamental philosophical differences would not have disturbed them, for even at this period few of these householder-monks were proficient in Vajrayana philosophy.

On the other hand, the Buddhists of Patan would have been very disturbed if Srinivasa, or anybody else, had attempted to interfere with their traditional customs and worship by substituting Natha Yogis or Brahmans as the *pujaris* of Avalokitesvara—Matsyendranath. But this is not the way of Hindu kings whose duty, according to the Artha Sastra, is to defend and foster all religious sects within the realm. It was not the way of the so-called Buddhist kings like Asoka, who fostered and propagated Buddhism but also counselled respect for the Brahmans and retained their own Brahman priests and advisers. If changes are to be made, the way is rather one of tolerance, syncretism and assimilation.

If we look beyond the Valley of Nepal to the east and west, we find the influence of the Nathas and the worship of Gorakhnath throughout the hills. In the Jumla area to the west, one of the principal saints worshipped is one Chandan Nath.

> In a popularly known story, he is held to be a saint who came from Kashmir and who did for Jumla the same thing that Manjusri did for the Nepal Valley in a different tradition. Thus he drained the water which accumulated like a lake stretching from Khalachaur to Dansangu and rehabilitated the place. He introduced the cultivation of rice in Jumla. The real object of worship inside the shrine is a pair of footprints. But there are also a number of small statues of different divinities including those of Buddha and the Buddhist divinities. But there is one image which is regarded as the chief one. It is a three-headed image of Dattatreya who is said to be a synthesis of the Brahmanical trinity—Brahma, Visnu and Mahesvara (Siva). Festivals held in the shrine fall on days commemorating Visnu as well as Siva. The priest in it is a Giri from the Dasanam Sanyasi group and should be an unmarried person. The characteristics of the temple present a confusion of Saiva and Vaisnava traditions (or a harmony?).[97]

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97. Prayaj Raj Sharma, "The Divinities of the Karnali Basin in Western Nepal,," in Christoph von Furer-Haimendorf, ed., *Contributions to the Anthropology of Nepal* (London, 1974), p. 251

Worship of the footprints of a saint is a common practice of the Natha Yogis, and Gorakhnath is usually represented in this way. Dattatreya is a combined form of the Hindu trinity, as Dr. Sharma notes; he is also a Natha deity worshipped primarily in Maharastra.[98] Moreover, the Dattatreya Temple in Bhaktapur is one of the principal pilgrimage places of Saivite yogis who come to the Valley. Yogis who come from India to the Valley for the Siva Ratri festival still gather at the Dattatreya temple on the day after Siva Ratri.

To the west of the Nepal border, in the district of Kangra, the influence of the yogis is seen in the local deities Baga Balak Nath and Balak Rupi Nath. The Kanphata Yogis do not seem to be known in the area, but the Gosains, a celibate Saivite sect closely linked with them are known.[99]

In the eastern hills a very popular sect, which still flourishes, is the Josmani sect. The Josmanis are a Saivite sect of yogis who venerate Gorakhnath as one of their principal gurus. They are not Kanphatas, as is evident from the lack of the distinguishing ear-rings and their initiation names which end in *–dasa* rather than *–natha,* but their tenets and yogic practices are similar.[100]

It is in Gorkha, however, the home of the Shah dynasty which now rules Nepal, that Gorakhnath was best known. The principal shrine of the town is a temple of Gorakhnath, and he was the patron deity of the small kingdom and the dynasty. The *Bhasa Vamsavali* recounts a legend according to which Gorakhanath appeared to Drabya Shah, the first king of Gorkha, and granted to him the boon of rule over that small

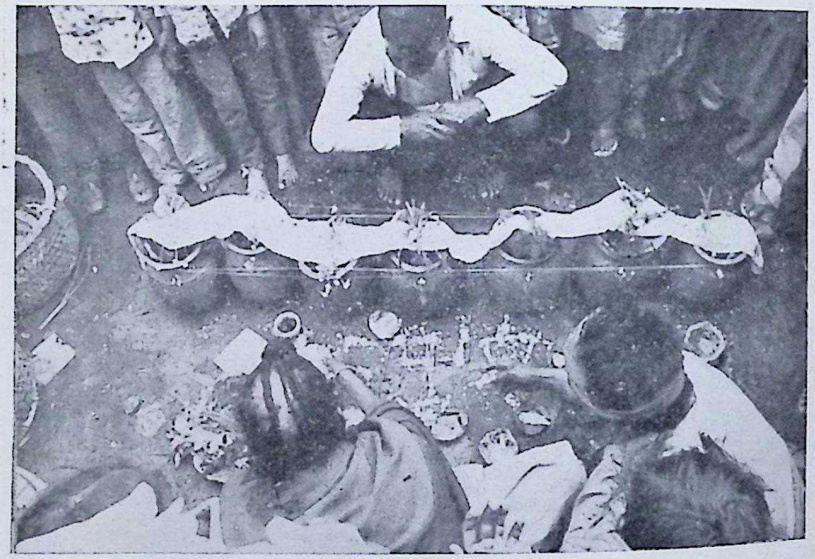
98. See H. S. Ghurye, *Gods and Men* (Bombay, 1962), p. 212. Ghurye notes that the deity may well have originated outside of Maharastra and from the beginning is connected with the Naths and Kanphata Yogis. He notes a number of temples to him in the sub-Himalayan regions and the fact that he is a patron deity of a number of ascetic sects.

99. See J. Gabriel Campbell, *Saints and Householders* (Kathmandu, 1976), p. 135.

100. For a full treatment of this sect see Janaklal Sharma, *Josmani Sant-Parampara ra Sahitya* (Kathmandu, 2020 B. S.), Sharma has a complete account of the history, doctrines, and principal saints of the sect which extends across the whole of Nepal but is found primarly in the eastern hills.

72. A Kanphata Yogi performs a *Puja* on the *ratha* of Seto Matsyendranath in Asan Tole

73. Arrangement of the *Chakra Puja* performed by the Kanphata Yogis in Asan Tole



74. Detail of the *Puja* Area

kingdom.[101] The same source has a legend of a vision of Gorakhnath to Prithwinarayan Shah. According to the story, when Prithwinarayan was a child of six, he went one day to visit the shrine of Gorakhnath who appeared to him there as a yogi and asked for some curds to drink. The child went home and asked for some curds to give to the yogi. The queen, gave him the curds and told him that it was not a yogi he had met, but Gorakhnath himself. He took the curds and offered them to Gorakhnath. After drinking, Gorakhnath ordered the boy to cup his hands and drink some of the curds. He took the curds, but was too shy or afraid to drink. Finally the curds spilled on to his feet. Gorakhnath laughed and told him, "Whatever country your feet trod will be yours. I will remain always with your army. When your army moves forward, if it should rain on that day, know that I am with you."[102] The legend represents a tradition that the conquests of Prithwinarayan and his army were due to the favour of Gorakhnath.

Gorakhnath became the patron saint of the new and larger kingdom of Nepal, and the legend Sri Sri Sri Gorakhnath still appears on Nepal's coins. Within a year after taking Kathmandu, Prithwinarayan donated 219 ropanis of land for the performance of an annual *cakra puja* by the Kanphata Yogis in three places: Asan Tole, Indracowk, and Thayamadu Tole (Bange Mudha) in Kathmandu.[103] The *guthis* are still functioning and the *pujas* still peformed. The *puja* in Asan Tole is the one performed before the *ratha* of Seto Matsyendranath. In his conquests across the hills Prithwinarayan made extensive use of a Kanphata yogi named Bhagavantanath as an emissary and informant. Eventually he rewarded the yogi by making him the head of all the yogis in the country.[104] To the present day the Kanpata Yogis, based primarily at Mrigasthali above Pasupatinath, perform a *cakra puja* before most of the principal *jatras* throughout the Valley. They claim these

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101. Nayaraj Pant, et al., eds., *Sri 5 Prithvinarayan Sahko Upades* (Lalitpur, n, d.), p. 545.
102. Ibid., p. 641–2.
103. Ibid,. p. 1063–65.
104. Ibid., p. 1069–71 and 1185–93.

*pujas* are all financed by *guthis* given them by Prithwinarayan Shah.[105] Whether this continues a custom of the Malla period, or is something introduced by the Shah dynasty it is impossible to say, but we have seen that such *guthis* existed at the Maru Sattal and that Srinivasa Malla set up a *guthi* for an annual *cakra puja* at the temple of Bunga-dya:—Matsyendranath.

Gorakhnath, then, was a name known and venerated across the hills, and this veneration afforded a cultural bond that would help to forge the new nation of Nepal. Gorakhnath was linked to the patron deity of the people of the Vallay, Bunga-dya:—Matsyendranath, and the legends expanded to include him. Legends dating before the Gorkhali conquest spoke of Narendradeva bringing Matsyendranath to the Valley fromKamarupa to free the people from the oppression of a long drought. Later redactions of the legend say that the drought was caused by Gorakhanth who had sat upon the *nagas* at Mrighasthali either in anger

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105. Following is a list of the festivals at which the yogis perform a *cakra puja.* Devi Jatra in Thaibo, Phulcoki Mai Jatra in Bare Gaun, Kalbhairava Jatra in Bare Gaun, Candesvari Jatra in Banepa, Vajravarahi Jatra in Capagaun, Harisankara Jatra in Pharping, Vajrayogini Jatra in Sankhu, Rundal Devi Jatra in Bisalnagar, Bisket Jatra in Bhaktapur, Rato Matsyendranath Jatra in Patan, Seto Matsyendranath Jatra in Kathmandu, Bhagbhairava Jatra in Kirtipur, Mahalaksmi Jatra in Lubu Gaun, Jayabhagesvari Jatra in Deo Patan, Kumari Jatra in Kathmandu, Sri Kali Jatra in Kopana,and at the Gorakhnath temple in Mrigasthali. Most of the deities are tantric Hindu deities and the festivals are local village festivals observed by people of the farmer caste who use Gubhaju priests but worship these deities in their own villages. There is a *guthi* for each of these *pujas;* the local people work the land of the *guthi* and have to provide the materials for the *puja* and a feast for the yogis from the income they get from the land. At each of the *jatras* the yogis perform a *cakra puja,* usually at the beginning of the festival. The yogis say that the *puja* is to Gorakhnath. The local people say that the *puja* is a protection rite, and that it must be performed before the festival can begin. They say that if they do not have the *puja* performed the yogis will interfere with the festival by casting spells, etc. For this information I am indebted to Mr. Gunther Umbesheid, who has collected it in preparation for his doctoral dissertation on the Nath Yogis.

because the people did not respect him, or simply as a device to lure his guru Matsyendranath to the Valley. As noted above, Wright's chronicle attributes Gorkhali rule over the Valley to a boon granted by Matsyendranath.[106]

106. Danicl Wright, *History of Nepal* (Kathmandu, 1972), p. 197-8

## CHAPTER FOURTEEN

# Conclusions

The cult of Avalokitesvara—Matsyendranath still flourishes in the Valley of Nepal. Though most people refer to the deity as Matsyendranath, he is in reality the Buddhist *bodhisattva* Padmapani Lokesvara or Avalokitesvara. His shrines are all tended by the direct descendants of the Buddhist monks, the Bare; and the ritual surrounding the cult is all Vajrayana Buddhist. His cult must be understood in the context of the Buddhism of the Newar Community of the Valley of Nepal.

The analysis given in the preceding chapters has shown how thoroughly Buddhist the entire cult is. The image in each shrine is a two-armed figure of Padmapani Lokesvara showing the *varada mudra* and holding the lotus. The deity belongs first of all to the *sangha* of the *baha*. In all of his shrines, except at Jana Baha in Kathmandu, he is the *kwapa-dya:*, the guardian deity of the Buddhist *sangha,* no longer a community of celibate monks open to all qualified candidates, but a permanent community of families forming a closed patrilineal descent group. That he is the property of the *sangha* is clearest at Bungamati where the inner core of the *sangha* is said to be composed of thirty-two members, Avalokitesvara plus the thirty-one *panjus*. But the same is evident at all the shrines; the members of the *sangha* have the exclusive right to perform the ritual of worship. They and they alone are permitted into the temple; the lay folk and the Bare from other *bahas* present their offerings to the *deo pala* of the temple. Even during the *jatras* when the image is taken out in procession, care is taken that no one but the members of the *sangha,* properly purified, touch the image; and rites are performed at the end of the festival to pacify the deity in case other people, especially those of low caste, have chanced to touch the image or the carrier. Where there is the custom of the Nyekhus, non-Bares and non-Buddhists, being given the task of cleaning and repainting the image, they take charge of the image only after the

spirit of Avalokitesvara has been removed, and they turn the image back to the Bare before reconsecration. Whatever changes have taken place in the cult, and no matter how popular the deity has become among Buddhists and Hindus at large, the central fact that he is the guardian deity of a particular Buddhist *sangha* has never been lost sight of.

The ritual surrounding the life of the *sangha* and the worship of Avalokitesvara is thoroughly Vajrayana Buddhist. As is evident from the above analysis of the *kalasa* and *homa puja* as well as the consecration rites of the image and the popular rites of the *astami vrata* of Amoghapasa Lokesvara, all of these rites are a ritualization of Buddhist *sadhanas*. However much one may deplore the lack of scholarship and the decline of Buddhist meditation and yoga among the present practitioners, they cannot be charged with "mixing up" Hinduism and Buddhism in their rituals unless one is to level the same charge against the Tibetan Buddhists and the Japanese Shingon sect, all of whom practice the same rituals, and against the spiritual ancestors of the whole tradition, the great masters of Nalanda and Vikramasila where the tradition has its roots.

Yet Avalokitesvara is more than just the private deity of the *sangha,* he is the compassionate *bodhisattva* whom the lay people have for centuries turned to in need and who unfailingly supplies the annual rainfall which insures the prosperity of the Valley. In the late Malla period he became the national deity of the kingdom of Patan, and his festival is still one of the most important festivals of the year in the Valley of Nepal. At no other *bahas* did the *kwapa-dya:* assume an importance outside the community attached to the *baha.* The very situation of the temples of Avalokitesvara indicates this importance and popularity. All of the temples, except the one at Cobhar, are free-standing temples in the centre of the *baha* or separated from the *baha* compound. In all the other *bahas* the shrine of the *kwapa-dya:* forms a part of the structure of the *baha.* The *kwapa-dya:* is ordinarily the private deity of the *sangha,* but Avalokitesvara is everyone's deity, and his temples stand apart.

To the casual observer who attends the *ratha jatra* today, however-whether he be a foreigner or a Nepali—the true nature of the cult is

not so evident. Most people call the deity Matsyendranath, and he is worshipped as Siva, Visnu, Sakti, etc. according to the devotion of each worshipper. To explain this anomaly the foregoing chapters have treated each of these shrines in turn and traced the development of the cult of Avalokitesvara—Matsyendranath. The first fact that comes to light is that the prototype of all these deities is Bunga-dya: of Patan and Bungamati. The cult of Avalokitesvara at all of the other shrines, in so far as it is a cult of "Matsyendranath", is an imitation of the cult of Bunga-dya: or Red Matsyendranath. This is evident from the legends and traditions associated with all of these deities, except Minnath of Patan. Tradition says that the cult of Minnath or Jatadhari Lokesvara predates the cult of Bunga-dya:. There is no solid historical evidence to support this claim and even if it be accepted, at present Minnath is, in the eyes of his devotees, precisely what he is often popularly called: Sano Matsyendranath (Little Matsyendranath). Any attempt to trace the development and history of the cult must focus on the history of Bunga-dya: or Rato Matsyendranath. The foregoing chapters reveal a number of religious and cultural streams which have shaped the present cult. They can be grouped conveniently under six headings.

1. Monastic Mahayana Buddhism. Constant tradition and the *Gopalaraja Vamsavali* place the beginning of the popular festival of the Lokesvara of Bungamati in the reign of Narendradeva in the seventh century. There is no reason to dispute this claim. Monastic Buddhism florished in the Valley long before this time, and several years before the reign of Narendradeva, Hiuen Tsang speaks of over two thousand monks in Nepal who were engaged in the study of the literature of both vehicles, i.e., Hinayana and Mahayana. There is evidence of the worship of Padmapani or Avalokitesvara two hundred years before the time of Narendradeva.. It was surely the Mahayana monks who introduced the cult of Avalokitesvara who became a popular deity wherever Mahayana Buddhism spread. The Lokesvara of Bungamati may well have been the guardian deity of a monastery of such monks at Bungamati. The fact that the deity is in all cases the standard two-armed Padmapani Lokesvara and not a tantric deity indicates that the cult originated under the Mahayana monks and not

under the laer Vajrayana practitioners. Though later Vajrayana foundations always had a non-tantric *kwapa-dya:*, the deities popularized by the Vajra-masters for lay worship were tantric deities and most of them female tantric deities such as Vajravarahi and Vajrayogini. There can be no question of a connection with Matsyendranath at this early period since, if Matsyendranath is a historical person at all, he lived in the tenth century or later.

2. Folk religion and culture. As was so often the case in countries where Mahayana Buddhism spread, the cult of Avalokitesvara at Bungamati was influenced by the popular religious beliefs, aspirations and superstitions of the local people. Whether Bunga-dya: represents a local, pre-Buddhist deity that was renamed Lokesvara by the monks, as first suggested by Levi, is a moot question. It is not impossible, but there is no positive evidence to support the theory. The name "Bunga-dya:" does not support the theory, as all Newar deities and shrines have popular nicknames. This very custom, though, shows to what extent these deities were adapted to local customs and integrated into the world view of the people. The further influence of local tradition and folklore can be seen in the legends associated with the bringing of Avalokitesvara to Nepal, the belief that he freed Nepal from a long period of drought and still provides the annual rain, such popular stories as his dallying with the sweeper women during the *ratha jatra* and his subsequent loss of caste, the tradition of his trip to Kirtipur, the ceremonial changing of his loin cloth near the Patan Darbar, his ambiguous relationship to Minnath, the custom of calling Bungamati his *maiti* (the paternal home of a married woman), etc. All of these are elements of folk culture, some of them quite at variance with the conception of a *bodhisattva.*

3. Vajrayana Buddhism. Though it is impossible to date the coming of tantric Buddhism to Nepal and the beginning of its influence on the cult of Bunga-dya:, by the thirteenth century the Tibetan Dharmasvamin referred to the attendants of the Lokesvara of Bungamati as "tantrics called *handu.*" By the late Malla period Vajrayana Buddhism had completely superceded Hinayana and standard Mahayana Buddhism. The religious leaders were now the Vajra-masters (the Vajracaryas) and

the ritual surrounding the cult of Avalokitesvara in Bungamati was entirely Vajrayana. Gone were the celibate monks and the study of the Mahayana *sutras* which explained the devotion to Avalokitesvara in the traditional Mahayana terms. What remained was Buddhist ritual performed by a caste of ordained tantric priests, the Vajracaryas.

4. The Hindu Structure of Society. Throughout its history in India Buddhism flourished in a Hindu society, and except for the monks who by profession left the world and renounced their place in Hindu society, the adherents of Buddhism remained members of a caste-structured society, made use of the Brahman priests for their life cycle rites, and worshipped the gods. However, India is a vast country, and the monks could withdraw from Hindu society and establish their monasteries in places where the force of this influence was less pervasive. The narrow confines of the Valley of Nepal, and even more so of the two walled cities of Patan and Kathmandu where most of the monasteries were situated, made this impossible, and interaction was bound to be greater. Though all of the kings were Hindu, Buddhism and Hinduism flourished side by side in complete freedom, but from the time of Jayastithi Malla on there was a certain amount of pressure on the Buddhist community to conform to the social structure and practices of Hindu society. This pressure coupled with the rise of tantric Buddhism gave rise to the *grihastha acarya,* the householder priest who was not a celibate monk but a married man with a family whose position as a Buddhist priest was determined not by devotion and free choice but by birth and tantric initiation. It is impossible to trace the progress of these new developments at the present state of our knowledge, but it seems that new foundations (*viharas* and *mahaviharas,* the present *bahas*) sprang up for the married clergy and the old *viharas* (the *bahis*) came to be looked upon as a lower type of *vihara* or as preparatory schools for entrance into the new and higher tantric communities. The old communities lost ground as the new recruits "graduated" to the Vajrayana communities. Gradually the celibate monk disappeared, the whole system was incorporated into the caste structure with the *sangha* of the *baha* or *bahi* becoming a closed patrilineal descent group, and in the time of Srinivasa Malla, those who still followed many of the old

customs and spurned the services of the tantric Vajra-masters, were forced to accept their ministrations.

The Vajra-masters took up the performance of the life cycle rites for the Buddhist community just as the Brahmans did for the Hindu community, perhaps in an effort to preserve the religious identity of the Buddhist community. They in turn were accorded the status of the Brahmans; they became the highest caste with the exclusive right to act as priests for the Buddhist laity. The *bahas* and *bahis* became the hereditary property of the *sanghas* attached to them, and the members of the *sangha* had the exclusive right to worship in the *baha* shrine. No longer were the shrines open to the faithful; they worshipped now through the medium of their priests and the *deo palas* in the *baha* shrines.

At Bungamati the worship of Bunga-dya: became the exclusive right of an even smaller group within the *sangha*, the *panjus*, thirty-one Vajracaryas and Sakyas all of the whom had to take a tantric initiation before they were permitted to worship in the shrine or touch the image. It is these changes that characterize the Newar Buddhist community. On the one hand they have been deplored, because the emphasis on tantric ritual and magic coupled with the abandonment of celibacy with the resultant preoccupation of the practitioners with ritual and the everyday business of being family men brought an end to the leisure and solitude which fostered scholarship and meditation. On the other hand the restrictions of caste structure, though it sealed off the Buddhist communinity, preserved it. Had this not taken place and had the people used the ministrations of the Brahmans for their life cycle rites, the Buddhist community cut off from a vital and celibate *sangha* might well have withered and eventually been absorbed into Hinduism as happened in India. The cult of Bunga-dya: (and all the other Lokesvara—Matsyendranaths) experienced the same influences. His cult became the exclusive right of a localized section of a caste and the worship was reduced to a round of pure ritual, both strikingly un-Buddhist characteristics. But the same strictures preserved the Buddhist nature of the cult–Bunga-dya: is still Padmapani Lokesvara or Avalokitesvara, and he is worshipped by Buddhist priests with round of ritual that is thoro-

ughly Vajrayana Buddhist. Had the caste structure not preserved this community, Bunga-dya: would probably have been completely identified with Matsyendranath and would today be worshipped as an entirely Hindu deity by Hindu priests or Saivite yogis.[1]

5. Saivite Yogic Cults. Though Saivite sects were known in the Valley from Licchavi times their influence increased in the time of the last Malla dynasty, and this influence most probably derived from the presence in Bhaktapur of the court of Hari Simha Deva from Simraungadh. The influence of this court and their Jha Brahmans on Newar culture was profound. The manuscripts of the Matsyendranath school date from this period and were probably brought to Nepal by these people. The most frequently cited list of the eighty-four *siddhas* is from the *Varna Ratnakara,* a list written in the fourteenth century by the court poet of Hari Simha Deva and discovered in Nepal. In the time of Jayastithi Malla in the fourteenth century the Nath yogis first received royal patronage. In the time of Srinivasa Malla in the seventeenth century we find Bungadya: referred to as Matsyendranath and testimony that he is worshipped as Siva by the Saivites, etc. Though the deity remained Padmapani Lokesvara, and his cult remained the exclusive prerogative of the *panjus* of the *sangha* of Bungamati, the non-Buddhists began to worship him as Matsyendranath, and today many

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1. In India the Buddha himself was eventually recognized as an incarnation of Visnu and with this the last remnants of Buddhism were reabsorbed into the Hindu tradition. A much more interesting parallel would be to compare and contrast the cult of Bunga-dya:—Matsyendranath with the cult of Jagannatha of Puri, a study which is beyond the scope of this work. Early writers on the cult of Jagannatha attempted to trace the origins of the cult to Buddhism. Though this explanation is rejected by most scholars today as entirely too facile, the similarities between the two cults are indeed striking. See K. C. Mishra, *The Cult of Jagannatha* (Calcutta, 1971), p. 90–93 for a discussion of these earlier opinions. See also Dr. Alexander Macdonald's treatment of the cult of Jagannatha where he traces its development back to the interaction between Aryan and non-Aryan cultural streams active in Orissa, the same sort of interaction noted above which fostered the rise of the yogic practices of Tantric Buddhism on the one hand and the Nath cult on the other. Macdonald, "Juggernaut Reconstructed," in *Essays on the Ethnology of Nepal and South Asia* (Kathmandu, 1975), p. 27–60.

non-Buddhists and non-Newars do not know him by any other name.

6. The Gorkhali Conquest. With the conquest of the Valley of Nepal by the Gorkhalis yet another dimension was added to the cult of Bunga-dya:. Gorakhnath, the patron deity of the kingdom of Gorkha, was included in the legends about the bringing of Matsyendranath to Nepal. It was Gorakhnath, the disciple of Matsyendranath, who provided the occasion for his *guru's* coming to Nepal by sitting upon the snake gods and causing the drought which Matsyendranath came to relieve. The very fact that the deity was also known as Matsyendranath, the Guru of Gorakhnath, enabled the Gorkhalis to continue the royal patronage of the cult thus establishing a strong bond between the culture of the people of the Valley and the hill people from Gorkha, as well as with the Hindus all across the hills where Gorakhnath was known and revered.

The story traced in these pages is the story of a popular deity of Nepal: Bunga-dya:—Avalokitesvara—Matsyendranath—Siva. More than this it is an index of the cultural strands which have gone into the weaving of the rich and colourful fabric of the society of the people of the Valley of Nepal and the final integration of that tradition into the culture of the larger kingdom of modern Nepal. All of these strands meet as the people of Nepal gather round the *ratha* of Bunga Dya:—people of all castes and walks of life who worship him as Padmapani Lokesvara, Matsyendranath, Visnu, Siva, Sakti, Bhaskara, Brahma each according to his devotion. All recognize in him the protector of Nepal, the All-Mericiful One: Karunamaya.

## APPENDIX

### Hymns (*Stotras*) to Lokesvara

The following hymns (*stotra*) are all recited at Jana Baha during the *nitya puja* services. Some of them are recited at the other shrines as indicated in the text, but it is only at Jana Baha that they are all recited daily.

The text of the first five hymns specifically dedicated to Avalokitesvara, is taken from a manuscript containing fifty *stotras* to Lokesvara written in 806 N.S. (1686) in the private collection of Manabajra Bajracarya, Mahabauddha, Kathmandu. The text is presented here as found in this manuscript, the oldest dated work the author has seen containing all of the hymns. No attempt has been made to correct or modify the text according to later recensions. The text of no. 6 has been taken from the source indicated below, that for nos. 7 and 8 from currently used ritual texts. The appendix to Yogi Narharinath's edition of the *Himavatkhanda* contains hymns no. 2, 3, 4, and 6 with a number of variant readings. However, the editor gives no source for any of the hymns and no indication of the estimated age of the texts he worked from. *Himavatkhanda* (Varanasi, 2013 B.S.), p. 152, 153, 157, and 163. Following is the list of the hymns and the times they are rectited:

1. Dasabalastava Stotram—sunrise.
2. Rupastava Stotram—morning, i. e., about 10 A. M.
3. Stotra composed by Bhiksuni Candrakanta—noon.
4. Vandana Stotram—afternoon.
5. Karunastava Stotram—sunset. (The *stotra* said to have been written by Bandhudatta Acarya.)
6. Satparamita Stotram (Dana Balena)—time of retiring.
7. Madhyegata—recited by some priests while making the rounds of the shrines in the compound.
8. Mangalarcana—recited at the beginning of each of the hours.

## दशबलस्तवस्तोत्रम्

स्तुतमपि सुरसंघै सिद्धिगन्धर्वयक्षै दिविभुविसुधिचित्रैं स्तोत्रवाग्भिर्यतोशं : ।
अहमपि कृतशक्ति नौमि संबद्धमार्यं नभसि गरुडयान्ति किन्नयान्ति द्विरेका : ।।१।।
क्षपितदुरितपक्षः क्षीणनिःशेषदोषो द्रवितकनकवर्णः स्थूलपद्मायताक्षः ।
सुरुचिरगरिवेशः सुप्रभामण्डलश्री दर्शबल तवनित्यं सुप्रभातं प्रभातम् ।।२।।
मदनबल विजेतुः कामयोच्छेदकर्तुः स्त्रिभुवनहितकर्तुः स्त्रीलताजाल हन्तुः ।
सममुखफलदातुः भेंतुरज्ञानशैलं दशबल तवनित्यं सुप्रभातं प्रभातम् ।।३।।
असुर सुरनराणां योऽग्रजन्माग्रहेवः सकलभुवनधातु लौकसृष्टयैक शब्दः ।
स्वपितमनुजधाता अब्जयोनिः स्वयंभू दशबल.....।।४।।
उदयगिरितटस्थो विद्रुमोच्छेदताम्र स्तिमिर निकलहन्ता चक्षुरकं प्रजानाम् ।
रविरपि मदलोल सर्वथा सोऽपि सुप्तो दशबल.....।।५।।
द्विरदशनपाण्डुः शीतरश्मीशशांको ज्वलित इव रजत्यां सवचूडामणि यः ।
अविगतमदरागः सर्वथा सोऽ पि सुप्तोः दशबल.....।।६।।
प्रबल भुज चतुष्कः षोडशार्द्धार्धवक्त्रो जपनियमकलापः सामवेदप्रवक्ता ।
अमल कमलयोनिः सोऽ पि ब्रह्मा प्रसुप्तो दशबल.....।।७।।
हिमगिरि शिखराभः सर्पयज्ञोपवीत स्त्रिपुरदहनदक्षो व्याघ्रचर्मोत्तरीयः ।
सह गिरिवरपुत्रया सोऽ पि सुप्त त्रिशूली दशबल.....।।८।।
ज्वलितकुलिशपाणि र्दुर्जयो दानवानां सुरपतिरपि शच्या विभ्रमो भूडचित्रः ।
अनिशमि प्रसुप्तो कामपंके निमग्नो दशबल.....।।९।।
कुवलय दलनीलः पुण्डरीकायताक्षः सुररिपु बलहन्ता विश्वकृद् विश्वरूपः ।
हरिरपि चिरसुप्तो गर्भवासै रमुक्तो दशबल.....।।१०।।
ज्वलिनजट कपालो रक्तताम्रारुणाक्षः पशुपतिरपि काले संगभंगैकदक्षः ।
समरस ज्वलितांग. सोऽ पि सुप्तो हुताशो दशबल।.....।।११।।
हिमशशिकुमुन्दांभो पद्मपानारुणाक्ष. दृढ कटिनभुजांगो लाङ्गली शक्तिहस्तः ।
बल ह्रह सहितोऽ, सौ रेवतीकण्डलग्नो दशबल.....।।१२।।
गजमुखदशनैकः सर्वथा विघ्नहन्ता विगलितमदवारिः षट्पडोत्कीर्ण गण्डः ।
गणपतिरपि सुप्तो वारुणि पान मत्तो दशबल.....।।१३।।
अतसिकुसुमनीलो यस्य शक्तिः करागे नव नवीन वपुस्मान् षण्मुखः क्रौचहन्ता ।
चिनयनतनयोऽ सौऽसोऽ पि सुप्तः कुमारो दशबल.....।।१४।।

. असन वसन हीना नित्ययोगानुयुक्ता बहुविविधविधाताः प्रेतवद् दग्धदेहा : ।

उभयगति विहीना स्तेऽपि नग्नाः प्रसुप्ता दशबल.....॥१५॥
त्रषय इह महन्तो वत्स भृग्यंगिराद्या क्रतु पुलह वसिष्ठ व्यास वाल्मिकी गर्गाः।
युवतीजयनसतास्ता मोहिता रत्तेऽ पि सुप्ता दशबल.....॥१६॥
यम वरुण कुबेर यक्षदैत्योरगेन्द्रा दिविभुवि गगणे वा लोकापाला तथात्मेः।
युवतीमद कटाक्षै विक्षिता रत्तेऽ पि सुप्ता दशबल.....॥१७॥
भवजलनिधिमग्रा मोहज्वालावृताङ्गा मनिकपिल कणाद्या भ्रमिता मूदचेता।
समसुखफलहीना बालिशा स्तेऽ पिसुप्तो दशबल.....॥१८॥
अज्ञाननिद्र रजनि तमसि प्रसुप्ना स्तृष्णाविशाल शयने विषयप्रधाने।
काले शुभाशुभफलं परिवर्तमाने जागर्ति यः सततमेव नमस्तु तस्मै ॥१९॥
तीर्थेष गोकुशलतानि पिवन्ति तोयं तृप्ति व्रजन्ति नच तत् क्षयमभ्युपैति।
तत्त्वं मनेः कषिशतै रपि संस्तुतस्य नक्षीयते गणनिधि र्गुणसागरस्य ॥२०॥
सुप्रभातं तवैकस्य ज्ञानोन्मीलितचक्षुषः।
अज्ञानतिमिरान्धानां तिन्यमस्तु स्थितो रविः ॥२१॥
पुन प्रभातं पुनरुत्थितो रवि पुनः शशांकः पुनरेव शर्वरी।
मृत्यु जराजन्म तथैव भूयो गतागति मूद कयं न बुध्यते ॥२२॥
सुप्रभातं सुनक्षयं श्रिया प्रत्यभिनन्दितं।
बुद्धं धर्मं च संघं च प्रणमामि दिने दिने ॥२३॥
स्तुत्वा लोकगुरुं महामुनिवरं सद्धर्मपुण्योदयम्।
दिर्द्वन्द हतराग द्वेषजरिपुं शान्तेन्द्रियं निस्पृहम् ॥२४॥
यत्पुण्यं समपार्जितं खलुमया तेनैव लोकोऽ खिलः।
प्रत्युषे स्तुति हर्षिते दशबले श्रद्धां परामापनुमात् ॥२५॥

आर्यश्री सम्यक्संबुद्ध भट्टारकस्य दशबलस्तवस्त्रोत्रं समाप्तम्।
कृतिरियं राज्ञः श्रीहर्षदेवस्य ॥

रूपस्तवस्तोत्रम्

ओंनमो लोकनाथाय ॥
सर्वभूतमनुकंपिततुभ्यं
क्षान्तिमेव चरितं तवरूपं।
सर्वरूपवलदिव्यसुरूपं
तं नमामि दशबलंवररूपम ॥१॥

भृंगीराय शिखी मूर्धनी सुकेशं
कौटिलाय शिखीदिव्य सुकेशं
स्निग्धनीलमृदुकुंचितकेशं
तं नमामि दशबलं वरकेशम् ।।२।।
शंखकुन्दकुमुदं विमलोर्णं
जन्मदुःखविगतं विमलोर्णं ।
लोर्गस्वर्गमथितं विमलोर्णं
तं नमामि दशबलं वरलोमम् ।।३।।
पूर्णचन्द्रद्युतिशोभितवक्त्रं
सर्वबुद्धमणिभंशुभवक्त्रं
बुद्धपंकजिनभामलवक्त्रं
तं नमामि दशबलं वरवक्त्रम् ।।४।।
रश्मिसहस्रविचित्रसुमूर्ध्नीं
पुष्पवर्षशतपूजितमूर्ध्नीं ।
रत्नवर्षशतपूजितमूर्ध्नीं
तं नमामि दशबलं वरमूर्ध्नीम् ।।५।।
नेत्रपताकाविलंवितशीर्षं ।
कांचनछत्रवरोपितशीर्षं ।
नेत्रवितानसुशोभितशीर्षं
तं नमामि दशबलं वरशीर्षम् ।।६।।
दिप्तीवरंमुकुटामणि मुकुटं
चन्द्रप्रभामुकुटामणिमुकुटं ।
आगतशिखमुकुटामणिमुकुटं
तं नमामि दशबलं वरमुकुटम् ।।७।।
चारूपंकजदलायतनेत्रं
दिव्ययज्ञानविपुलायतनेत्रं ।
ध्यानमोक्षशुभसंस्कृतनेत्रं
तं नमामि दशबलं वरनेत्रम् ।।८।।
शुद्धकर्णशुभशोभितकर्णं
शुद्धज्ञानवरशुद्धसुकर्णं ।
शुद्धप्रज्ञावरशोभितकर्णं

तं नमामि दशबलं वरकर्णम् ।।९।।
शुद्धकुन्द शशीपाण्डूर दन्तं
तीक्ष्णसुलक्षणनिर्मलदन्तं ।
विंशपंचदशपंचसुदन्तं
तं नमामि दशबलं वरदन्तम् ।।१०।।
उच्चवाक्यसुस्वरास्वरजिह्वां
धर्मज्ञानकुतप्राप्तजिह्वां ।
गंधधूपसुस्वरास्वरजिह्वां
तं नमामि दशबलं वरजिह्वाम् ।।११।।
मेघ सुदुन्दुभिनादितघोषं
सत्यधर्मनयसुद्धितघोषं
दिव्यवादीपरवादितघोषं
तं नमामि दशबलं वरघोषम् ।।१२।।
ग्रीवग्रीवदशग्रीवसुग्रीवं
क्षान्तिवीर्यतवग्रीवसुग्रीवं
हेमवर्णमणीग्रीवसुग्रीवं
तं नमामि दशबलं वरग्रीवम् ।।१३।।
सिंहमयहिमकुन्दसुकायं
ध्यानकायगुणशागरकायं ।
अष्टसुलक्षणनिर्मलकायं
तं नमामि दशबलं वरकायम् ।।१४।।
श्वेतरक्तहारसोभितवस्त्रं
नीलपीतहरीतादितवस्त्रं ।
हारधवलशुभशोभितवस्त्रं
तं नमामि दशबलं वरवस्त्रम् ।।१५।।
हेमनागकरशोभित बाहुं
पुष्पदान शुभशोभित बाहुं ।
धीरवीर्यसुमनोहरबाहुं
तं नमामि दशबलं वरबाहुम् ।।१६।।
चामरचक्रविभूषितहस्तं
विमलजकोमलपंकजहस्तं

भूतप्रेतशरणागतहस्तं
तं नमामि दशबलं वरहस्तम् ।।१७।।
रागद्वेषतनुवर्जितचित्तं
शीलज्ञानसमभावितचित्तं
कल्पकोटीसुमनोहरचितं
तं नमामि दशबलं वरचित्तम् ।।१८।।
पद्मनाभशुभशोभितनाभं
पद्मयोनिशुभनिर्मलनाभं
ब्रह्मयोनिशुभशोभितनाभं
तं नमामि दशबलं वरनाभम् ।।१९।।
लक्षणचक्रविभूषितपादं
अंकूश शक्तिविराजितपादं ।
नागयक्षगणवन्दितपादं
तं नमामि दशबलं वरपादम् ।।२०।
भास्कराद्युतिराजितपादं
देवदानवपुरजितप दं ।
सर्वदेवगणपूजितपादं
तं नमामि दशबलं वरपादम् ।।२१।।
सर्वदेवगणपूजितशीर्षं
सूर्यकोटिसमभाषितशीर्षं ।
दिव्यज्वालज्वलितोद्धृतशीर्षं
तं नमामि दशबलं वरशीर्षं ।।२२।।
पुष्पधूपशतपूजितशीर्षं
गन्धदीपशतपूजितशीर्षं ।
मालेवस्त्रतवपूजितशीर्षम्
तं नमामि दशबलं वरशीर्षम् ।।२३।।

त्रिभुवने धर्म स्वामीत्वं त्रिभुवन गणैः सकलैः संक्लेशगतितै र्रत्न छयमुकुटादिभिः पुज्यन्ति सततंम् । पठन्ति येन सुगातस्य वपुकथं नूनं भवन्ति तेन मोक्षस्य पथालिगमनम् ।।२४

इति श्री आर्यावलोकितेश्वरस्य रूपस्तवस्त्रोत्रं समाप्तम् ।।

चन्द्रिकान्ता भिक्षुणी विरचितं स्त्रोत्रं

ओं नमो लोकनाथाय ॥

भुवनत्रयवन्दितलोक गरुं
अमराधिपतिस्तुतिब्रह्मवरं ।
मनिराजवरंद्युतिसिद्धिकरं
प्रणमाम्यवलोकितनामकरम् ॥१॥

सुगतात्मजरूपसुरूपधरं
बहुलक्षणभुषितदेहधरं ।
अमितांभतथागतमौलिधरं
कनकाञ्जलिभूषितवामकरम् ॥२॥

कुटिलामलपिंगलधुम्रजटं
शशीबिम्बसमुज्ज्वलपूर्णमुखम् ।
कमलायतलोचनचारुवरं
हिमखण्डविपाण्डुरगंधकुटम् ॥३॥

अधरंजितपंकजनाभिसमं
शरदंबुजगर्जितमेघरुतम् ।
बहुलक्षणभूषितबाहुयुगं
तनुकोमलशादुरपाणितलम् ॥४॥

मृगचर्मनिवेष्टितवामतनुं ।
शुभकुण्डलमण्डितलोलधरं ।
कमलोदरकोमलनाभिसमं
मणिमण्डितमेखलहेमवरम् ॥५॥

कटिवेष्टितचित्रसुवस्त्रधरं
जिनज्ञानमहोदयपारगतिं ।
बहुपुण्यमुपार्जितलब्धधृतिं ।
ज्वरव्याधिहरं बहुसौख्यकरम् ॥६॥

शुभशान्तिकरं त्रिभुवास्तकरं
सचरं खचरं स्तुतिदेहधरं ।
विविधाकुलनिर्जितमारबलं
दशपारमितापरमार्थकरम् ॥७॥

चतुब्रह्मविहारसवेदकरं

तथाताद्वयज्ञानविवोधकरं ।
मणिनपूरगर्जितपादयुगं
गजमत्तविलंवितहंसगतिम् ।।८।।
परिपूर्णमहामृतलब्धधृतिं
क्षीरोदजरार्णवनित्य गतिं
श्रीपोतलकाभिनिवासरतिं
करुणामयनिर्मलचारुदृशम् ।।९।।

इति श्री आर्यावलोकितेश्वरस्य चन्द्रिकान्ता भिक्षुणीविरचितं स्तोत्रं समाप्तम् ।

वन्दनास्तवस्तोत्रम्

नमो लोकनाथाय ।।
आराधितोऽ सि भुजगैः सुरदेवसंघै
गन्धर्व यक्ष मुनि दानव बन्दिताय ।
द्वात्रिंशताहि वरलक्षणभुषिताय
नित्यं नमामि शिरसाकरुणामयाय ।।१।।
वालार्ककोटि समतेजकलेवराय ।
आलोकित सुगतशेखर धारिनाय ।
सुभागमललित काय जटाधराय
नित्यं नमामि शिरसा करुणामयाय ।।२।।
अंभोजपाणिकमलासनसंस्थिताय
यज्ञोपवीतफणिराजसुवन्दिताय ।।
रत्नादिहारकनकोज्ज्वरभूषिताय ।
नित्यं नमामि शिरसा करुणामयाय ।।३।।
उत्पाद भंग भवसागर तारणाय ।
दुर्ग्येह दुर्गति भुव परिमोचनाय ।
रागादिदोषपरिमुक्त सुनिर्मलाय
नित्यं नमामि शिरसा करुणामयाय ।।४।।
मैत्र्याहिष् चतुरब्रह्मविहारनाथं
धारामृतौ सकलसत्त्व सुपोषणाय ।
मोहान्धकार कृतदोष विदारणाय

नित्यं नमामि शिरसा करुणामयाय ॥५॥
दैत्येन्द्रवंश बलितारणमोक्षदाय
सत्वोपकारतोरित निश्चयाय
सर्वज्ञज्ञानपरिपूरितदेशनाय
नित्यं नमामि शिरसा करुणामयाय ॥६॥
अष्टावसौ नरकमार्गविशोधनाय
अज्ञानगाढतिमिरं परिध्वंशनाय
ज्ञानैकदृष्टि व्यवलोकित मोक्षदाय
नित्यं नमामि शिरसा करुणामयाय ॥७॥
त्वं लोकनाथ भुवनेश्वरसुप्रदाय
दारिद्रदुखभवपंजरदारणाय ।
न्वत् पादपंकजयुगे प्रतिवन्दिताय
नित्यं नमामि शिरसा करुणामयाय ॥८॥
मार्तण्ड मण्डल रुचि तथतास्वभावं
स्वास्ते स्थितं सहरदं विमल प्रभावं
चित्तामणि ससहशा च्यवति मोड हं
नित्यं नमामि शिरसा करुणामयाय ॥९॥
यद् भक्तितो दश नखांजलि चोत्तमांगं
अष्टाङ्गभिः प्रणमित स्त्तवपादयुग्मं ।
दुखार्णवे पतित मां समुतारयन्ति
नित्यं नमामि शिरसा करुणामयाय ॥१०॥
सप्ताष्ट भूतगत माधव शुक्लपक्षं
श्रीचन्द्रशेखरतिथौ सहभानुवारे ।
ताराभुजङ्ग सहितेन स्तुतिं करोमि
नित्यं नमामि शिरसा करुणामयाय ॥११॥
ये पठन्ति महापुण्यं पवित्रं पापनाशनं
सर्वकाम प्रमोक्षं च ते गच्छन्ति सुखावतीम् ॥१२॥

इति आर्यावलोकितेश्वरस्य वंदनास्तवस्तोत्रं समाप्तम् ॥

शुभमस्तु

## करूणास्तवस्तोत्रम्

ओं नमो लोकनाथाय ।। करूणास्तवस्तोत्रम

स्तुत्वा प्रणम्य अभयंकरसर्वसत्त्वान् ।
संपूर्णचन्द्रवदनाम्बुजपत्रनेत्रम् ।
सर्वजज्ञानमुकुटोद्धृतमुक्तिमार्गं
तं पद्मपाणिवरभूषितज्ञानराशिम् ।।१।।

उत्तुङ्गनासबलपीनकपोलवक्त्रं
रक्ताधरं हिमतुषारमिवसुदन्तं ।
ब्रह्मस्वरं श्रुतिधरं मधुरं च वाक्यं
तं पद्मपाणिमृदुवर्णस्वरं नमामि ।।२।।

मालाधरं कनकवर्णविभूषितांगं
नेत्रत्रयं जरविभूषितबालचन्द्रम् ।
कृष्णाजिनाम्वरधराय सुवर्णवर्णं
तं पद्मपाणिं मृदुगात्रतनूं नमामि ।।३।।

तं लोकनाथमवलोकितनामध्येय
यज्ञोपवीतसदचंचलसर्पराजम् ।
चिन्तामणिप्रवरकुण्डलपृष्टगण्डं
तं पद्मपाणिं स्तुतिसर्वकृतं नमामि ।।४।।

त्वं ज्ञानराशिवरभाषितसर्वसत्त्वान्
संसारपंकतिमिरार्णवमग्नसत्त्वान् ।
आलोकितं प्रथममनुत्तरबोधिमार्गं
तं पद्मपाणिं वरमार्गददं नमामि ।।५।।

गत्वा च येन नरकेषु अवीचीमग्रं
शीतीकृतं हृदिविशालरुहं सपद्मम् ।
ये नारकींसकलदुखविराशयन्तिं
तं पद्मपाणिं नरकाग्निसमं नमामि ।।६।।

संत्रासयन्ति यमपालकभग्नभूमिं
हे धर्मराजमिव आगतकामरूपं ।
ये कर्मभूमिमिव ध्वंसित ते निमित्तं
तं पद्मपाणिंहतसासततं नमामि ।।७।।

गत्वा च येन अलिरूपमनोहरोऽयं

त्रैलोक्यनाथमभयंकर सर्वसत्वान् ।
दुखार्णवे तव स्मरामि विमुक्तिदुखं
तं पद्मपाणिं हतकिल्विषतं नमामि ॥८॥
त्वं प्रेतलोकगतये करुणावसेन
सुचिमुखं उदरपर्वतजिर्णमग्नं ।
क्षुद्दुखपीडितशरीरतृषाराणां
तं पद्मपाणिं तृषनाशकरं नमामि ॥९॥
अन्योत्यभक्षक्षुदपीडितप्रेतसत्वान्
संपीयते कररुहेः श्रवतै नदीभिः ।
पुष्टिंशरीरहतभक्षतृषातुराणां
तं पद्मपाणिहतभक्षतृषां नमामि ॥१०॥
गत्वा तम भुवनवर्जितचन्द्रसूर्यं
चित्तामणि ज्वलितरत्नप्रभावभाषै : ।
तै र्यक्षराक्षषगणैश्चरणे नमस्ते
तं पद्मपाणिं तमभग्नकृतं नमामि ॥११।
गत्वा च येन बलिभग्नमनोरथस्य
यद्दीयते फलमनुत्तरपिण्डपात्रम् ।
धर्मकथेन परितार्पितदानवेन्द्रं
तं पद्मपाणिं वरधर्मददं नमामि ॥१२॥
गत्वा च येन दिविकुण्डल देवपुत्रान्
दानस्यहीनक्षुधपीडितदुखितांच ।
तं याचयन्ति परिपूर्णसमृद्धिरत्नं
तं पद्मपाणिं धनबृद्धकरं नमामि ॥१३॥
तं कामरूपमुपदर्शितं राक्षसिभिः
कामावसेनाचलितं तवराक्षसिभिः ।
घातस्य चित्तं परिवर्जितं धर्मचित्तं
तं पद्मपाणिं बहुरूपधरं नमामि ॥१४॥
विन्मूत्रभूमिकृमिकोटिसमुभवन्ति ।
गत्वा च येन अलिरूपमनुस्मयन्ति ।
निश्चरितं घुनघुनाय ददन्ति धर्मं
तं पद्मपाणिं बहुगात्रधरं नमामि ॥१५॥

दुर्भिक्षमार्गदपिशाचभवेषु वृष्टि
क्षुत्तृष्णदुखभयपीडितसर्वसत्त्वान् ।
धान्यादि वृष्टिबहुव्रीहीसमृद्धिरत्नं
तं पद्मपाणिं वरकारुणिकं नमामि ॥१६॥
वराह अश्चकृतरूपमहाजवन
उत्तुंग येन वणिजं भयराक्षसिभिः ।
आतिर्णतां पवनवेगमहासमुद्रं
तं पद्मपाणिं जितमृत्युभयं नमामि ॥१७॥
त्रैधातुकं तव स्मरामि विमुक्तिदुखं
नाना समाधि परिपूर्ण विचित्र गात्रम् ।
त्वत् लोमकूपेनिवसन्ति अनेकसत्त्वा
तं पद्मपाणिं क्षयनाशकरं नमामि ॥१८॥
नानाभयं तवस्मरामि विमुक्तिदुखं
राजस्य दण्डभयराक्षसचौरभूतं
नद्यापि मार्गहतकंदरचाग्निदग्धं
तं पद्मपाणिं अभयं च ददं नमामि ॥१९॥
व्याघ्रिभयं रवणपिशाचसडाकिनीनां
आपत्ति व्याधिभयकुष्ठवियोगदुखं ॥
वैराग क्लेश बहुपाप विनाशयन्ति
तं पद्मपाणिं भयनाशकरं नमामि ॥२०॥
शुक्लाष्टमीनियमधर्म अमोघपाशं
यस्तु करोति जितमिन्द्रियब्रह्मचर्यं ।
सर्वप्रणयति नगेव अशेषपापं
तं पद्मपाणिं बलदाय सदा नमामि ॥२१॥
नित्यं वसेन गुणसमृद्धिपोतलेषु
नानाद्रुमै स्तिलकचंपकपारिजातैः ।
रम्या तडागद्विजषट्पदसेवितानि ।
तं पद्मपाणिं निरयेषु सदा नमामि ॥२२॥
दैवैः कुवेरवरुणैर्यमवन्दितस्य
गन्धर्वयक्षमुनिदानववन्दितस्य ।
यक्षैश्च नागमनुस्यैश्च नमस्कृतैश्च

भूतैः पिशाच गरुडैश्च नमस्कृतश्च ॥२३॥
ये पठन्ते करुणास्तवनित्यकालं
शान्ति च पुष्टि च धनबृद्धि कामाः ।
आयुर्विभूतिबहुपुत्रविशालभागी
प्रयान्तिकालमपि पश्यति लोकनाथम् ॥२४॥
संकीर्तयन्ति नव वीर्यहानुभावं
रात्रौ दिवा च तव नाममनुस्मरन्ति।
दुस्वप्नविघ्नभयपापं विनाशयन्ति
तुष्यन्ति देवा : सततं तव रक्षयन्ति ॥२५॥

इ ति श्री आर्यावलोकितेश्वरस्य करुणास्तवस्तोत्रं समाप्तम् ।

षट्पारमितास्तोत्रम् (दान बलेन)

दान बलेन समुद्गतबुद्ध दानबलाधिग तानरसिंहः
दान बलस्यच श्रुयतिशव्दं कारुणिकस्य पुरेबिशांतं ।
शील बलेन समुद्गतबुद्ध शीलबलाधिग तानरसिंहः
शील बलस्यच श्रुयतिशव्दं कारुणिकस्य पुरेप्रबिशांतं ।
क्षान्ति बलेन समुद्गतबुद्ध क्षान्तिबलाधिग तानरसिंहः ।
क्षान्ति बलस्य श्रुयतिशव्दं कारुणिकस्य पुरेप्रबिशांतं ।
बीर्य बलेन समुद्गतबुद्ध बीर्यलाधिग तानसिंह : ।
बीर्य बलस्यच श्रुयतिशव्दं कारुणिकस्य पुरेप्रबिशांतं ।
ध्यान बलेन समुद्गतबुद्ध ध्यानबलाधिग तानरसिंहः
ध्यान बलस्यच श्रुयतिशव्दं कारुणिकस्य पुरेप्रबिशांतं ।
प्रज्ञा बलेन समुद्गतबुद्ध प्रज्ञावलाधिग तानसिंहः
प्रज्ञा बलस्यच श्रुयतिशव्दं कारुणिकस्य पुरेप्रशांतं ।

इति श्री षट्पारमितास्त्रोत्रं

बौद्धस्तोत्र संग्रह काठमाडौं, २०२४ पृ. ७

मध्येगत

नमे बुद्धाय मध्येगत विजय श्री मध्येगत
वैरोचन जिनवरं सिंहमासन स्थित–

श्वेततवर्णं नमोस्तू २ पंचजिनशरणं ।१।
पूर्वदिग्गत विजय श्री अक्षोभ्यजिन–
वरम् गजमासन स्थितनीलवर्णं ।२।
दक्षिणदिग्गत विजय श्री रत्नसंभवजि-
नवरम् तुरंगमासन स्थितपीतवर्णं ।३।
पश्चिमदिग्गत विजय श्री अमिताभजि-
नवरम् मयूरमासन स्थितरक्तवर्णं ।४।
उत्तरदिग्गत विजय श्री अमोघसिद्धिजि-
नवरम् गरुडमासन स्थितश्यामवर्णं ।५।
हरिहर ब्रह्माशक्र नागयक्ष सुरासुरम्
वहुविधि उपहार ढोषितं ।६। नमोस्तु २

## नमोरत्नत्रयाय

ओं नमो बुद्धाय गुरवेनमो धर्माय तारने नमः संघाय महते त्रिम्यो पि सततं नमः १ ये देवाः सन्ति मेरो वरकनकमये मन्दिरे येश्च यक्षाः पाताले ये भुजंगाः फणिमणि-किरणै र्ध्वष्टसवार्न्धकाराः कैलाशे स्त्रीविलासे प्रमुदितहृदया येश्च विद्याधरेन्द्रा स्तेमोक्ष-द्वारभुतं मुनिवरवचनं श्रोतुमायात्ति सर्वे ।।२।। आयान्ताः श्रोतुकामा असुरसुरनराः सिद्ध-गन्धर्वनागाः यक्षा कुम्भाण्डाः किन्नरेन्द्रा गरुड हरिहराः शक्रब्रह्मादिदेवाः पूजापञ्चोपचारे स्त्रिभुवनमितं मोहिनीदुर्लभो यं भक्त्या हं वाचयामि प्रणमितशिरसा तन्महायानसूत्रम् । ओं नमोबुद्धाय । ओं नमो धर्माय । ओं नमः संघाय ।।

## Glossary

All entries are Sanskrit unless otherwise noted. N—Newari. Np--Nepali.

*akanistha.* अकनिष्ठ The abode of the highest of the five classes of Buddhist gods.

*ankusa.* अंकुश Elephant goad.

*aksata.* अक्षत Unbroken rice grains used in religious offerings.

*aksamala.* अक्षमाला A string or rosary of beads.

*adhisthana* अधिष्ठान As used here it means grace or blessing with the connotation of empowerment. This empowerment is the first ritual in the *puja* of a *mandala.*

*apsara.* अप्सर The female counterparts of the Gandharvas, they were originally connected with water but later considered to reside in the heavens.

*abhiseka.* अभिषेक Literally a (purificatory) sprinkling; it then comes to mean a consecration or initiation, especially initiation into the mystic significance of a *mandala.*

*argha* अर्घ "Reception of a guest," a rite of welcome performed during the course of a ritual when a deity has been summoned.

*arhant* अर्हन्त A person who was walked the way of the Buddha to its end and so has reached enlightenment and liberation. He differs from a Buddha only in that he owes his deliverance to instruction. To become an *arhant* was the ideal of Hinayana Buddhism.

*avadana* अवदान "Glorious act, achievement", hence *avadana* stories are accounts of the glorious acts of a Buddha or bodhisattva.

*asta mangala* अष्टमंगल The eight auspicious signs or glorious emblems: the endless knot, the lotus, the banner, the water pot, the yak tail fan, a pair of fishes, the umbrella, and the conch shell.

*asta matrika* अष्टमातृक The eight mother godesses worshipped by both Hindus and Buddhists. Their eight *pithas* ring the towns and cities of the Valley and thus delimit the sacred space of the town.

*astami* अष्टमी The eighth day of a lunar fortnight, hence *astami*

*vrata:* religious devotions performed on the eighth day of the lunar fortnight.

*ahamkara* अहंकार The identification of the mind of enlightenment, and hence of the worshipper, with the deity worshipped.

*agam* आगं N In a *baha,* the secret *puja* room on the top floor, reserved for the initiated members of the *sangha* and their wives where the secret tantric rites and initiations are held.

*aca luyegu,* आचा लुयेगु N The initiation rite of the Vajracaryas consisting of the five consecrations (*pancabhiseka*).

*acarya guthi.* आचार्य गूठी The association of the Vajracaryas of the city of Kathmandu comprising all the Vajracaryas of the eighteen principal *bahas.*

*acarya diksa·* आचार्य दीक्षा See dekkha.

*ayusadhana* आयुसाधन A *sadhana* performed for obtaining long life.

*arati puja* आरति पूजा The evening worship consisting primarily of the lighting of a lamp (*arati*)

*ista devata* इष्ट देवता A chosen tutelary deity or favorite god.

*utpala* उत्पल The blossom of the blue lotus in contradistinction to the white lotus.

*udaya,* उदाय N (Np उदास) A Newar caste ranked after the Bare, a large number of whom are traders by profession and who are the principal lay Buddhists of Kathmandu.

*upadhyaya* उपध्याय Literally a teacher or preceptor; used by the Newar Buddhists to refer to the priest who assists the officiating priest as a master of ceremonies.

*upanayana* उपनयन One of the twelve Hindu *samskaras* in which the caste Hindu boy is invested with the sacred thread, often improperly used to refer to the Bare Chuyegu.

*upaya* उपाय Means, one of the two supreme coefficients of final enlightenment in Vajraryana Buddhism of which Wisdom (*prajna*) is the other. Means is masculine, Wisdom feminine.

*upasaka* उपासक A layman; one who professes faith in the Buddha's wisdom and formally takes refuge in the Buddha, Dharma, and

Sangha.

*uposadha* उपोषध A Buddhist fast day; hence *uposadha vrata:* a religious observance kept on that day.

*usnisa* उष्णीष A kind of excressence on the forehead of a Buddha.

*kaca baha,* कच बाहा N See *sakha baha.*

*kacca baha,* कच्चा बाहा N An unauthentic (*kacca*) *baha;* used in Kathmandu of *bahas* that are independent foundations connected to neither the eighteen principal *bahas* nor the *bahis.*

*kapala* कपाल Either (1) the severed head of a man, or (2) a cup made of a skull, or (3) a bowl.

*kamandalu* कमण्डलु See *kalasa.*

*kayata puja* कयता पूजा N See *mekhala bandhana.*

*karuna* करुणा Compassion: hence *karunamaya:* the compassionate one.

*karttrika* कर्त्तृका A knife.

*karma-samsara* कर्म संसार The cycle of rebirths in which the state of one's new birth depends entirely on the fruit (*phala*) of one's action (*karma*) in the previous life.

*kalasa* कलश The ordinary water vessel of metal or earth; to be distinguished from the *kamandalu* which is smaller in size and is provided with a projecting pipe for discharging water.

*kalasa puja* कलश पूजा The basic *puja* of the Vajracaryas in which the deity to be worshipped is first summoned into a water pot.

*kawal,* कवल N (Sanskrit: कुल) Family; used of a joint family or an extended joint family consisting of several households descended from a common ancestor.

*kasain,* कसाईं Np The butcher caste.

*kaya-vak-citta* कायवाक्चित्त Body-speech-mind.

*kalimati,* कालिमाटी Np A kind of black clay used by farmers of the Valley as a fertilizer or soil conditioner.

*kunda* कुण्ड A pit or hole in the ground for receiving the sacred fire.

*kusa* कुश A sacred grass used in religious ceremonies (*poa cynosuroides*)..

*krodha* क्रोध Lit. anger; popularly considered to refer to malevolent

spirits who interfere with the performance of a ritual; in yogic terms it refers to the terrifying appearances assumed by the conscious mind in its attempt to overcome the powerful force of the unconsicious.

*kwapa dya:* क्वापा द्यः N The guardian deity of a *baha* who resides in the principal shrine on the ground floor;usually Sakya Muni Buddha,one of the five transcendent Buddhas or one of the principal *bodhisattvas.*

*ksetrapala,* क्षेत्रपाल A small pit near the temple where sacred refuse is thrown, or the deity who is said to reside there.

*khadga* खड्ग Sword.

*khat,* खट N A portable shrine used for carrying a deity in procession and carried on the shoulders of four or more men.

*gaju(r),* गजुर N A bell-shaped metal finial on a temple.

*gada* गदा Mace.

*gandha* गन्ध Scent, perfume.

*garuda* गरुड The mythical bird, enemy of the serpent race and vehicle of Visnu.

*gatha* गाथा A verse or stanza; the metrical part of a Buddhist *sutra.*

*gunla dharma,* गुंलाधर्म N The month of religious observances and fasts kept by the Newar Buddhists.

*gubhaju,* गुभाजू N See Vajracarya.

*guru* गुरु A teacher or preceptor.

*guru mandala* गुरुमण्डल The *puja* performed in honour of the four gurus: Buddha, Dharma, Sangha and Vajrasattva.

*guthi* गूठी N, Np Among the Newars it signifies an organization based on caste, kinship or locality which ensures the continued observance of social and religious customs of the community; also used of land, the income of which goes to support the activities of the organization.

*guthiyar,* गूठीयार Np A member or official of a *guthi.*

*grihastha* गृहस्थ Householder; also used to distinguish a married 'monk' from a celibate (*brahmacarya*) monk.

*goja,* गोजा N A small brass or earthen lamp on which a *bali* offering is placed, or the offering itself.

*Gopucchargiri* गोपुच्छगिरि The present Kaliyug name of the mountain where the *stupa* of Swayambhu Nath is situated.

*ghanta* घण्टा Bell; when the bell is surmounted by a *vajra* it is called a *vajraghanta* and symbolises Vajrasattva.

*cakra* चक्र (1) as an inconographic symbol—wheel or disk. (2) in yoga—centres of cosmic energy within the body.

*cakra puja* चक्रपूजा (1) in Newar Buddhism—a *puja* which includes a tour round (*cakra*) the temple complex to worship all the deities enshrined there, (2) among *yogis*—a communal worship in which the participants sit round in a circle (*cakra*).

*catur-maharaja* चतुर्महाराज Four guardian deities who protect temples or chariots of the gods.

*camara* चामर The yak tail fan.

*Citrakar* चित्रकार The surname used by members of the painter caste.

*civara kote vidhi* चिवरकोतेविधि The rite of laying aside the monk's robes in which the initiated Bare returns to the state of a householder.

*cuda karma* चूडाकर्म The Hindu rite of tonsure in which the head is shaved leaving only the top knot (*cuda*); often imporperly used to denote the Bare Chuyegu.

*caitya* चैत्य Another word for *stupa* which came into use to indicate the specific meaning of a shrine.

*jajman,* जजमान Np (Sanskrit: यजमान) The client of a priest.

*jand,* जांड Np Rice beer.

*jata karma* जातकर्म The birth rite, one of the ten *samskaras.*

*jatra,* जात्रा N, Np (Sanskrit: यात्रा) Properly a religious procession or pilgrimage to a sacred place, often used to signify any type of religious festival.

*jama* जामा N The long white gown traditionally worn by Newar priests.

*jnana devata* ज्ञानदेवता (or, *jnana sattva*) The "knowldege deity (or being);" the real deity who descends from the *dharma* realm and

spirits who interfere with the performance of a ritual; in yogic terms it refers to the terrifying appearances assumed by the conscious mind in its attempt to overcome the powerful force of the unconsicious.

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with whom the worshipper finally realises himslf to be identical.

*jyapu,* ज्यापू N The farmer caste among the Newars.

*jhankri,* झांक्री Np The shamans of different castes found all across the hills of Nepal.

*tika* टीका A small mark of vermilion, sandal paste, etc. placed on the forehead, also placed on images, *puja* vessels, etc. which are reverenced during the course of a ritual.

*Thakuri* ठकुरी A convenient collective term used for the kings, surely not all of the same dynasty, who ruled the Valley of Nepal from about A. D. 900 to A. D. 1200.

*tathagata* तथागत One of the classic epithets applied to the historical Buddha and to the five transcendental Buddhas, indicating one who has attained the highest state of perfection, i. e. *nirvana.*

*tarpana* तर्पण A propitatiation rite or libation performed among the Vajracaryas by flicking water from each of the fingers of the right hand in turn.

*torana* तोरण An arch or arched doorway; the semi-circular decorative panel over the doorway of a temple.

*tridandi* त्रिदन्दि Trident or *trisula.*

*trisula* त्रिशूल Trident, usually carried by or associated with Siva.

*trisamadhi bali* त्रिसमाधिबलि A triple meditation offering made to Herukacakrasamvara during rituals of the Vajracaryas.

*thakali,* थकाली N The head, i. e. the eldest member, of a Newar *guthi* or clan.

*thyasaphu,* थ्यासफु N A manuscript or book (*saphu*) written on a long, continuous strip of heavy Nepali paper and folded into sections so that it opens like an accordian.

*daksina* दक्षिणा Stipend or offering made to a priest for his services.

*danda* दण्डा A staff or mace.

*darpana* दर्पणः A metal mirror used in tantric rituals to remind the mystic that the images before which the rite is performed are reflections which have no nature of their own.

*darsana* दर्शन A respectuful term used to denote a meeting with or an

audience with a superior or respected person.

*dasa karma* दशकर्म The ten *samskaras* or life cycle rites; also used of the consecration rites for an image which include the ten life cycle rites.

*dal,* दाल Np Lintels.

*digi,* दिगी N A place of congregation and prayer; the room in a *baha* used for the meetings of the elders.

*digu dya:* दिगु द्यः N The family or clan deity of a Newar family to whom the annual *devali puja* is performed.

*disi puja,* दिसी पूजा N A *puja* performed twice a year at the end of the sun's journey north or south of the equator, derived from the Newari verb *diye,* "to stop".

*dipa* दीप Light or lamp.

*diksa* दीक्षा A spiritual intiation including the giving of a *mantra.*

*duhkha* दुःख Sorrow; in Buddhism, the primordial experience man has of the world and the human condition as essentially unsatisfactory.

*dubo,* दूबो N (Sanskrit: दूर्व ) Bent grass (*panicum dactylon*).

*dekha,* देक्ख N (Sanskrit: आचार्यदीक्षा) A more elaborate form of the *acaluyegu* which may be taken by Sakyas and Vajracaryas and must be taken by those who are elders of the *bahas* and those who wish to perform certain tantric rituals which require empowerment through this initiation.

*deva pala,* देव पाला N The "guardian of the deity," i. e. the attendant priest in a temple or *baha* shrine.

*devali puja* देवाली पूजा The annual worship of the family deity (*digu dya:*) by Newar families.

*desa bali* देश बलि A *bali* that is taken round the area of the shrine or place where a *puja* is performed and offered to the deities or spirits at the cross-roads and shrines in the vicinity.

*dya:,* द्यः N Deity from Sanskrit देव

*dhanu(sa)* धनुस् Bow.

*dharma* धर्म Primarily this refers to the Buddha's teaching but is also used in a wide range of technical philosophical meanings.

*dharma dhatu mandala* धर्म धातु मण्डल Also known as *dharmn dhatu vagisvara mandala,* this is a *mandala* of Manjusri which is enshrined in most of the *bahas.*

*dhapa* धूप incense.

*dhyani buddha* ध्यानी बुद्ध The term applied by the Newar Buddhists to the five transcendent Buddhas (see *buddha*).

*dhvaja* ध्वज A banner used to decorate temples or offered as an offering, usually cloth but sometimes of metal.

*nanda bali,* नन्द बलि N A protective and purificatory offering placed in front of each of the accoutrements of the *puja.*

*nava grantha* नवग्रन्थ The nine Buddhist texts which the Vajacaryas consider to be their official canon: *Prajnaparamita, Gandavyuha, Dasabhumi Sutra, Samadhiraja Stutra, Lankavatara Sutra, Saddharmapundarika Sutra, Lalitavistara, Suvarnaprabhasa, Tathagataguhya* (*Guhya Samaja Tantra*).

*naga* नाग Snake spirits, half human but with a serpent's tail. They are associated with water; and the Valley of Nepal, since it was once a lake is considered to be under their special protection.

*nagpan,* नागपं N An earthen vessel with an image of a *naga* which is placed near the main *kalasa* in a Vajrcarya *puja.* Vasuki Nagaraja, who is considered to be the ruling *naga* of the Valley in the present age. is worshipped in the vessel.

*naya lugyegu,* नाय लुथेगु N "Making of the elder (*nayak*)", the *acarya diksa* which is given to the elders of a *baha* when they take office.

*nitya puja* नित्य पूजा N "Obligatory worship" the official worship of the guardian deity of a *baha;* sometimes taken to refer to the entire daily schedule of *pujas,* sometimes limited to the *puja* at dawn, which is performed at all *bahas.*

*niramisa* निरामिष Literally "meatless"; may refer to an offering to a deity which contains no flesh or blood offering; may refer to a fast during which one is permitted only plain rice, i. e. no meat, onions, spices, garlic, etc.

*nirvana* निर्वाण Supreme spiritual attainment, total release from the

sorrow of temporal existence.

*nirvanika* निर्वाणिक "Relating to *nirvana*"; when used of a *vihara* it means a *vihara* of monks striving for *nirvana* and hence implies a celibate community.

*naivedya* नैवेद्य An offering of food presented to a deity.

*nyasa* न्यास A ritual in which the parts of the body are sensitized by placing the fingertips and palms of the right hand on various sense awareness zones and reciting a *mantra*.

*pancagavya* पंचगव्य "The five elements," a mixture of the five products of the cow: milk, curds, ghee, urine and dung.

*pancabhiseka* पंचाभिषेक In Newar Buddhism the term is properly used of the *acaluyegu* which consists of five tantric consecrations (*abhiseka*); also populary used of the *pravrajya* rite in which the five elders of the *baha* pour water over the head of the candidate.

*pancamrita* पंचामृत "The five nectars", a mixture of milk, curds, ghee, honey and sugar.

*pancasila* पंचाशिल The five rules imposed on every Buddhist: to avoid killing, stealing, lust, falsehood, fermented drinks.

*pancopacara* (pancopahara) *puja* पंचोपचार पूजा The basic fivefold offering made to a deity consisting of flowers, incense, light, scent and food.

*pataka* पताका A long cloth or metal banner hung from the top of a temple or from the *ratha* of Matsyendranath.

*padma* पद्म Lotus, which may be of any colour except blue.

*patra* पात्र Begging bowl.

*padya* पाद्य "Relating to the feet", a welcoming rite in which an offering is made to the feet of the deity.

*panju,* पान्जु N A term currently used in Bungamati to refer to the inner core of the *sangha* who have the right to serve as temple attendants; originally seems to have been a common word used to refer to any member of a *sangha;* the earliest from of the word is *panduju*.

*paramita* पारमिता The six or ten sublime virtues or perfections practised by the Bodhisattva during his career.

*pasa* पाश Noose or lasso used to bind the host of the Maras and other evil beings; the distinguishing iconographic sign of Amoghapasa Lokesvara.

*pitha* पीठ A tantric centre or "seat" of *yogis*

*puspa* पुष्प Flowers.

*puspadi puja* पुष्पादिपूजा "(Offering) of flowers, etc." a series of rituals consisting of the *pancopacara puja,* dance postures, ringing of the bell, recitation of a hymn of praise and offering of a libation.

*pustaka* पुस्तक Book.

*puja* पूजा A general term referring to any act of worship, but usually comprising some sort of an offering.

*puja bhanda sankalpa* पूजा भाण्डा संकल्प A "declaration of intention" (*sankalpa*) performed at the beginning of a *puja* to the vessel containing the offerings (*puja bhanda*).

*pauwa,* पौवा N A banner painting corresponding to the Tibetan *tanka.*

*prajna* प्रज्ञा Wisdom, one of the two supreme coefficients of final enlightenment in Varjrayana Buddhism. It is the female principle; *Upaya* (means) is male.

*pratistha* प्रतिष्ठा The setting up or consecrating of religious objects, books, images, *pauwas,* etc.

*pramana,* प्रमाण N The title of the seven noble families of Patan who controlled the city; referred to in earlier inscriptions as the *pradhanangas* or the *mahapatras.*

*pravrajya* प्रव्रज्य The first initiation rite of a man entering a Buddhist monastery and the principlal ritual of the Bare Chuyegu.

*prasada* प्रसाद Food or other offerings which have been presented to a deity and are given back to the offerer as a sign of the acceptence of the offering, or to others as a sign of their participation in the worship.

*prayascitta* प्रायश्चित्त An atonement or expiatory offering.

*bare,* वरे N (Np: बाँडा; Sanskrit: वन्दे) The term used for the members of a *baha sangha* in Newar Buddhism. From the viewpoint of caste they comprise two sub divisions: Sakya and Vajracarya.

*bare chuyegu,* वरे छुयेगु N The "making of a *bare,*" the intiation of a *bare* which makes one a member of his father's *baha* or *bahi sangha* and a full fledged member of the *bare* caste.

*bali* बलि An offering or propitiatory oblation, especially of food, grain, etc.

*bahi,* बहि N A type of Newar *vihara* which differs architecturally from a *baha* and whose members are known as Brahmacarya Bhiksu. They are usually situated at the edge or outside of the city and are probably older foundations than the *bahas.*

*banda,* बांडा Np See *bare.*

*baha*(l), बाहा N (Sanskrit: विहार) Used in Newar Buddhism for the "monastic" complex which houses the Buddhist shrines and the families (*sangha*) attached to the "monastery".

*buddha* बुद्ध An enlightened one, especially the historical Sakyamuni Gautam Buddha; then the legendary Buddhas who are considered to have lived before this time and the future Buddha Maitreya. In later Mayhayana Buddhism transcendent Buddhas began to overshadow the historical Buddha. In tantric Buddhism five of these (Amitabha, Vairocana, Aksobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amoghasiddhi) were considered to be the heads of five families of deities comprising all the Buddhist deities. In Sanskrit they are called the Five Buddhas, the Five Tathagatas, or the Five Jinas; among the Newars they are called the Dhyani (meditation) Buddhas.

*bodhicitta* बोधिचित्त Mind or thought of enlightenment; in tantric Buddhism it is used of the seed which results from the union of the male and female principles and in its absolute aspect is the supreme mystical experience.

*bodhisattava* बोधिसत्त्व In Mahayana Buddhism the name given to those beings (*sattva*) who strive for enlightenment (*bodhi*) or have already attained it but postpone their own passage into *nirvana* until all beings are liberated.

*bodhyanga* बोध्यंग Limbs of enlightenment of which there are seven: mindfulness, investigation of *dharmas*, vigour, tranquility, raputre,

concentration, even-mindeness.

*brahmacarya* ब्रह्मचर्य A state of continence or chastity, hence "*brahmacarya bhiksu*", a celibate monk; used in Newar Buddhism of the members of a *bahi sangha* who at the present time are not celibate but married men with families.

*bhajan* भजन A hymn to a deity.

*bhakti* भक्ति Loving devotion.

*bhiksu* भिक्षु Mendicant, a Buddhst monk; in Newar Buddhism a member of a *baha* or *bahi sangha*.

*bhuta* भूत A class of mischievous spirits who are supposed to injure men and destroy them mysteriously.

*bhairava* भैरव As a proper noun, a form of Siva; as a common noun, any of a number of tantric deities (Hindu or Buddhist) having a terrible or formidable aspect.

*bhoj,* भोज N A highly ritualised feast following upon a *puja* or religious celebration; the types of food to be served, the dishes to be used, the seating order of the participants, etc. are all rigidly determined by custom.

*bhoto* भोटो Np (N, प्वकुलँ, पकुलँ) A sort of padded, sleeveless vest, which is sewed up the sides and then put on over the head and tied with strings at the shoulders, a common garment worn in the Valley until recently and an item often offered to deities.

*makara* मकर A kind of sea monster represented as an ornament on *toranas,* etc.; not a crocodile.

*mantra* मन्त्र Mystic formula or spell, derving its power from traditional association with a particular deity or a desired result. It is made effective by repetitive recitation (*japa*) combined with meditation (*dhyana*).

*mahadipa* महादीप A large lamp lit before a deity, consisting of 108 or 1,000 wicks.

*mahapatra* महापात्र See *pramana.*

*mahavihara* महाविहार Originally used in India for a cluster of *viharas* such as existed at Nalanda; in Nepal often applied to any *baha* or *bahi* with no descernible rationale; sometimes the smallest

and least important foundations are called *mahavihara.*

*mahasnana* महास्नान The "great bathing" ceremony performed annually for the images of Avalokitesvara-Matsyendranath.

*manandhar* मानन्धर The surname used by members of the Newar oilpresser caste, Newari: साय्मी

*mara* मार "Death" as the end of all evil situations and passions which have power over man; personified it means the Evil One or Tempter, i. e. the god who reigns over the world of desire and hence Buddha's enemy.

*mudra* मुद्रा Mystic pose of the hand or hands.

*mekhala bandhana* मेखल बन्धन (N, कयता पूजा) "Tying on of the loin cloth," the caste initiation ceremony of Newars other than the Bare and the caste Hindus.

*Meru* मेरु The fabulous mountain of Hindu mythology said to form the central point of the Indian subcontinent (*jambu-dvipa*) and round which all the planets are said to revolve.

*maitri* मैत्री Benevolence which every Buddhist, and especially the *bodhisattva,* must show to all living beings.

*yaksa* यक्ष A semi-divine, generally benevolent being, especially associated with trees.

*yajna* यज्ञा offering, oblation, sacrifice.

*yamaduta* यमदूत The messengers of Yama, the god of the underworld.

*yana* यान Vehicle, used of the various Buddhist systems.

*yihi,* यिहि N The mock marriage ceremony of a Newar girl to Narayana (among Hindus) or to the personification of Bodhicitta (among the Bare). It is not a marriage to the bel fruit as commonly believed; the bel fruit either represents the deity or is considered as a witness to the ceremony.

*ranjana* रंजन An ornamental script used in many Newar religious manuscripts.

*ratha jatra,* रथ जात्रा N, Np A festival or procession which consists in drawing a wheeled chariot (*ratha*) carrying the deity through the streets of the city.

*ropani,* रोपनी Np A Nepali unit of land measure about 70ft. square.

*lasya* लास्य Dance postures as a form of worship.

*linga* लिङ्ग The Saiva phallic symbol.

*loka dhatu* लोकधातु World system, a world with all the heavens or hells it may contain.

*lokapala* लोकपाल The protectors of the world, the guardian deities of the directions.

*vajra* वज्र 1) Thunderboldt; in this sense it refers to the iconographic symbol held by Indra and the Buddhist deity Vajrapani ("thunderboldt in the hand"). 2) Diamond, used in this sense by Vajrayana Buddhists. May refer to: a) the Absolute Emptiness itself which is indivisible, impenetrable, incombustible, and indestructible like a diamond; b) enlightenment in which man gains insight into his emptiness; c) the ritual sceptre used by the Vajracarya and held by deities as an iconographic symbol.

*vajra dhatu mandala* वज्रधातुमण्डल A misnomer for a *dharma dhatu mandala* (q. v.) surmounted by a *vajra* as at Swayambhunath.

*vajra humkara mudra* वज्र हुंकार मुद्रा The *mudra* of Vajradhara who holds the *vajra* in his right hand and the bell in his left with the two hands crossed against the breast.

*vajracarya* वज्राचार्य (N, गुभाजू) "The vajra master", the priestly caste among the Newar Buddhists.

*vamsavali* वंशावली Originally a list of the kings of a dynasty (*vamsa*), later expanded into chronicles.

*vighana* विघ्न "Hindrance," conceived of as demons found on the edges of *mandalas* who interfere with the performance of rituals unless propitiated by a *bali* or bound in place by a *mantra*.

*vidhivata puja* विधिवत पूजा See *puspadi puja*.

*visarjana* विसर्जन The dismissal rite which concludes any *puja* and consists of a dismissal of the deity who has been summoned for worship.

*vihara* विहार A Buddhist monastery; used in Newar Buddhism for the "monastic" complex which houses the Buddhist shrines and the families (*sangha*) attached to the "monastery."

*vrata* व्रत Religious observance, an act of devotion or austerity.

*vratabandha* व्रतबन्ध A term used properly to refer to the Hindu *upanayana* ceremony (the thread ceremony of the twice born) and often improperly used of the *bare chuyegu.*

*vratamoksanam* व्रतमोक्षणं "Release from the vows" the ceremony in which the Bare renounces his state of monkhood and returns to the status of a householder.

*sankha* शंख Conch shell.

*sakti* शक्ति "Power," the proper term for the female principle in Hindu tantric philosophy; often improperly used of the female principle in Buddhist tantric philosophy which is called *prajna* and is not "power" but the opposite.

*sata puja* शतपूजा A *puja* in which the *pancopacara puja* is repeated 108 times; and 108 small dishes of uncooked rice, 108 dishes of water, 108 lamps, and 108 small *caityas* made of barley flower are offered.

*Sakya* शाक्य The surname used by the non-priestly caste of Bare, many of whom consider themselves to to be descendents of the Sakya clan of Lumbini to which the historical Buddha belonged.

*sakha baha* शाखा वाहा "Branch *baha*", used of a branch *baha* or daughter house of one of the main *bahas*, especially of the branches of the eighteen main *bahas* of Patan and Kathmandu.

*santi svasti* शान्तिस्वस्ति A ritual performed to pacify the deity after some mishap or improper action has taken place.

*sikhara* शिखर Spire or tower, used of a temple which has such a spire.

*sunyata* शून्यता Emptiness, the highest concept of Mahayana Buddhsim.

*smasana* श्मशान Cremation *ghats* or cemeteries, the gathering place of tantric *yogis* and *yoginis.*

*sramana* श्रमण A wandering ascetic who has left home and family and lives by begging, used of a Buddhist monk.

*srestha,* श्रेष्ठ (N, सेस्य) The caste, or group of castes, of Hindu Newars ranked immediately after the Brahmans.

*Sankranti* संक्रान्ति The passage of the sun from one sign of the zodiac to another; there are twelve of these in a year which correspond to the first day of each month in the Bikram Sambat solar calen-

dar used in Nepal for government and secular business as opposed to the lunar calendar which is used for fixing most religious festivals and observances.

*sangha* संघ The Buddhist community, used first and primarily of the community of monks and nuns but also includes the official lay people (*upasaka*); in Nepal used of the community of families attached to a *baha*.

*sattal,* सत्तल N a rest house for travellers or religious mendicants.

*samaya devaıa* समयदेवता (or *samaya sattva*) The "conventional deity" or "being", the visualization of the deity evoked from one's own consciousness which will be united through yogic meditation with the real deity (the *jnanadevata*) thus bringing about the worshiper's realization of his identity with the deity.

*samadhi* समाधि A deep state of concentration in which the void nature of existence is experienced.

*sahaja* सहज Of or relating to the *sahajiya* school of Tantric Buddhism known as Sahajayana.

*sadhana* साधन Evocation, i. e. the envisaging and calling forth of a divinity, normally by means of recitation (*japa*) of the appropriate *mantra* and by meditation (*dhyana*) upon his representation.

*siddha* सिद्ध A saint who has already acquired *siddhi* or perfection in a tantric rite and has acquired thereby super-normal powers.

*siddhi* सिद्धि Powers of the mind or "perfections" not developed in the average man.

*sindur* सिन्दूर The red lead or vermilion used in worship of a deity and for placing a *tika* on the forehead of the worshippers.

*sutra* सूत्र A Buddhist text which is supposed to have been spoken by the Lord himself, i. e. by the Buddha or any of the divine *bodhisattvas.*

*stuti* स्तुति A hymn of praise.

*stupa* स्तूप Literally "mound," or "heap," used of the Buddhist funeral or memorial mounds which became the principal Buddhist shrines and the primary symbol by which a Buddhist establishment could be recognized.

*stotra* स्तोत्र A hymn, always in verse and meant to be sung.

*sthavira* स्थविर An elder; used in Newar Buddhism for the five or ten elders who govern a *baha*.

*halampo* हलंपो N A copper (often gilded) repousse banner hung from a temple roof

*homa puja* होमपूजा The ritual of offering grain and clarified butter into the sacred fire.

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## Nepali, Newari, Sanskrit, Hindi

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तेवारी, रामजी इं (सम्पादक) **अभिलेख संग्रह**। १२ भाग। काठमाण्डू, इतिहास संशोधन मण्डल।

थापा, रमेश जंग "काष्ठमण्डप" **प्राचीन नेपाल** ३:३३–४३।

दत्त, नीलनाक्ष **उत्तर प्रदेश में बौद्ध धर्मका विकास**। हिन्दी परामर्श समिति ग्रन्थमाला छ। लखनऊ, उ. प्र. सरकार प्रकाशन ब्यूरो, सन् १९५६। (हिन्दी)

दिवस, तुलसी **नेपाली लोककथा**। काठमाण्डू, नेपाल राजकीय प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठान, वि. सं. २०३२।

दीप, ध्रुव कृष्ण "करुणामय रातो मच्छेन्द्रका परम भक्त राजा श्री श्रीनिवास मल्ल," **प्रज्ञा** १२:६५–६९।

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——— **मध्यकालीन धर्म साधन**। इलाहाबाद, १९५२। (हिन्दी)

——— **हिन्दी साहित्यका आदि काल**। पटना, विहार राष्ट्रभाषा परिषद्। (हिन्दी)

धर्मलोक, भिक्षु र अमृतानन्द, भिक्षु (सम्पादक) **ज्ञान माला**। १३ औं संस्करण। काठमाण्डू, ज्ञान माला भजन खल, ने. सं. १०९६। (नेवारी)

नरहरिनाथ, योगी **इतिहास प्रकाश** अंक १ भाग १ वि. सं २०१२; अंक १ भाग २ वि सं. २०१३; अंक २ भाग १–३ – काठमाण्डू, इतिहास प्रकाश मण्डल।

——— "काठमाण्डू," **नाथ सन्देश** ६:१–१०।

——— (अनुवादक) **गोरखबोध–चर्पशटकम्**। काशी, श्री गोरक्षनाथ पुस्तकालय, वि. सं. २०२१ (संस्कृत–हिन्दी–नेपाली)

——— (सम्पादक र अनुवादक) **हिमवत्खण्ड स्कन्दपुराणमध्ये**। गोरक्ष ग्रन्थ माला ७। गोरक्षटिल्लाकाशी, वि. स. २०१३। (संस्कृत–नेपाली)

"नेपाल देशको इतिहास," **प्राचीन नेपाल** १२:१–२७, १३:१–१४, १४:१–२४, १६:१-२४

१७ १- ११, १८ १–२४, १६:१–२४, २०:१–२४, २१.१–२८, २२:७–२०, २३:१—१०, २४:१–२३, २५ १–२०, २६:१–१४ २७:१–३२ ।

पन्त, नयराज (सम्पादक) **श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको उपदेश** । ४ भाग । ललितपुर, जगदम्बा प्रकाशन ।

——— 'स्थिति मल्ल तथा जातपात," **पूर्णिमा** २:१–१० .

पाण्डेय, गोविन्दचन्द्र **बुद्ध धर्म के विकास का इतिहास** । लखनऊ, हिन्दी समिति, सन् १९६३ । (हिन्दी)

पाण्डेय, जनार्दन शास्त्री **गोरक्षसिधान्त संग्रह** । वाराणसी, सरस्वती भवन, सन् १९७३ । (हिन्दी)

पोखरेल, चिरंजीवी शर्मा **कर्तव्य प्रकाश, चाड, पर्व, महिमा** । काठमाण्डू, रत्न पुस्तक भण्डार, वि. सं. २०२९ ।

पौडेल, नायनाथ (सम्पादक) **भाषा वंशावली,** भाग १ । काठमाण्डू, पुरातत्व विभाग, वि. सं. २०२० ।

पौड्याल, डमरुवल्लभ (अनुवादक) **सद्धर्मपुण्डरीकसूत्र** । काठमाण्डू, नेपाल राजकीय प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठान, वि. सं. २०२९ ।

प्रधान, अयोध्या प्रसाद **नेपालको धार्मिक सहिष्णतता** । काठमाण्डू, नेपाल साहित्य संस्थान, वि. सं. २०२४ ।

बन्धु, चूडामणि **कर्णाली लोक संस्कृति,** खण्ड ४, भाषा । काठमाण्डू, नेपाल राजकीय प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठान, वि. सं. २०२८ ।

बांडदेल, लैनसिंह "नेपाली धातु मूर्ति", **प्रज्ञा** ४:८१–१०९ ।

विष्ट, डोरबहादुर "मत्वाली क्षेत्री," **प्रज्ञा** १:८५–९० ।

बुद्धदास, भिक्षु **बौद्ध–धर्मका मौलिक सिद्धान्तहरू** । अनुवादकः जगतबहादुर जोशी । काठमाण्डू, वि. सं. २०३० ।

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प्रतिष्ठान, वि. सं. २०२० ।

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——— **नेपालको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा** । वाराणसी, कृष्ण कुमारीदेवी, वि. सं. २०२२ ।

शर्मा, बुद्धिसागर पराजेली (सम्पादक) **वृहत्सूचीपत्रम नाटक** । पुरातत्व प्रकाशन माला ९ । काठमाण्डू, पुरातत्व विभाग, वि. सं. २०१९ । (संस्कृत)

——— (सम्पादक) **श्री नेपाल राजकीय वीरपुस्तकालयस्थपुस्तनाम वृहत्सूचीपत्र, बौद्धविषयकः** । ३ खण्ड । काठमाण्डू, वीर पुस्तकालय, वि. सं. २०२१–२३ । (संस्कृत)

शाक्य, हेमराज **नेपाल बौद्ध विहार व ग्रन्थ सूची** । काठमाण्डू धर्मोदय सभा, बुद्ध संवत् २५०० । (नेवारी)

——— **नेपाल लिपि प्रकाश** । काठमाण्डू, नेपाल राजकीय प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठान, वि. सं. २०३० ।

——— **नेपाल संस्कृतिया मुलुखा** । ललितपुर, श्रीमती चन्द्रलक्ष्मीदेवी शाक्य, ने. सं. १०८९ । (नेवारी)

——— **पूचो छगू अध्ययन** । पाटन, बुद्धजयन्ति समारोह समिति, वि. सं. २०३३ । (नेवारी)

——— **बुद्धमूर्ति छगू अध्ययन** । काठमाण्डू, च्वसापासा, ने, स. १०९७ । (नेवारी)

——— **मणिगल राज प्रासाद** । पाटन, मंगलबजार बुद्धजयन्ति समारोह समिति, वि. सं. २०३१ ।

——— **मयूर्वर्ण महाविहार** । पाटन, भिंछे वाहाया सर्वसंघ, बुद्ध संवत् २५१६ । (नेवारी)

——— **शिवदेव संस्कारित ञंकुली श्री रुद्रवर्ण महाविहार संक्षिप्त परिचय** । पाटन, जोगराज शाक्य, ने. सं. १०९० । (नेवारी)

——— **संक्षिप्त आर्यावलोकितेश्वर परिचय** । ललितपुर, लेखक आफै, ने. सं. १०८० । (नेवारी)

——— **स्थिरोभव वाक्य** । पाटन, सूर्यमा वज्राचार्य वि. सं. २०२८ । (संस्कृत)

शास्त्री, गोकुल चन्द (सम्पादक) **नेपालको सांस्कृतिक इतिहास** । काठमाण्ड, आर्य सांस्कृतिक संघ ।

श्रेष्ठ, भगवती प्रसाद **नेपाल भाषा सामान्य ज्ञान** । काठमाण्डू, ने. सं. १०८० । (नेवारी)

श्रेष्ठ, हरि (अनुवादक) **नेपाली लोक गीत** । काठमाण्डू, नेपाल राजकीय प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठान, वि. सं. २०३१ ।

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——— **पुर्वतत्व निबन्धावली**। इलाहावाद, सन् १९५७। (हिंन्दी)

——— **बौद्ध संस्कृति**। कलकत्ता, आधुनिक पुस्तक भवन, सन् १९५२। (हिन्दी)

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